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# A HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN THE OLD KINGDOM

BY

WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH

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## PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

IN preparing a second edition I have made some small alterations in the text. It has not proved practical, however, to take into consideration excavated material or publications which have appeared since the volume was first printed. I should like, nevertheless, to call attention to a few very important new things. The excavation of the Zedkara (Isesy) pyramid temple, a little to the south of Saqqarah, has produced new and unusual white limestone sculpture in the round, particularly some fragments of calves and a figure almost certainly of a sphinx which would lend support to a Dynasty IV date for the curious limestone sphinx from Abu Roash mentioned on p. 33. This material, including relief fragments, a lion, and parts of figures of prisoners like those from the temples of Ne-user-ra and Pepy II, is as yet unpublished. It should be mentioned, also, that in the excavation of the archaic cemetery near Helwan have been found primitive niche-stones like those described on pp. 142-143 hitherto known with any certainty only from Saqqarah.

The Brooklyn Museum has recently acquired a remarkable series of sculptures, including a red granite head of an early king, a kneeling slate statuette of Pepy I, and an alabaster statuette of the same king in Heb-sed dress. In the same group is an alabaster figure of the mother of Pepy II holding her son on her lap (*The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, vol. VIII, No. 6, March 1947). I have omitted to mention on p. 13 an archaic head long in University College, London (*Ancient Egyptian Art*, Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, 1922, pl. II).

The South Stone Pyramid at Dahshur has recently been identified as having been constructed by Sneferuw. Excavations are still continuing but it is no longer necessary to speculate (as on pp. 144, 361) as to whether it could have been built by Huni. The question is raised as to the identity of the builder of the Medum Pyramid. In this connexion it might be remarked that it is highly doubtful that the limestone flake in Philadelphia really bears a representation of Sneferuw (pp. 136, 149, 358). It seems to me possible that the people buried at Medum lived a little earlier than Reisner was inclined to place them, and that the large tombs, including that of Ra-hotep and Nofret, were completed at least within the reign of Sneferuw and not as late as that of Cheops (cf. pp. 145, 149).

Prof. Junker, in *Giza VII*, pp. 151 ff., has published more sculpture which was displaced anciently from the tomb of Ba-ba-f (G 5230, called in my text Khnum-ba-f). This includes a small inscribed alabaster statue in Vienna resembling the smaller fragmentary figure on my Pl. 19b. I have included this by error under Ba-f-ba amongst the sculpture of the second half of Dynasty V at the end of the third paragraph on p. 73. Junker has also published a fragmentary standing figure and a much broken seated figure of dark granite which should be added to the list of fragments given on p. 50. Most interesting of all is a head in Vienna from a life-size alabaster statue which must originally have stood in the serdab of G 5230 (for plan see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, Fig. 153, p. 250).

In the case of the Worcester statue of a woman described on pp. 42-43, it is now clear that it formed part of a triad of figures (partly in Brooklyn and Kansas City; see J. D. Cooney, *J.E.A.*, vol. XXXI, 1945, pp. 54-56) from the Dynasty V tomb of Ra-wer. These should be added to the other sculpture from this tomb listed on pp. 50-52. With them should be included the ivory figure and other statues which, in the second paragraph on p. 61, I have erroneously assigned to the wrong Ra-wer (LG 94) and not to the tomb later excavated by Selim Hassan.

Suspicion as a forgery has been cast on the lower of the two designs in Fig. 45, p. 125 (see Guy Brunton, 'Modern Paintings on Predynastic Pots', *Annales*, XXXIV, pp. 149 ff.).

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The general consensus of opinion seems to be that the reliefs from the gateway at Memphis mentioned on pp. 121, 133, 136 are not of the Middle Kingdom but archaizing work of at least Saite times.

The objects from the Charles Atherton Curtis Collection, perhaps the most important of which is the slab-stela of Nefert-yabet described on p. 160, are now in the Louvre (see Boreux, *Monuments Piot*, vol. XXXVII, 1940, pp. 13-37).

Further material in connexion with the reliefs of Akhet-a'a (p. 151), Mery (p. 172) and Tep-m-ankh (p. 187), and certain Fourth Dynasty reliefs at Giza, will be found in Smith, 'The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs', *A. J. A.*, vol. XLVI, 1942, pp. 509-531.

It now seems impossible that the Mariette stela of Queen Merytyetes can have come from G 7650 as is suggested on p. 161. However, the connexion between this stela and the queen of the same name who appears to have been the mother of Prince Ka-wab is still obscure, as is the location at Giza where Mariette found the stone.

I was able in 1947 to visit the rock-cut tombs at Tehneh, Naga-ed-Dêr, Bersheh and Beni Hasan, as well as the two late Old Kingdom tombs at Luxor (Nos. 185, 186; p. 226). It is of interest, in view of the owner's mention of Mycerinus and Weserkaf, that the reliefs of the tomb of Khenuw-ka at Tehneh bear a close resemblance to those of the Chephren family at Giza. It is now clear that the tombs which I have listed on p. 225 as being at Deir el Melek are actually in the upper terrace of tombs at Naga-ed-Dêr and amongst those cleared by Reisner. The term Deir el Melek used by Wreszinski is simply another name for the Naga-ed-Dêr cemetery. The man named Themerery (N 71; Sayce No. IV) on p. 225 should not be confused with a second Themerery (N 248) buried at the same site, referred to on p. 222. One must see the Beni Hasan tombs to realize that it is only in the chapel of Khnum-hotep (No. 3) where the developed style of the Middle Kingdom is beginning to emerge in the reign of Sesostris II. The stiff clumsiness of the Intermediate Period style carried on very late at Beni Hasan, even the painter of Khnum-hotep was not able entirely to free himself from it as had Djehuwty-hotep's craftsmen at Bersheh, where again only this one tomb stands out from the rest as representing the fully developed 12th Dynasty style. Finally, it should be noted that in the tomb of Djehuwty-hotep there is a larger amount of fine work in paint alone than is implied by the text (p. 240).

It should be noted in reading the statement on pp. 223-224 that W. C. Hayes has recently argued strongly against the existence of an independent kingdom at Coptos (*J. E. A.*, vol. XXXII, 1946, pp. 3-23). In an article to appear in *J. E. A.*, vol. XXXIII, the proofs of which have been kindly placed at my disposal, Hayes makes it quite clear that while the decoration of the tomb of Hor-m-khauw-f at Hierakonpolis dates to the late XIIIth Dynasty, that of Pepy-nen-ankh (called Pepy-men on p. 234) is provincial work of the late Old Kingdom (see also p. 230 where I have mistakenly called both tombs Dyn. XII).

Finally, I should like to refer the reader to 'The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom' by John A. Wilson, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. VI, October 1947, pp. 231-239, where he has offered readings which differ from the interpretation given to a number of the texts in Chapter XVI.

WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

BOSTON

March 1948

## PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

IN 1936 the writer was entrusted with the preparation of a survey of the sculpture and painting found at Giza. This was to form part of the publication of the excavations at the Pyramids upon which Dr. George A. Reisner and the members of the Harvard-Boston Expedition have long been engaged. It was clear at the start that new evidence from Giza made it necessary to reconsider both the style and date of sculpture from other Old Kingdom sites. As the need to refer to comparative material became more and more obvious the present form of the volume gradually took shape. It was at the suggestion of Dr. Reisner that the text was finally expanded into a general history of Old Kingdom art.

The Giza excavations have provided a chronological framework upon which to base a study of the art of the Old Kingdom. There is now a large body of material clearly dated to Dynasty IV which is available for comparison with the work of Dynasties V and VI. It is thus possible to recognize the high point of achievement reached under the kings who built the Great Pyramids. Familiarity with the site of Giza had necessarily to be gained through continued use of the Expedition records and Dr. Reisner's forthcoming publications in manuscript form. The writer's debt to Dr. Reisner is very great, accruing as it has through ten years' work with him as pupil, assistant, and friend. The fact that the following text exists at all is perhaps the clearest testimonial to this indebtedness.

Only an incomplete picture of the great cemetery would be possible without access to the excavations of our neighbours at Giza, the German and Egyptian Expeditions. Throughout the course of my work I have had frequent cause to appreciate the friendly co-operation of Professor Hermann Junker. Not only was the material in his excavations freely available for study but he has been most generous with helpful advice from his long experience and knowledge of the language and archaeology of the Old Kingdom. To him I also owe permission to copy the painted hieroglyphs which are reproduced on one of the coloured plates. To our other neighbour, Professor Selim Bey Hassan, and to his assistants, I am very grateful for continued access to the chapel reliefs in his excavations both at Giza and Saqqarah.

In recent years the work of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqarah has added greatly to our knowledge of the difficult period preceding Dynasty IV. It has been a rare privilege to follow the course of this work under the guidance of the late Messrs. Cecil Firth and Edward Quibell. I am indebted to them for permission to describe material as yet unpublished, as well as for several photographs and drawings reproduced here. Even more interesting results were obtained by Walter B. Emery when he took up the difficult task of continuing the work left incomplete by the premature death of Mr. Firth, followed by that of Mr. Quibell. Much that appears in the following pages has been learned during many pleasant visits to Mr. Emery's excavations.

The writer owes to the friendly offices of Professor George H. Chase a grant from Harvard which enabled him in 1935 to make a survey of most of the important European collections of Egyptian sculpture. In the course of visits to these museums in Europe and to the collections of our own country such a widespread indebtedness has been incurred that it is impossible to express it adequately. An attempt has been made throughout the volume to attribute correctly the source of photographs, drawings, and other material, for the reproduction of which permission has been courteously and readily granted, and to indicate the present location of statues, reliefs, and paintings. In the few cases where photographs in the plates have been drawn from publications this is indicated in the list of plates. Several of the plates are made from photographs of the Archives Photographiques du Louvre, two from the firm of

Alinari and one from that of Lehnert and Landrock in Cairo. Herr Platon Mittlestaedt made for me a number of excellent photographs of objects in the Cairo Museum. The great majority of the photographs, however, were drawn from the files of the Expedition and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

I should like to express my grateful thanks to the officials of the Cairo Museum, particularly Mr. Engelbach, Mr. Brunton, and M. Guéraud, to Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum, to Mr. D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum and Professor Glanville of University College, to M. Charles Boreux of the Louvre and the Abbé Paul Tresson of Grenoble, to Professor Capart in Brussels and Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden in Leiden, to Dr. Gunther Roeder of the Pelizaeus Museum of Hildesheim, to Professor Schaefer, Dr. Anthes, Dr. Grapow, Hans Wolfgang Müller, and Herr von Bothmer who were particularly kind to me in the Berlin Museum, as well as Professor Wolff and Herbert Schaedel in Leipzig, to Professor Watzinger of Tübingen, Professor Scharff and Wilhelm Hölscher in Munich, Dr. Hans Demel of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and to Signor Giulio Farina in Turin.

Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian was kind enough to allow me to reproduce the charming little Dynasty IV relief in his collection, while Mr. Atherton Curtis hospitably permitted me to examine the beautiful slab-stela of Nefert-yabet in his Paris house. In addition to the acknowledgements made above my thanks are due to the officials of the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg of Copenhagen, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Brooklyn Museum, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Worcester Art Museum for allowing me to reproduce important pieces in their collections. I am exceedingly grateful to Mr. Herbert Winlock and Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams for permitting me to use certain of the Lisht reliefs at a time when their publication was in preparation. My indebtedness to Mrs. Williams will be found acknowledged in a number of places throughout the text. Dr. John Wilson saved me much trouble by allowing me to use material from Prentice Duell's volume on the tomb of Mereruwka before it appeared in print. Finally Professor Blackman has permitted me to reproduce drawings from photographs of an unpublished tomb at Meir.

Any survey of Egyptian material has now been made incomparably less difficult by the volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography*. One uses these books so constantly that with familiarity it is easy to forget how much we owe to the painstakingly careful references of Miss Bertha Porter and Miss Rosalind Moss. The writer has been fortunate enough to profit by much personal advice from Miss Moss's wide knowledge of Egyptian sites and collections.

The figures in the text have been prepared by the author from a variety of different sources. When illustrations were traced from publications the reference has been given in the caption beneath and in some cases a little more fully in the List of Illustrations. Many examples are taken from original drawings by the author and by other members of the staff of the Expedition and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Since these records range over a long period of time it is difficult to give full credit where it is due. The captions beneath two of the coloured plates and a number of the drawings indicate my indebtedness to Mr. N. de G. Davies who made a splendid record of tombs in the Western Cemetery at Giza and of the rock-cut tombs at Naga-ed-Dêr. I have utilized other drawings by Miss Elizabeth Eaton and by Mr. Hansmartin Handrick. The inlay patterns of the Hetep-heres furniture are taken from drawings made by Mr. Dows Dunham in the course of the removal of the furniture from the tomb. I should like to thank Miss Suzanne Chapman and Mr. Nicholas Melnikoff for making some of the tracings for me. I am particularly grateful to Miss Eaton and Mr. Dunham, who throughout the preparation of this volume in Egypt, have continually supplied me with information concerning the objects in the Boston collection.

To simplify the general index, spellings in transliteration have been given in a separate list. I have

also made a list of the personal names mentioned in the text, as well as lists of the tombs at Giza and Saqqarah with Dr. Reisner's numbers at Giza and Mariette's numbering at Saqqarah correlated, wherever possible, with other numbering systems of Lepsius, Steindorff, Junker, Fisher, Quibell, Firth, and Emery. With these lists it should be possible to find the tombs mentioned in the text either on the maps of Giza in Dr. Reisner's first volume of *The History of the Giza Necropolis* or on the map of Saqqarah included at the back of *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb*. Miss Lesley Hoyos has helped me with the task of preparing these lists as well as assisting me with the general index, for which I wish to express grateful thanks.

I have tried to avoid confusing abbreviations. The following are those used most frequently throughout the text:

- Annales: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*  
*Ä.Z.: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*  
*J.E.A.: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*  
*O.L.Z.: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*  
*P.S.B.A.: Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.*  
*R.T.: Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties.*  
 M.F.A.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Reference to the publications of the Egypt Exploration Society is usually by title only. Certain inconsistencies will undoubtedly be found in the spelling of Egyptian proper names and Arabic place names. In drawing material from so many different sources I have tried to use the most familiar spelling but have frequently followed that used in the original publication. In many cases I have used the spelling employed by Dr. Reisner in the Giza publications.

The printing of this volume has been made possible by the generous grants of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Harvard University to whom I offer my sincere thanks. I should like to thank Professor George H. Chase and Frederick R. Grace for their patience in reading the book in galley proofs and for the helpful suggestions made by them both when the text was presented as a Doctor's dissertation at Harvard in May 1940. Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. John Johnson and the Oxford University Press who under difficult war-time conditions have maintained the high quality of printing for which they are justly known.

WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS  
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## INTRODUCTION

EGYPTIAN art reached its first great culminating point in Dyn. IV under the powerful kings who built the pyramids of Dahshur and Giza. Never before in the world had a great nation been so completely welded together under the power of one man. Long years of peaceful prosperity and the efficient administration of the country had led to a maximum in agricultural productivity, the basis of Egypt's wealth, and to the development of various industries. In the reign of Sneferuw the greatest wealth and power that the world had ever known were in the hands of the king of Egypt and could be employed for the decoration of his capital and the preparation of his tomb and those of his favourite courtiers. By the time that Cheops had ascended the throne and began to plan the building of his burial-place he had at his disposal craftsmen who had been trained in the workshops of his father, men who had benefited from all the experience gained in the long development of the technical processes which had slowly matured since the first tentative experiments of the Prehistoric period, and which had recently received an enormous stimulus in the reign of Zoser, traditionally ascribed to the genius of the king's architect and vizier, Imhotep. In the following pages I shall attempt to trace this development in sculpture and painting to its culmination in the royal works of Dyn. IV and then to show the enrichment of forms in Dyn. V and VI and the gradual spread of technical accomplishment throughout the country.

That the flourishing of the arts in Dyn. IV left its mark upon the capital of Memphis and upon temples and palaces elsewhere in Egypt there can be no doubt. All this has vanished leaving us only the funerary monuments by which to judge the merits of Old Kingdom architecture, sculpture, and painting. This is not so surprising when we remember that the Egyptian built more substantially for his gods and for his last resting place than he did for his own living-quarters which were constructed of lighter materials, wood, mud-brick, and plaster. That these dwellings were designed by the great architects and decorated and furnished with products of the best craftsmen we can be quite sure from examples of a later period and by references such as that in the inscription of Senezem-ib-Yenty, who in the reign of Isesy constructed a lake for the king's palace. We can picture such a lake from the description of the boating party suggested to King Sneferuw by the magician *Zaza-m-ankh* in the story of Cheops and the Magicians. We can also see a reflection of the beautiful decoration of household furniture and personal equipment in the objects placed in the tomb. In the furniture of Queen Hetep-heres I we can see what the court craftsmen had actually prepared for the greatest lady of the land at the beginning of Dyn. IV. The simple beauty of the design of carrying-chair, arm-chair, bed, and canopy and the perfection of the workmanship, coupled with the fertility of idea and the taste shown in the patterns of various inlaid pieces, gives us a high respect for the decorative art of the period. Further than this we can but conjecture. What the sculptured and painted decoration of an Old Kingdom palace was like we can only surmise. Judging from fragments of later periods there were probably wall and ceiling paintings composed of geometric patterns, plant forms, birds, and animals. Whether wall paintings containing human figures were used in palace decoration cannot be determined, but scenes of offerings made to the gods and a glorification of the king showing his relations with the gods and his conquests over earthly enemies must have appeared in reliefs and paintings in the temples of the great cities.

The earliest examples which have been preserved of Egyptian art were mostly taken from temple equipment. The ivory figurines deposited as votive offerings in the temples and the sculptured palettes and mace-heads used ceremonially, the carvings on stone vessels and certain of the inscribed objects placed in the royal tombs were not made for tomb equipment. The earliest sculpture owed its excellence

to the facility gained in the making of stone vessels, and the rise of the various crafts was largely independent of funerary customs. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the great body of Egyptian art which has survived has a purely funerary character, and that the beliefs of the people concerning a life after death were responsible for the principal characteristics of Egyptian art. Portrait sculpture, the great achievement of the Old Kingdom, was inspired by the necessity to provide a residing place for the soul of the dead man. Enduring stone architecture was required to supply a permanent and safe home for the body. Representational art in the form of painting and reliefs was developed to furnish in a lasting form a magical substitute, first for the food and equipment needed by the dead, then for the ceremonies by which this food was made available to the dead, and finally for typical actions from daily life, that these might be re-lived again in the Afterworld. Thus, while decorative art and the ordinary crafts were employed in the service of the living, the representational side of Egyptian art, its statuary, reliefs, and paintings, was employed in a purely practical way, reproducing life to assist magically the dead. Naturally, this lent a peculiar character to the development of art and imposed certain limitations. It is not surprising that once the general outlines of representation were laid down a conservative people should be unwilling to change methods which they had come to consider magically efficacious in the after-life. Thus the perpetuation of established forms is one of the great characteristics of Egyptian sculpture and painting. Unfortunately, many forms became crystallized quite early, at a time when the technical limitations of the artist forced upon him certain makeshifts not inevitable from Egyptian beliefs or point of view, but nevertheless continued for traditional reasons although capable of correction.

The character of the country itself must have had a strong influence upon the art of Egypt. Petrie has pointed out that the narrow level valley bordered on each side with flat-topped cliffs is reflected in the horizontal lines and simple masses of Egyptian architecture. He would see in the contrast between the luxurious plant growth of the rich soil of the river banks and the sterility of the desert the origin of the striking application of elaborate surface ornament to architectural members plain in themselves. Available building materials exerted a more practical and concrete influence upon architecture. The scarcity and poor quality of the wood at the disposal of the Egyptian were amply compensated by the supply of Nile mud for brick-making and a variety of building-stones at hand for quarrying. The use of crude-bricks and limestone blocks suggests clearly the origin of the rectangular character of Egyptian building. The early use of light materials, matting, reed bundles, palm stalks, &c., combined with brick and wood, was in Dyn. III translated into small-stone masonry under the guiding genius of Zoser's great architect, Imhotep, and was then gradually transformed into the massive stone construction of Dyn. IV. The brilliant sun and rainless character of the country had their influence upon the buildings, naturally. Open colonnaded courts play a great part and small apertures were all that was needed to let in the light to interior rooms, leaving large areas of plain wall surface free for decoration. Bright-painted surfaces seem less incongruous in strong sunlight against the bright blue of an Egyptian sky, in a clear atmosphere where contrasts of light and shade are sharp and abrupt, than they would in a more northern climate.

The character of the country affected sculpture and painting no less than it did architecture. The rectangular mass of the quarried stone influenced the shape of the sculpture. Block-like forms were favoured, which in monumental decoration suited the horizontal lines of the buildings. There was no place for the grouping of figure sculpture as in the pediment of a Greek temple, and, as Petrie again has said, the movement of projecting figures such as the classical acroteria would have been most incongruous against the flat lines of valley or desert or dwarfed into insignificance against sheer rising cliffs. Sharp contrasts in light and shade did not inspire the use of half-lights and subtle gradations in painted

surfaces. The misty distances and mysterious effects of light in northern countries were not present to suggest imitation to the Egyptian painter.

The practical nature of the Egyptian influenced the utilitarian aspect of his art. He was a realist attempting to reproduce the characteristic aspect of the human figure to recreate life for the use of the soul after death. His aims were naturalism and enduring qualities. His statues are therefore embodiments of general qualities, static, made of permanent materials. There was no necessity for movement in his figures. He had no impulse to lead him to portray the complicated grouping of many forms. His sculpture is compact and solid. Frontality and the equal balance of the two sides of the body are entirely prevalent in sculpture in the round. The sculptor avoids projecting elements which might be broken away and jeopardize the preservation of the residing place that he was providing for the spirit. He was thus contented with a limited number of simple poses which represented the ideal qualities of his employer, portrayed his rank and office. He eliminated all unsuitable accessories which had been attempted in an earlier age of experimentation, and it must be admitted that the productions of the sculptors of Dyn. IV show an admirable realization of the requirements of their patrons. Attention was concentrated upon the head, which seemed to the Egyptian to be the chief embodiment of a man's character, and it is in the wonderful series of portrait heads that Old Kingdom art reaches its highest level.

In all this the Egyptian was influenced by an attitude toward the world about him which was common to all peoples before the time of the development of Greek culture, as Professor Schäfer has so admirably pointed out in a long series of works on Egyptian art. The artist sought to represent things as he knew them to be, not in aspects which may have appeared to him transitory. All of our present-day visual perceptions, our ideals of beauty, canons of proportions, and conventions of representation are laid down upon the foundation of an art that resulted from Greek reason applied to visual perceptions and translated into line, form, and colour. The Western art of all later periods has been a striving to imitate the visual effect of what the artist saw about him, moulded within the outlines of what the Greeks first observed as the reasonable and convincing aspect of things. Our measurement of the qualities of a work of art is largely dependent upon how well it fulfils such an imitation of things as we have been taught to look at them. We must discard this method of criticism if we are to appreciate fully pre-Greek art of which the Egyptians were undoubtedly the foremost exponents.

In examining the sculpture and painting of the Old Kingdom, therefore, we must not look for any such development as took place in Greek painting from the earliest designs on Geometric pottery to the almost complete visual effect of Hellenistic painting with its complete modelling affected by cast shadow. Once we have accepted the fact that a scene as represented by an Egyptian artist is to be looked at as a more or less diagrammatic rendering of the facts as he knew them to be, we are in a position to interpret his meaning and to judge how well he has carried out his purpose. Almost always in his drawing he seeks to portray a generalization of an action, not its transitory aspect on a particular day under certain conditions. The narrative element is conspicuously absent from Egyptian art save in a few rare exceptions, and in the Old Kingdom is found only in certain subordinate details of a large composition. Somewhat less rare is the portrait sculptor's observation of striking individual peculiarities in the physical appearance of his patron. The development that we have to look for in Egyptian art is that of the technical perfection of the craft of the sculptor and the painter within certain boundaries laid down by convention. This convention, in itself, was the way in which a primitive people interpreted the visual perceptions of the world about them, and in Egypt their purpose was the recreation of this world for the use of the soul after death.

In the reliefs and paintings there was naturally much more opportunity for variety than in the statues. It must be observed at the beginning of the study of Egyptian art that there was room within the conventions by which the ancient artist was bound for very keen observations of nature, for innovations due to the genius of certain individuals, and for exceptions to rule. These must be carefully observed, interpreted, and recorded, but it has to be remembered that they always remain within fixed limits. Whenever we notice an exception which seems particularly contrary to the principles of Egyptian convention, this is to be regarded with suspicion. One must constantly guard against any interpretation that is suggested by the logic of our own observation of facts. During the tremendously long time from the beginnings of Egyptian art to its last great renaissance in the Saite period, generation after generation of artists contributed new elements from their fresh observations of nature. There was a gradual and steady increase in the body of subject-matter represented in the reliefs and paintings. In the Fifth Dynasty we find a large number of scenes that were unknown in Dyn. III, and a much more full representation given to older and more familiar subjects. In the Middle Kingdom the scope of representation was even more increased, and in Dyn. XVIII, with Egypt's expansion as the first great world power under Tuthmosis III, a multitude of new scenes crowd the walls of temples and tombs. In this last case a certain amount of foreign influence undoubtedly played a part. It is characteristic of Egyptian art that wherever we find innovations and brief flashes of observation that seem more accurate to the modern eye, these are to be found, almost without exception, in the minor figures of a scene, and not infrequently in the work of craftsmen who are less thoroughly trained than their neighbours who at the same time were producing the polished old conventional forms. One might cite the experiments of the provincial painters at Beni Hasan, the men who carved the tomb reliefs at Akhenaten's brief capital at Tell el-Amarna, or those who executed the idle drawings on ostraca of the 18th and 19th Dynasties at Thebes. A certain latitude was always allowed for the representation of children, peasants, captives, and above all, animals.

We must not think of Egyptian art as endlessly repeating and imitating the same forms. The uniformity of the broad outlines established by convention lends an aspect of monotony and reduplication at first glance. Upon closer examination it will be found, however, that no two scenes are exactly alike. Seldom is a whole representation copied bodily from another. The old forms were capable of considerable modification. For the layman or student the overwhelming mass of material preserved from a period covering several thousand years is in its very quantity an obstacle to the proper appreciation of Egyptian art. The more delicate and less obvious masterpieces of the great craftsmen are often obscured by large works of little artistic merit, by the hack products of the funerary workshops, or by inscribed material the value of which is purely historical or philological. Often the mere astonishing bulk of a monument or the lavish use of gold upon a well-preserved but poorly designed object may distract the attention of the observer from a real work of art.

In order to estimate fully the achievement of Old Kingdom art it is only necessary to compare it with what was being accomplished in the rest of the world at this time. Excellent craftsmen there were in Mesopotamia, capable of executing such beautiful products of technical skill as were found in the tombs at Ur, but not great artists. The shell inlays of Ur with their clumsy little figures, and the carvings which have multiplied increasingly from other excavations in the last few years can hardly stand comparison even with the finest of the Egyptian slate palettes, while the statuettes such as those found at Tell Asmar, with their wide, staring eyes and simple forms, although they are bizarre and striking, amusing to the modern eye, have not advanced as far in the treatment of the human figure as the Hierakonpolis ivories. Early Mesopotamian sculpture in relief or in the round, always vigorous and

forceful, retained an innate harshness and never achieved the refinement of form and proportions, the masterly representation of natural forms, or the large-scale monumentality so prodigally displayed in the Egyptian Old Kingdom. The art of Crete had not reached its great period of development as early as the Old Kingdom. It would be hardly fair to compare the fresco fragment of the 'blue boy' at Knossos with the perfection of draughtsmanship displayed in the swamp scene from which came the Medum geese fragment, although in date it would be more proper to set this early Cretan painting beside Middle Kingdom work. In its best period Crete produced, with the exception of certain large plaster high reliefs, only very small sculpture which gives an impression of delicate fragility when placed beside the royal statues of the Old Kingdom. Cretan painting is like a brilliant fantastic sketch in comparison with the more sober and prosaic products of the Egyptian painter, which nevertheless contain the very elements of greatness, solid technical accomplishment, largeness of scale, and carefully recorded observation of nature which Cretan painting lacked. Nowhere in the ancient world until the time of the new spirit of Greek civilization is there anything comparable to the technical accomplishment, the naturalism, and the productivity of Egyptian art as exemplified in the first of its great periods of achievement, the Old Kingdom.





# I

## THE SCULPTURE OF THE PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS

### a. The Sculpture of the Predynastic Period

EGYPTIAN sculpture in the round first makes its appearance in the figurines of human beings and animals found in the graves of the early settlements in Upper Egypt. These figurines are crude in form and show a resemblance to similar primitive sculpture found in other parts of the world. The material is usually ivory or bone, Nile mud, clay, or pottery. Two characteristic types of ivory figure appear early, that of the man standing with his arms hanging at his sides and wearing a girdle and sheath, and that of the naked standing female. The male figures are rare. The most characteristic was that found in the cemetery at El Mahasna (Fig. 1). The slender form and rudimentary modelling are reflected in a number of similar figures (Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. II). A squatting type of naked male figure with a beard is also found (Fig. 1), and a rudimentary robed male figure with a beard appears among the ivory carvings, although certain tusks show a more carefully worked representation (Fig. 1). The ivory female figures, all naked, stand with the feet together and hold their arms in a number of characteristic positions. Sometimes the arms hang at the sides with the hands open (Fig. 2); occasionally the left arm is laid across the body while the right arm hangs at the side (Fig. 2). Both hands may be clasped beneath the breasts or laid upon the breasts, or one hand may be placed over the lower part of the body while the other is laid beneath the breast (Fig. 2). Nothing is known about the conditions under which most of these ivory female figures were found, but because of their primitive form they have generally been assigned to an early date. This assumption is strengthened by recent discoveries made by Brunton in the cemeteries of the Qau district. An ivory woman similar to those mentioned above was found by him at Badari showing a new attitude with the hands placed on the waist, while at the same place a red painted pottery figure was of the type with the arms across the body beneath the breasts (*The Badarian Civilization*, pl. XXIV).

Again, there are no grounds other than stylistic for dating two figures in the Berlin Museum which

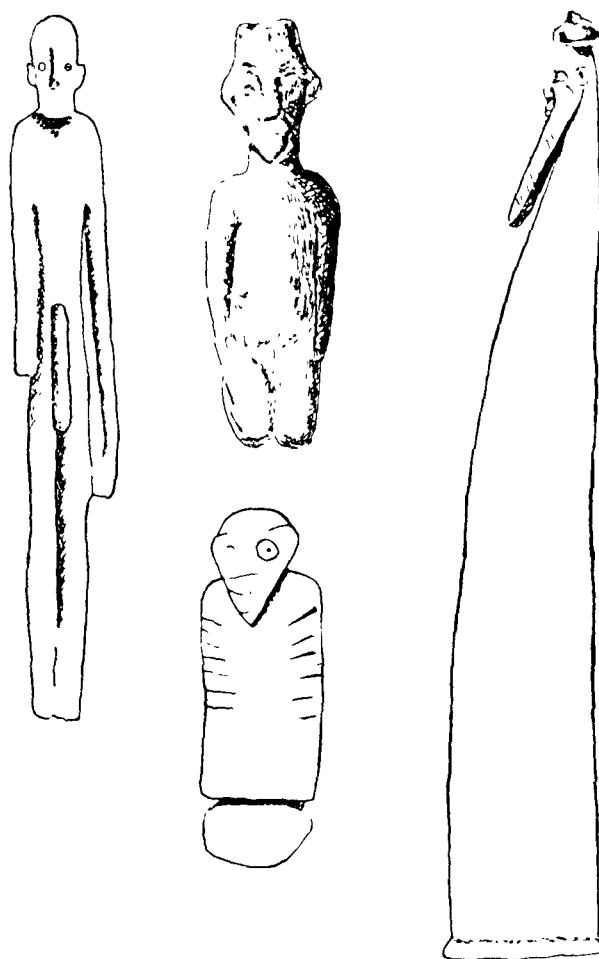


FIG. 1. Predynastic male figures: standing man, *El Mahasna*, pl. XI; kneeling bearded figure, De Morgan, *Origines, L'Homme Néolithique*, fig. 373; standing bearded figure in a long robe, Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. II; carved ivory tusk in form of bearded figure, Petrie, *l.c.*, pl. I.

show a naked standing woman holding a child on her hip or breast (Fig. 4). A more developed ivory statuette of a standing woman, wearing a long tunic and carrying a child on her shoulder (Fig. 4; in the British Museum), is said to be of Dyn. II. The type of a woman carrying a child on her hip is known

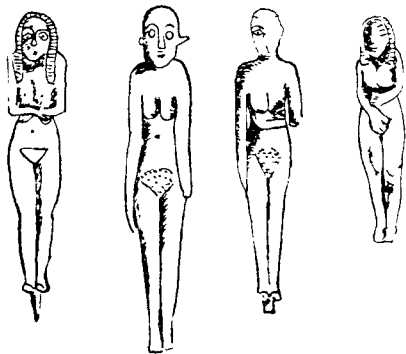


FIG. 2. Predynastic naked female figures; three from Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 128, that on right, *l.c.*, fig. 129.

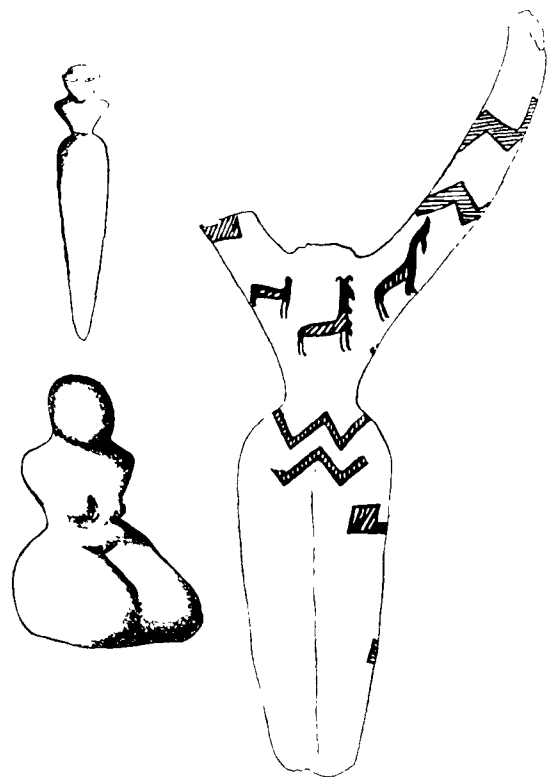


FIG. 3. Steatopygous female figures: standing woman, Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 128; seated woman, *l.c.*, fig. 125; figure with painted designs, Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LIX.

from the Old Kingdom in a statuette found by Steindorff at Giza and now in Leipzig (Pl. 27a, b), and in an ivory carving found by Petrie at Denderah (*Denderah*, pl. XXIII A). For comparison there should be mentioned a very primitive-looking pottery figure of the time of Zer, in the Ashmolean Museum, which has a crude child's form lying against its breast and a humped projection jutting out from the back of the shoulders. Roughly akin to these are the little glazed squatting monkeys, clutching their young to them, of Early Dynastic date (*Abydos*, II, pl. IV, and *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XVIII).

While the early ivory figures show an attempt to delineate the features of the face, albeit somewhat crudely, and represent the feet and hands with varying degrees of skill, there is a more primitive type of female figure, usually made of mud, clay, or pottery, which treats the face and limbs in a much more summary fashion. The figures present two steatopygous forms which may be termed standing and seated women. The face, when indicated at all, is represented by pinching out the clay into a beak-like protuberance. There are usually no arms and the legs are nearly always rounded off below the knee. The breasts and hips are roughly indicated, the latter being given particular prominence (Fig. 3). Characteristic examples, but with the body more flattened out than in Fig. 3, were found at Badari and Mostagedda (*The Badarian Civilization*, pl. XXIV, and *Mostagedda*, pl. XXVI). In a woman's grave at Mahasna, Ayerton and Loat found a different type of representation in which the roughly modelled arms were placed upright against the breasts, while the lower legs appear to have been indicated in such a way as to resemble the position of a contracted burial (*El Mahasna*, pl. XVI). A seated figure in the British Museum (Ross, *Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 82) shows a rough approxima-

tion of the feet and rudimentary arms raised up on a level with the head. In New York (Metropolitan Museum No. 07.228.71), a seated woman with her hands placed on her breasts is covered with a cream-coloured wash on which are markings in green and black. Standing figures with the arms raised were found by Petrie at Naqadah (Fig. 3), and these bore a decoration painted in black on the grey clay closely resembling that of the red-line decorated pottery. The standing figures sometimes show the stumps of rudimentary arms placed over the pelvic region. A squatting woman is preserved with her right arm held up to her head (Petrie, *l.c.*, pl. III), and a rough pottery figure in a full wig was found at Badari

which holds its left hand to the face as though singing. However, this figure, in the Cairo Museum, comes from the protodynastic stratum of the temple (*Qau and Badari*, I, pl. XXI, p. 17). The Archaeological Survey of Nubia found several steatopygous female figures of Late Predynastic date. A pottery seated woman is recorded from Wadi Qamar, Cemetery 30 (*Report*, 1907-1908, p. 323, fig. 291), and several standing forms of clay appeared in a grave at Dakka (*l.c.*, 1909-1910, pl. 11). Somewhat similar crude steatopygous figurines continued to be buried in the graves of the C Group in Nubia (*l.c.*, 1908-1909, pl. 39; 1909-1910, pl. 37d, accompanied by simple animal forms).

Belonging to the same type of crude figurines is a slender male figure in Boston (M.F.A. No.

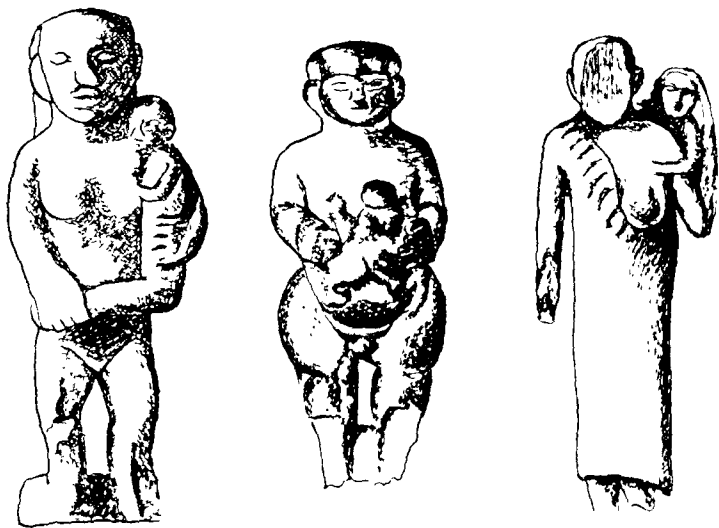


FIG. 4. Woman carrying a child: Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 1936, pls. 41, 45, 43; two figures in Berlin, the third in the British Museum.

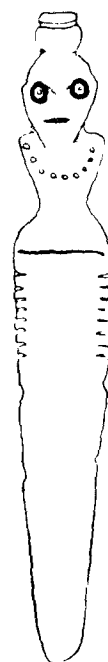


FIG. 5. Predynastic servant figure, Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LIX.

04.1802, height 0.18 m.), purchased in 1904. The face is pinched out of the clay into a sharp beak and the arms are raised above the head as though in a praying attitude. This same attitude of raised arms is found in a broken ivory male figurine from grave 224 at Shellal (*Report*, 1907-1908, pl. 66, p. 37) and in a headless woman, made of vegetable paste, according to Petrie (*Diospolis Parva*, pl. V). Several other male and female figurines of clay were found at Diospolis (*l.c.*, pls. V, VI, X). One of them, from B 119, shows an unusual type of bearded (?) man with his legs bent at the knees. Note should also be taken of the crude little clay servant figure from B 83 (*l.c.*, pl. VI), showing a woman holding a pot on her head. This is repeated again by the little ivory figures found by Petrie at Naqadah (Fig. 5).

The early representations of animals, although extremely simple in form, are more successful in capturing the life-like aspect of the creature imitated than are the human figures. One of the earliest of these must be the well-worked little hippopotamus vase of ivory illustrated by Brunton (*Mostagedda*, pl. XXIII). A wide variety of species is represented, paralleled by the forms found in amulets, flints cut in the shape of animals, the reliefs on slate palettes, and the paintings on pottery and on the walls of the tomb at Hierakonpolis. The various types have been carefully studied by Capart (*Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 176 ff.) and by Petrie (*Prehistoric Egypt*, pp. 10 ff.). Finally, the occurrence of a few groups of figures should be mentioned as characteristic of this primitive sculpture. A few examples of pottery boats contain human figures in addition to a mat shelter or cabin (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 200); a curious

piece in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, found at Diospolis, appears to show two men standing inside a fortified enclosure (ib., fig. 160), and a clay model of a house was found at El Amrah (ib., p. 201)

### b. The Sculpture of Dynasty O to Dynasty II

While all the Predynastic examples were derived from the graves of small village communities, the sculpture of the Early Dynastic period and the time just preceding Dyn. I comes from three of the great temple sites, Hierakonpolis, Abydos, and Coptos, supplemented by a few objects from the royal graves at Abydos. It is difficult to date this material exactly, as it was all found in temple caches, some of which

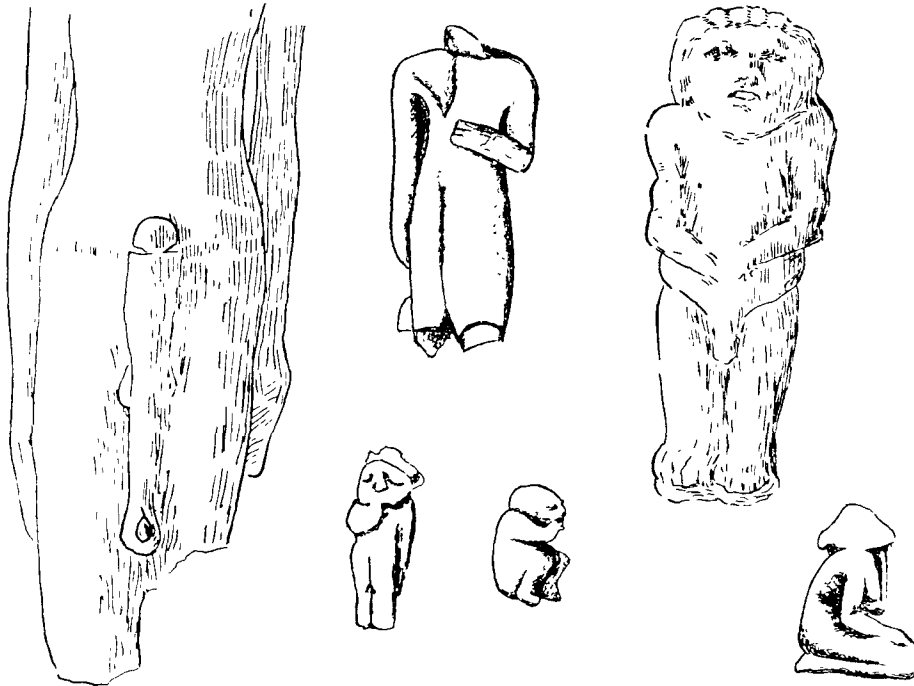


FIG. 6. Protodynastic male figures: standing man with arms hanging at sides, *Hierakonpolis* I, pl. VII; man with left arm across body, *l.c.*, pl. VIII; man with both arms across body, *l.c.*, pl. XXI; standing child, *Abydos* II, pl. XI; squatting child (?), *l.c.*, pl. II; squatting figure, *l.c.*, pl. III.

may have consisted of objects that had accumulated in the temple over a fairly long period of time and were then swept out and buried all at once. Other pieces may have been deposited sporadically over an equally long time. However, the slate palettes at Hierakonpolis show that some of the ivories found with them probably date back into the period preceding the reign of Menes, which has been termed for convenience Dyn. O. The Coptos Min statues also appear to be early. The Abydos deposit of ivories and small faience objects seems to have been laid down about the time of Peribsen, and all these objects may belong to Dyns. I and II.

The small carvings show a tremendous advance over the work of the Predynastic period. The Hierakonpolis ivories are in very bad condition and therefore have not preserved their surface finish, but enough is left to show how greatly the modelling of the human figure has improved, particularly in the cutting of the faces. This can best be seen in a bearded head (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. VI, 4) and that of a man wearing a tall head-dress resembling the crown of Upper Egypt (*l.c.*, pl. VII, 2). In both these heads the eyes had been inlaid originally, although they are now missing. The shape of the eye and eyebrow is more carefully observed than before, and there is an obvious advance from the clumsy slit-like marks or round holes carved in the ivory or marked in the clay of the Predynastic figures, or the crude inlaying of a bead or an irregular piece of lapis lazuli. The nose and mouth are more delicately

drawn and the shape of the skull is well imitated. The ears are often large and clumsy, as can be well seen in the royal statuette of the striding king (Pl. 1) and in the little heads from Abydos (*Abydos*, II, pl. II, No. 9) and Hierakonpolis (Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 132, No. 14). The figure of the striding king, well modelled under the heavy embroidered robe, captures the movement in a manner that contrasts strongly with the usual stiff, slender form of the standing male figure. A delicate rendering of the naked female form is to be found in the attractive little figure from Abydos (Fig. 7) and in the beautiful ivory statuette of a naked woman in the Louvre (Pl. 1). The plump forms of children are occasionally met with, as are odd little dwarf-like figures (Fig. 6).

Careful attention is now given to details of dress and to the distinction between various kinds of hairdressing. A long tunic is worn by the women, while the men show, in addition to the girdle and sheath which we have seen already, the short skirt known from later Old Kingdom statues. The long robe is worn by both male and female figures and in one case (Fig. 7) it is shown as a cloak over the close sheath-like dress. The treatment of the hair of women takes several distinct forms. Long plaits, separated from the mass of hair hanging nearly to the waist at the back, are drawn over the shoulders in front in a manner recalling the later lappet wig. Sometimes these tresses are drawn over the shoulder on one side only. A short, full wig is also found (Fig. 7), and a curious, full bunching of the wig, parted in the middle, is reminiscent of a type of head-dress common in the Middle Kingdom (see Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 132, Nos. 15, 16). The little lapis lazuli figure from Hierakonpolis (*Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 84, fig. 3) shows a grouping of small round curls over the head which is known from certain figures on the slate palettes and the primitive niche-stone of Ab-neb. An ivory boy (*Abydos*, II, pl. II, No. 7) wears a close approximation of the later curled short wig.

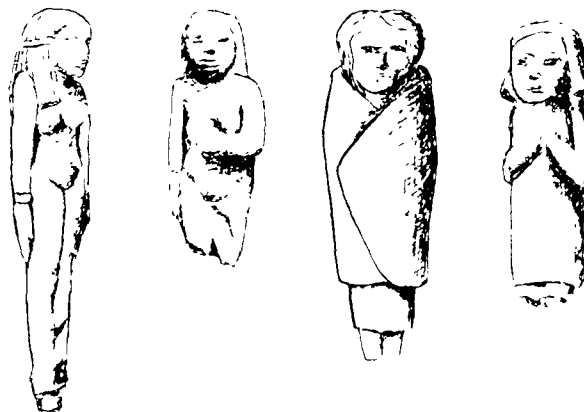


FIG. 7. Protodynastic female figures: arms hanging at sides, *Abydos*, II, pl. II; one arm across breast, *l.c.*; cloaked figure, *Hierakonpolis* I, pl. IX; arms across breast, Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 128.

The figurines of ivory and faience show a variety of positions which can be roughly grouped in the following types. The only statuette that is certainly royal is the cloaked king from Abydos, but a seated figure in Cairo may represent a king, and a pair of seated figures in limestone will be discussed later. A few other small examples in stone fall outside this grouping. Such are the two rough little limestone male figures in Oxford. One of these is shown in *Abydos*, II, pl. IX, No. 186. Also in Oxford is a steatite seated man wearing only a waist-cloth. The arms are broken away, as are the legs which were stretched out in front of him. The ears project as in some of the ivory figures and both eyes and beard were originally inlaid (see Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 206). In addition to these, the Ashmolean Museum possesses a fragment of a larger figure, preserved from the waist to a short way down the thighs (E3109, Hu-Denderah, 1899). The modelling of legs and buttocks is excellent. The left leg appears to be slightly forward as though in a striding position. The sheath hanging down in front from a narrow girdle is carefully indicated in low relief. An interesting little pottery head in the Cairo Museum is useful for comparison with the less well-preserved heads of the ivories. The eyes are large and almond shaped, the ears prominent. A full wig with the separate strands marked by cross-lines leaves short bangs of the owner's hair showing across the forehead, much in the fashion of Old Kingdom hairdressing (*Abydos*, II, pl. XI). Among the examples grouped below, a few pottery figures have been included with the ivory and faience,

and it is particularly to be noted that two small pieces from Abydos have been roughly worked in copper.

#### ROYAL TYPE.

I: Striding figure in embroidered Heb-Sed robe and crown of Upper Egypt. The left foot is forward. The hands are held across the body beneath the breast, the right arm above the left, and the hands probably held the crook and flail (Pl. 1).

II: Seated cloaked figure in the Cairo Museum (Heb-Sed garment?).

#### PRIVATE TYPE.

I: Standing man, left foot forward or with feet together.

- a. Feet together, arms at sides, open or closed; wearing girdle and sheath; Hierakonpolis (Fig. 6). The basalt figure in Oxford conforms to this type (Pl. 1).
- b. With left leg forward, left arm across body, right arm hanging; wears short skirt; Hierakonpolis (Fig. 6). Compare also the limestone figure in Oxford; legs end at knee; right arm broken away (*Abydos*, II, pl. IX, No. 185). Of the same type but with the feet placed together is the copper standing man in Oxford (*Abydos*, II, pl. V).
- c. With both arms placed across front of body; Hierakonpolis glazed figure (Fig. 6); Abydos ivory (*Abydos*, II, pl. II, Boston Museum, No. 03.1806).

II: Standing or squatting naked boy, and doubtful squatting forms.

- a. Small standing child; plump form with protruding abdomen, left leg forward. The arms are not preserved in three examples, but three others hold the finger of the right hand to the lips. Several figures have the legs together; Abydos (Fig. 6; also *Abydos*, II, pl. II, Nos. 1, 4 (Metropolitan Museum), 7; pl. III, No. 17; pl. V, No. 38).
- b. Small squatting figure of a naked child; plump form, right hand to mouth; Abydos (Fig. 6; and also *Abydos*, II, pl. III, No. 18).
- c. Small squatting figure with legs tucked back under body and right arm along thigh. Perhaps this is not a child; Abydos (Fig. 6). Compare the similar figure (*Tarkhan* II, pl. I); also the broken ivory from the royal tomb at Naqadah (Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, No. 14057).
- d. Small squatting male figure with hands on raised knees; two examples from Hierakonpolis now in Oxford. They are probably not intended for children (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 170, fig. 132).

III: The standing naked female figures continue types already found in the Predynastic period.

- a. Arms hanging at sides; Abydos (Fig. 7); Louvre statuette (Pl. 1).
- b. Left hand across body under breast, right arm hanging; two from Hierakonpolis (Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 133); Abydos (Fig. 7).
- c. Hands crossed beneath breast (cross at wrists); the lapis lazuli figure in Oxford (*Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 84, No. 3).

IV: The standing clothed female figure. Feet together as in the naked figures.

- a. Hands apparently placed on waist; long sheath dress (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. IX).
- b. Left hand across body beneath breast; right arm hanging at side; sheath dress; faience figure (*Abydos*, II, pl. IV); pottery (*l.c.*, pl. IX, No. 184, pl. XI, No. 256, in Oxford).
- c. Hands crossed on breast; sheath dress; Abydos B. 14, Boston, M.F.A. 01.7367; Fig. 7.
- d. Cloaked figure: a number of examples from Hierakonpolis (see Fig. 7, and Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 133).

V: Bound prisoners; ivory and faience; kneeling (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XI; *Abydos*, II, pl. V); with curved bodies forming part of some object of furniture (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XII).

VI: Dwarf-like figures.

- a. Naked woman; bow-legged, right hand on stomach; lappet wig (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XI).
- b. Glazed figure, perhaps seated (*l.c.*, pl. XVIII).
- c. Full-wigged squat figures, possibly seated; from Hierakonpolis (Capart, *l.c.*, fig. 132).

VII: Servant figures: continuance of type found in Predynastic period.

- a. Glazed faience male figure wearing a girdle; holds jar on head with both hands (*Abydos*, II, pl. V, No. 47). Similar figure in copper (*l.c.*, pl. V, No. 35).

In addition to the above there should be mentioned a small ebony figure of a woman found by Amélineau at Abydos (*Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, I, pl. XXXI, p. 231). The type is uncertain and the photograph is too small to allow of any judgement as to the quality of the piece. I have been unable to discover the present location of this statuette.

In the Early Dynastic period we are no longer entirely limited to figurines but can begin to trace the development of large monuments in stone. The most primitive of these in appearance are certainly the three limestone statues of Min found by Petrie at Coptos.<sup>1</sup> These are about 13 feet high and show the god standing in characteristic attitude, but with the right arm hanging at the side, the hand pierced, perhaps to receive the flail. The limestone has been worked as little as possible, the figure being reduced to the shape of a slender cylinder, with the legs together, their separation indicated only by a groove,<sup>2</sup> and the arms projecting only slightly from the surface. The head of one of the figures, although the face has been destroyed, has an indication of the line of the beard along the side of the jaw, and the ear is roughly marked. The incised triangle and horizontal line intended to represent the bony structure of the knee should be noted, as well as the projecting lump on the hanging arm, which is evidently meant for the wrist bone. A much more able delineation of form than that shown by the statues themselves appears in the drawings of Min emblems, shells, and animals which have been scratched on the rectangular strip hanging down from the girdle of each figure. These bear a strong resemblance to the carvings on ivory combs and slate palettes of Dyn. 0 and suggest that the Min statues probably belong to the same period.

Very similar in workmanship and in the absolute minimum of carved detail employed is the headless limestone figure discovered at Hierakonpolis (Quibell, *l.c.*, II, pl. LVII, Oxford). The long tunic suggests that in this case a woman may be represented. Better worked, and important because it is cut in hard stone, is the small basalt statuette in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Pl. 1). This shows the same rigid standing male type, with arms hanging at the sides, as do the ivories and the large limestone statues. The head appears to be encased in a smooth, close-fitting covering, which seems to extend down over the chin and beard, but this may be a conventional rendering of hair and beard. If so, the beard reaches nearly to the waist, much longer than the pointed chin beard worn by other known figures. The modelling of brow and eyes shows a simplified rendering of the various planes. A deep depression runs across the forehead, isolating the ridge of the eyebrows. The rims of the eyes stand out prominently and the eye itself projects on the same plane as these rims. The eyes are almond-shaped and over large. The ears, too, are large and project widely from the side of the head, much in the same fashion as they do in a number of the ivory figurines. The upper lip protrudes in such a way as to lend a pouting expression to the mouth. From the back, the figure is slightly lop-sided, the right arm and shoulder being wider than the left. From the front, the left leg is seen to be slightly wider than the right. Arms

<sup>1</sup> One in Cairo and two in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Petrie, *Koptos*, pls. III-V; Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 166; *Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 86, a three-quarter view of one of the statues in Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> This groove is deeper at the back on one of the Oxford statues where some modelling is given to the buttocks and there is a deep triangular depression at the base of the spine.



and legs show little variation in contour except for a slight projection at the knee. On the hands, the finger-nails are carefully indicated. The smooth finish of the polished basalt surface gives evidence of the craftsman's feeling for the material in which he is working. The contrast with the delicately worked ivory surfaces of the Abydos striding king shows that the sculptor is developing a more sure artistic sense, as well as a diversity of technique.

For this period, the only other hard stone sculpture in the round which shows a human figure is the door-socket of quartzose rock found at Hierakonpolis (Philadelphia). This represents the prone and bound figure of a captive. The form has been simplified and conventionalized to suit its purpose as an architectural element, and only the face has been treated in detail. The eyes have received a somewhat impressionistic treatment, in contrast to the carefully drawn rims and brows of most early heads. The face is flat and the lips protruding (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. III).

In *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, p. 70, Dr. Murray has published two seated limestone figures which apparently come from the Hierakonpolis cache and are now in the University College collection (Pl. I). They show a seated man (about 10 inches high) wearing a robe resembling that worn in the Heb-Sed festival, and a smaller figure of a woman (*circa* 7 inches). On the man's head is what seems to be a primitive form of the *Nms* head-dress. He holds his left hand against his body and his right hand along his right thigh. The face is crudely carved, the eyes very large with roughly drawn, prominent rims, and the nose is askew. The woman seems to be seated in a similar position. Her hair is bound in two braids which hang down over her shoulders in front. Dr. Murray suggests that the male figure is a portrait of the Scorpion King. Whether this be the case or not, it seems very probable that we have here the very early figures of a king and queen which, like the ivories of the Hierakonpolis cache, date to Dyn. O or Early Dyn. I.<sup>1</sup>

There remain to be discussed three limestone statues found at Hierakonpolis. One of two kneeling figures of curious type was too far disintegrated to be recovered, and only the head of a third squatting figure was preserved. The complete figure (Cairo) shows a man kneeling with the left leg bent back under his body and the right knee raised. He rests his right hand open on his knee, and the left hand open on the left thigh. The badly preserved face is bearded, and the head-dress is a curious full wig, parted in the middle and reaching to the shoulders (*Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. I). The separate strands of hair are treated in an unusual manner, being caught up into small plaits to form a fringe at about the level of the ears. The only garment is a waist-cloth which hangs down between the legs. The figure is rather squat and the limbs and body are plump, in strong contrast to the spare forms of the figurines and large standing figures. The modelling, however, is still summary. The head from the squatting figure (Oxford) is much better preserved, and somewhat different in type (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. VI). The face is less full, although bearded like the other, and the head is covered with a series of little short curls, elliptical in shape and drawn differently from the ordinary Old Kingdom short wig. The lips protrude, but the nose is too broken to judge of its type. The eyes have a prominent rim, surrounding such a deep cavity that it seems possible that they may have been inlaid. The eyebrows are not indicated.

Finally, there is a seated limestone statue in Berlin, which, although probably somewhat later than the sculpture discussed above, seems nevertheless, from its primitive form and summary workmanship,

<sup>1</sup> The Cairo Museum has recently purchased a fragment of a similar statuette (No. 71568). It is the upper part of a figure wearing a cloak and holding the left hand clenched on its breast. From the front, the large wig, parted in the middle with a lappet hanging down over the right shoulder (the left side of the head is missing but seems to have had no pendant lappet), resembles that on heads of Hathor, a resemblance heightened by the unusually large ear. This type of wig has been mentioned in connexion with two of the Hierakonpolis ivories and is similar to that of certain queens in the Middle Kingdom. The base of the wig at the back, however, is worked into a complicated pattern of little braids. The limestone is of a peculiar compact quality not unlike that of the Berlin seated figure (Pl. 2 a). In this and in the careful working of details, the Cairo piece differs from the University College statuettes.

to be the earliest of the archaic private seated figures. It has been dated by Professor Steindorff to the early part of Dyn. II (*J.Z.*, vol. LVI, p. 96). The figure is seated on a low stool with bent wood supports, and holds the left hand clenched on the chest, while the right hand (broken) was placed on the right knee (Pl. 2). The attitude is already known from the seated royal figure mentioned above. The figure seems to wear a robe that passes slantingly across the back, leaving the right shoulder free. Scratched on the stone is an ornamental tie which hangs down in the middle of the back. On the head is a very primitive form of the later full wig. The face is full-cheeked, with protruding lips and a prominent chin, and the eyes had been inlaid but are now missing. The fingers and the toes are roughly indicated by the notches which separate them, and a projecting blob of stone marks the ankle bones. The figure was bought at Abusir and is thought by Steindorff to have come from the small Early Dynastic cemetery there, but it seems to me equally probable that it may have come from the nearby northern cemetery at Saqqarah, the prominence of which as a source of objects of fine craftsmanship from the First Dynasty onwards has been emphasized by the recent discoveries made by Emery. The Berlin statue is at any rate the only piece of stone sculpture in the round from Lower Egypt which can plausibly be assigned to a date earlier than Dyn. III.

From the royal tombs at Abydos there is preserved some fragmentary evidence of large sculpture in wood. Two pieces in the Ashmolean Museum command attention because of their excellent workmanship. One of these, from the tomb of Zer (*R.T.*, II, pl. XII), is from the breast of a large statuette with six necklaces painted on the surface in red and black. The shape of the beads and their method of stringing resemble one of the bracelets found in this same tomb. The surface of the wood on which these necklaces are painted is now a creamy yellow, which suggests that we have here part of a statue of Zer's queen. Petrie apparently thought (*l.c.*, p. 28) that the fragment was from a male statue, but the strings of beads are not of a type worn by men. The other piece is part of a wooden wig from the tomb of Wedymuw (*R.T.*, II, pl. XL, p. 39). This seems to have come from a life-size figure, perhaps made up of different materials. The fragment is from the side or back of the head and is flat, with only a slight rounding of the surface. Carefully worked strands of hair end in little curls, very like the long fringe worn by the kneeling stone figure from Hierakonpolis. The latter suggests clearly how this method of dressing the hair must have looked when complete. The same convention for curls is employed across the forehead, between the horns, of a Hathor head carved on an ivory vase in Cairo from the tomb of Zer (*R.T.*, II pl. VI). It would seem to be an even more conventionalized rendering of this type of curl which we find in the side-locks on statues of boys in the Old Kingdom or in the curious design on the Hetep-heres inlay panel (Fig. 58). I shall have occasion farther on to point out the resemblance between this design and the locks of hair framing the face on the coffin of Senebtisi from Lisht and in certain women's statues of the Middle Kingdom.

The occurrence of small figures of animals in ivory, faience, and stone is common throughout the temple deposits which contained most of the human figures mentioned above. The same deftness in rendering in simple form the characteristics of the animal, already noted in the Predynastic Period, continues with an increase in technical skill. Certain larger and more able productions deserve special mention here. At Coptos were found three lions (one in Oxford) and a bird (Oxford) carved in limestone and primitive in form (*Koptos*, pl. V). The bird is a block-like mass treated in simple planes and lacking any details save for a raised space surrounded by a rim to indicate the eye. The lions are apparently clumsy versions of a seated type exemplified by the far more accomplished red pottery lion found at Hierakonpolis (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XLV), which has a well-modelled head and body, carefully drawn claws, and smoothly finished surfaces. The type differs from the recumbent posture

found in the small ivory carvings of dogs and lions from Hierakonpolis and Abydos. The Coptos lions have bulging eyes, a wide muzzle with two rows of grinning teeth (repeated again in the lion heads decorating a low seat found by Firth in the pillared entrance to the Step Pyramid complex), a ruff round the neck, and the hinderparts treated in a very rudimentary fashion. Across the muzzle are three deeply incised lines. These lines, carved in relief, are found on a lying figure of a lion of white speckled granite in the Berlin Museum (Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 2nd edition, fig. 50). The latter repeats the type known from the ivories, and, like them with its tail curved over its back, is a more faithful representation of the animal.

Similar in treatment to the Berlin lion, and also executed in hard stone, are two other figures—an ape in Berlin cut from alabaster (Steindorff, *Kunst der Aegypter*, p. 171) and a hippopotamus in the Athens Museum, made of black and white granite (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 178). Capart (*l.c.*, p. 182) mentions two other hard-stone carvings, a lion of alabaster and another of black granite, in the Randolph Berens Collection, on loan to the South Kensington Museum, but I know of no reproduction of these sculptures. The Berlin ape bears the name of Narmer, which suggests that the hard stone sculptures of similar style are all probably to be dated to Dyn. I. From their primitive form the Coptos pieces would seem to belong, like the Min statues, to Dyn. O. The carvings in hard stone seem to bear the same relationship to the sculptures in softer materials, as exemplified, for example, by the small ivory lions, the red pottery seated lion, or the lop-eared dog of long, rangy build (*Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 85), that the basalt male statuette bears to the ivory king's figure from Abydos. The broad simple forms in hard stone contrast with the more delicately modelled surfaces of the less intractable material in the same way.

Thus we find in the Early Dynastic period a great advance in technical ability over the work of the Predynastic period, a wider range of types, a more sure command over the softer materials, and a tendency to experiment with a more difficult medium. A number of the positions common in later times for the human figure have been established, and certain of the smaller statuettes, particularly those carved in soft materials, demand our respect as products of considerable artistic skill. Three pieces in particular stand out as the masterpieces of the early period, the striding king from Abydos and the naked female figure in the Louvre for their observation of bodily form and the delicacy of their workmanship in ivory, the basalt figure in Oxford because its more simple forms are suitable to the hard material in which it is carved. The larger sculpture and the hard-stone carvings of animals have not reached a satisfactory solution of the technical difficulties, although the Hierakonpolis male head suggests the development that is to follow in Dyn. III. The royal seated figures from Hierakonpolis and the Berlin seated man establish the type form to be followed in subsequent years. The last-named piece is probably the latest in date of any of the sculptures discussed above. One cannot help feeling that the sculpture in the round of the Early Dynastic period lagged behind the accomplishments of the craftsmen who worked in relief. One detects a more confident hand, a greater mastery of form and pattern in the reliefs of the finest of the slate palettes and the great mace-heads, or in such a work as the disk found recently by Emery in the tomb of Hema-ka, on which a hunting scene is built up from various coloured stones, each delicately carved.

The somewhat arbitrary separation of the reliefs and painting (Chapter VII) from the sculpture in the round is perhaps a little unfair to the small objects of Early Dynastic times. Both together constitute an impressive whole. The full accomplishment of the period can only be appreciated, however, by considering the entire body of material recovered, particularly that from the Royal Tombs at Abydos. The discoveries made by Emery in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah are year by year helping us

to visualize better the equipment buried with the kings of Dyn. I and II. The shattered objects recovered by Petrie and Amélineau at Abydos are difficult to appreciate in publications, but a careful examination of the collections, particularly in the Cairo Museum and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, begins to make one realize the amazingly high level of artistic sense, the beauty of design, and perfection of workmanship which had been achieved in the creation of utensils and articles of furniture.

There are in Oxford, perhaps from statuettes of birds, two fragments with exquisitely carved feathering, one of ivory (*R.T.*, II, pl. XXXVII) and one of wood (*R.T.*, II, pl. XLIV). The same delicacy of detail is found in the tiny ears of grain, one carved in ivory (*R.T.*, II, pl. VI) and one in charcoal (*l.c.*, pl. V), from the tomb of Zer. Comparable with these is a small serpent's head of ivory (*l.c.*, pl. VI) where the scales on the back of the head have been worked into a striking pattern. While we cannot be certain how these tiny objects were employed, other fragments display more definite clues as to their use. Apparently the long, narrow surfaces of the framework of a piece of furniture were often decorated with a raised pattern carved in the wood to imitate reed matting. These patterns usually resemble that used in the gold-cased furniture of Queen Hetep-heres in Early Dyn. IV, or copied in the glazed tile decoration of the chambers of the Zoser Pyramid. But a zigzag arrangement of rectangular forms occurs, such as is found in a panel of faience inlays from the Hetep-heres tomb, and there is also a pattern made up of alternating blocks of reed elements running crosswise to one another (see *R.T.*, II, pls. XI to XLV and *R.T.*, I, pl. XXXVII). Small ivory strips, probably used in the decoration of boxes, bear geometric designs drawn apparently from coloured mat and basketwork patterns. Two inlaid boxes found by Emery (*The Tomb of Hema-ka*, pl. 23 and p. 41, fig. 11) suggest the appearance of the completed object. A very fine fragment of a wooden panel found by Amélineau (*Nouvelles Fouilles*, I, pl. XXXI), and now in Oxford, may have formed the lid of a chest. The plain top was bordered by a carved matting pattern, in the middle of one side of which was a Horus frame (the name of the king left blank) encircled by the raised arms of the *kh* sign and flanked by intertwined *anh* and *wis* emblems. On the under (?) side, within the mat border, has been set a geometric inlay of small triangular pieces of green-blue faience. Here we have a striking early example of that use of inlays which was to find such favour with the craftsmen who created the magnificent panels for the mother of Cheops.

The ivory bull's legs for stools or beds show an admirable strength and vigour of modelling. Another furniture element is the fragment of bound papyrus plants in open-work wood carving (Amélineau, *l.c.*, III, pl. VI), which reminds one of the supports for the arms on the chair of Queen Hetep-heres. The characteristically shaped upper parts of several wooden poles found by both Petrie and Amélineau (*R.T.*, II, pl. XLI, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, III, pl. VI) are evidently part of such a canopy as that found by Firth at the Step Pyramid or by Dr. Reisner in the tomb of Hetep-heres. This was evidently a lighter, smaller structure than the great gold-covered canopy from Giza.

But it is perhaps in the stone vessels that the Early Dynastic craftsman reached the apogee of his creative skill. Behind him was a long period of experiment in the boring of beads and the cutting of vases in stone. He was able to fashion the very hardest materials and shows consistently a fine sense of form and an appreciation of the beautiful effects that can be obtained from the variations of colouring in different stones. In addition to simple forms for ordinary use, more elaborate, sometimes highly fantastic, shapes were created. The recent excavations at Saqqarah have produced a number of complete vessels which show the imitation of leaf or other plant forms and basket shapes in trays or low open vessels, which help to explain the fragmentary material from the royal tombs (cf., for example, Amélineau, *l.c.*, I, pls. XXVII, XLIII; *R.T.*, pl. VI A). One of the most elaborate of these is a great dish found by Emery in the tomb of Sabu (*Illustrated London News*, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 349) which is

carved as though imitating a clay or metal form, in which three regularly spaced portions of the side have been folded in toward a cup-shaped container which rises in the centre, but leaving the encircling rim intact. This is pure *tour de force*, as must have been the elaborate vessels found by Amélineau (*l.c.*, I, figs. 47, 48, 49, pl. XXVIII), in which hollow sculptured figures formed a part of the structure. One of these, now in Oxford, a duck's head joined to a fragmentary indeterminate form, shows the slate worked with great beauty. Another is a splendidly modelled human hand,<sup>1</sup> while a fitting group of slate fragments now in Brussels has worked in relief upon the surface a large cockroach from which project human arms holding *was*'s sceptres.<sup>2</sup> The veining at the corner of one fragment suggests that this may have been applied to such a leaf-shaped dish as those referred to above.

Mention should be made of the relief designs on marble vase fragments found by Petrie where little raised dots are arranged along the edges of long curving elements of the pattern, a design that seems more appropriate to beaten metal-work than to stone carving (*R.T.*, II, pl. V; pl. VI A). A beautiful little cup in the form of a lotus flower made of bluish marble was found by Emery and dated to Dyn. II. The same form occurs in faience among the objects deposited in the Abydos temple (*Abydos*, II, frontispiece), and in a very lovely composite form with the inner petals carved in alabaster and the sepals of dark slate (*Lahun*, II, pl. XLIV; *Qau and Badari*, I, pl. XVIII).

The jewellery of the period shows also a high degree of technical skill. The bracelets of a queen found in the tomb of Zer have an attractive combination of gold and semi-precious stone elements. The bracelet, made up of alternating gold and turquoise plaques in the form of a palace-façade surmounted by a Horus hawk, was imitated in blue faience for the important personage buried in the panelled tomb Giza V (*Giza and Rifeh*, pl. III). Even a woman belonging to a family having no great position at court could possess jewellery of fine design and excellent workmanship, as is shown by the contents of grave 1532 at Naga-ed-Dér (*Reisner*, vol. I, pls. 5-9). The beautifully worked little gold capsule, in the form of a cockroach, decorated with an emblem of the Goddess Neith incised and inlaid with blue paste, the gold beads, some with geometric patterns and others in the form of snail shells, and particularly the two large amulets of gold, one in the form of an oryx and the other of a bull, each with sacred emblems hanging from its collar, are splendid things in themselves and suggest how much has been lost in the plundering for gold in the vastly richer royal tombs.

<sup>1</sup> The hollow alabaster hand found by Petrie (*R.T.*, I, pl. XXXII) may be from some similar vessel.

<sup>2</sup> Keimer, *Annales*, XXXI, p. 150, pl. II; found by Amélineau at Abydos.

## II

### THE SCULPTURE OF DYNASTY III

THE exact position of King Kha-sekhem is still uncertain, but he has often been placed at the end of Dyn. II, between Peribsen and Khasekhemuwy. The style of the two seated statues of this king found at Hierakonpolis accords well with this position. They show evidence of a new advance in the sculptor's art, and it seems best to discuss them in connexion with the monuments of Zoser, which they most nearly resemble. It should be remembered that Dr. Reisner has pointed out that a new corpus of archaeological material, evident most clearly in the stone vessels, begins to appear in the reign of Khasekhemuwy, forming part of what we recognize as the corpus of Dyn. III objects. This same step forward is also evident in the sculpture of the end of Dyn. II, if we can judge by these two sole remaining pieces.

Of the two statues of Kha-sekhem found at Hierakonpolis, that in the Cairo Museum is carved in slate, while the Oxford statue is made of white limestone (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. XXXIX-XLI). Both show the king wearing the white crown and long robe associated with the Heb-Sed festival. The king is seated on a block-like throne which has wooden supports marked out on the sides. The top of the seat slopes down slightly from back to front, and it is provided with a low back-rest. Around the sides of the base of both thrones are incised curious figures of fallen enemies. The king is shown in the same position in both statues, with the right fist closed, thumb up, on his right knee, and the left arm across the body with the left fist resting on the right arm just above the elbow (Pl. 2). In the working of the feet and hands, and particularly in the modelling of the face, these statues show a great advance over anything we have hitherto examined. Also there seems to be little difference in the handling of the two materials. The sculptor appears to be equally at home, whether he is dealing with the slate or with the softer limestone. The only pronounced difference is that the eyebrow is treated somewhat impressionistically in the slate statue, with only a delicate rim around the eye and the rather sharp edge of the eye-socket suggesting the brow. In the limestone statue the eyebrow is not drawn out in conventional fashion as it is in some later royal statues, but its continuance (as a stripe of eye-paint) is outlined on either side of the brow and a second stripe of paint is continued in relief at the corner of the eye. The rim of the eye also projects slightly more than usual on each side of the nose. The area of the eyelids has received a plastic treatment unknown in earlier works. The mouth is delicately modelled in both statues, but the ears still project in a rather clumsy fashion. The treatment of the ears was to be a problem never too satisfactorily solved by the Egyptian sculptor in any period.

It cannot be said that the seated limestone statue of Zoser, found in place in the *serdab* on the northern face of the Step Pyramid, really shows any decided advance over the workmanship of the reign of Kha-sekhem. The differences are simply those of facial structure, costume, and attitude. A certain youthful suppleness of modelling, a kind of wiry strength, in the Kha-sekhem figures have given place to a heavy majesty in the Zoser statue. This is evident in the broad face with its high cheekbones and big mouth, and in the massive head-dress, formed by a royal head-cloth worn over a full divine wig with lappets hanging down over the shoulders (Pl. 2). The long beard reaching down across the chest is characteristic of the Zoser statues and is not found again in Old Kingdom royal statues. The eyes had been inlaid and are now missing. In attitude the figure is somewhat different from that of Kha-sekhem, for the right hand in this case is held clenched against the breast, while the left hand

is placed open, palm down, on the left thigh. A long robe is drawn tight around the body in such a way as to leave the upper surface of the shoulders bare, somewhat in the same fashion as in the statue of Nofret from Medum. Traces of black remain on the hair and beard, and the skin had been painted yellow. The throne is similar to that of Kha-sekhem, but instead of the king's name scratched roughly on the upper surface of the base, there is now a line of titles and name in carefully cut hieroglyphs in relief across the front of the base. Fragments of one or more similar statues were found in the excavation of the Step Pyramid complex (Firth-Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, pl. 95, Nos. 1 and 2).

Fragmentary evidence survives for several standing statues of Zoser. In the Heb-Sed court were found figures in various stages of completion showing the king apparently with the attributes of Ptah



FIG. 8. Reconstruction of standing statue of Zoser, Gunn, *Annales*, XXVI, p. 184, fig. 5.

(Quibell, *l.c.*, pl. 66). These statues are particularly remarkable in that a block of stone is left on the top of the head as though the figures were intended to support some architectural member. Even the most complete of them still remains in a stage of rough blocking-out. The king wore a robe reaching to about the knees, a head-dress somewhat similar to that in the seated statue, and a long beard. His feet are placed together and he seems to have held a flail in his right hand against the breast, and a staff against the lower part of the body with the left hand. Somewhat similar figures have been restored by Hölscher as standing against the pillars of the statue court in the temple of Chephren, but no fragments were found except parts of the base, and such figures are otherwise unknown in the Old Kingdom. A like attitude has been postulated for another statue of Zoser (Fig. 8), restored from fragments probably belonging to more than one statue and found in the entrance colonnade. This statue, or statues, has received a most exquisite finish and must have been one of the great masterpieces of early art. The king stood with his feet together on the nine bows which decorated in relief the upper part of the base, while in front of his feet were three *rhyt* birds. Over a short kilt he wore an elaborate girdle, with Hathor heads and bead pendants, and the bull's tail pendant hung from the back, reaching to the base of the statue. It has been suggested that he also wore the red crown. Against his body he held the crook with his left hand, while his right grasped a staff against the lower part of his body (*l.c.*, pls. 58, 59; Gunn, *Annales*, XXVI, p. 177). On the front of the base, separated by an ornament consisting of girdle-tie and *dd* signs, were the king's Horus name, the names and titles of the vizier Imhotep, and possibly the name of the sculptor.

The carving of the girdle decoration, with its minute imitation of woven textile, and the details of the tiny Hathor pendants and beads, is a marvel of delicacy. Judging from the feet and what fragments remain of other parts of the body, the same careful attention was given to the modelling of the king's figure. The quality of the reliefs on the base will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. It is sufficient to remark here that they are somewhat uneven in execution, those on the upper surface being better arranged and carved than those on the front. Delicate work similar to that found in this statue is to be seen in other fragments (Quibell, *l.c.*, pl. 95, Nos. 4-6). A bead girdle of great beauty and different in design must have been worn by one figure, while two others wore full wigs with painstaking indication of the strands of hair. Another wig fragment shows the lower ends of the little curls where the rows overlap, a treatment unknown to me in any later work. The feet of yet another standing statue of the king are still in position in a little room at the north end of the Heb-Sed court. Beside him, but apparently standing free, are the feet of a second large figure and two smaller ones. Each figure has the feet placed

together. It has been suggested by Quibell that the king, a god, and two wives of Zoser were here represented. Particular note should be taken of an almost completely destroyed colossal figure of Zoser which apparently stood in Chapel P on the west side of the Heb-Sed court (*The Step Pyramid*, p. 68, and fragment of toes on pl. 95). This statue must have been an important example of the very rare usage of colossal figures in the Old Kingdom, otherwise known only from the Cairo head of Weserkaf, the statue of Queen Kha-merer-nebty I, and the Boston alabaster seated Mycerinus.

All of the above sculpture, with the exception of a fragment of a porphyry beard of the king (*l.c.*, pl. 95, No. 15), is carved in limestone, but there is another curious group of carvings in hard stone which were found in the Step Pyramid complex. These seem to represent the heads of foreign prisoners, and their use is uncertain. Perhaps some or all of them decorated the base of a throne or seat. Two heads are joined together; two others are broken single heads, perhaps from similar groups. All wear full wigs bound around the forehead by a kind of fillet. Two of the men wear long, pointed beards and the other two have short chin beards. The faces are carefully modelled and smoothly finished, the eyes are outlined with well-drawn rims, and the heads show both the type of modelled brow and the more conventional eyebrow drawn in relief. The materials are black and white speckled granite (Quibell) for the paired heads, and a hard greenish stone (slate?) for the other two. A curious scalloped line along the upper edge of the beard is repeated again in a group of three heads of red granite from Tanis, long in the Cairo Museum, which wear similar fillets and closely resemble the Saqqarah heads in style (Borchardt, *Statuen*, No. 396). An alabaster head in Cairo from Saqqarah is also of the same type, as is a group of four heads from Damanhur (No. 1165) of black granite. At least one of these pieces was formerly attributed to the Middle Kingdom, but it does not seem necessary to doubt the Third Dynasty provenance of the Step Pyramid examples, and the other heads are so closely similar in technique, material, and appearance, that, in spite of the Delta origin of two of the group, it seems possible that they could be assigned to the Third Dynasty. It does not appear plausible, however, to carry such identification so far as to take in the Middle Kingdom statue from Mit Faris in the Fayoum (No. 395), as does Gunn, nor to include further, like Capart, the other Tanis sculpture, which seems to have close associations with certain Middle Kingdom pieces.

Finally, there should be mentioned the low limestone seat decorated with lions' heads, which was found apparently in its original position in the entrance colonnade of the Step Pyramid complex, and the two alabaster offering-tables with the heads and legs of lions, discovered by Mariette in the chambers cut in the rock inside the enclosure wall north of the pyramid. The heads on the former, although much better modelled, bear a certain similarity to the Coptos lions with their bared rows of grinning teeth, while the latter show some stylistic resemblances both to the pottery lion from Hierakonpolis and to the lions which decorate the front of the armchair in certain of the Chephren statues.

There is a well-known group of private seated statues to which Steindorff first drew attention. From their primitive style and somewhat clumsy workmanship they have been designated for some time as archaic, and some of them certainly belong to Dyn. III. The earliest example, the seated limestone statue in Berlin, has been assigned above to Dyn. II, and the kneeling granite statue of similar style in Cairo (Borchardt, *l.c.*, No. 1) probably also belongs to the end of that Dynasty (Pl. 2). The latest of the group, the statues of Methen and Akhet-a'a in Berlin, are certainly to be dated to the transition period at the beginning of Dyn. IV, and with them should also be included the standing female statue in Brussels and the three famous standing figures of Sepa and Neset in the Louvre. One of the most characteristic features of these private statues is that a large proportion of them are executed in hard stone. Several of them show considerable technical accomplishment, while others are extremely rude



in workmanship. It is very difficult in dealing with private work to distinguish the date by means of technical criteria, as there is a much wider range in the abilities of the sculptors available to private persons than there is in royal work, where it can be assumed that the best craftsmanship of the period is displayed.

The characteristic attitude of the seated statues is that of holding the left hand across the body beneath the breast, open in the case of women and clenched in the male figures, while the right hand rests on the right thigh, again open in the case of women and two of the men and clenched in the majority of the male statues. The Louvre statue of Nezem-ankh holds the hands clasped in the lap, while the British Museum figure of Bezmes holds an adze over the left shoulder. The statues range from about 45 centimetres to a metre in height, and all show the form of wooden seat with bent wood supports, with the addition of a low back-rest in the case of the Turin princess. The last is the only one for whom there is any evidence of relationship with the royal family. The provenance of all these pieces is unknown, but the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah is their most probable source.

The clumsiest, and perhaps the earliest, of the figures is the little black granite male statuette in Naples (only 44.5 cm. high, see Pl. 3). The carving is very crude, the proportions bad, and the wooden seat small. The broad face is framed by a full wig, the large right hand hangs down over the knee, and the feet are misshapen. Similarly simple in form, but with a better treatment of the face, is the little kneeling red granite figure in Cairo (Pl. 2), bearing the names of Kings Hetep-sekhemuw, Ra-neb, and Neterymuw incised on the right shoulder. The legs, which are drawn back under the body, are rather rudimentary and the hands, open on the knees, are stubby and summarily carved. The eyes, nose, and mouth are well formed, however. The attention of the sculptor seems to have been concentrated on the head, which is covered by a short wig with small curls, resembling that common in later male statues. On the base is an inscription with the roughly made hieroglyphs in relief.

The black granite statue in Leiden, No. 18, belonged to a man named Ankh<sup>1</sup> (Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik der Aegypter*, pls. 4-5). His position is somewhat unusual, as he holds the left hand closed on his chest and the right hand open, palm down, hanging over the right knee, like the Naples man. The legs are roughly modelled, and the same is true of the face, which is rather lop-sided. The short inscription is drawn on the lap. The red granite figure of Bezmes in the British Museum (Pl. 3) does not show the slurring over of the modelling which lends to the Leiden statue a somewhat blurred effect, but it is not so well proportioned as the three finest of these statues. The man wears a full wig and a short skirt. The hand holding the handle of the adze against his breast is large and clumsy, but the other hand, open palm down on the thigh, is better modelled. The inscription is marked on the lap of the figure.

The masterpieces of this private group are undoubtedly the diorite princess in Turin and the two statues of Nezem-ankh, one of which is in the Louvre and one in Leiden (No. 19). The Turin statue (Pl. 3) shows a lady in a long tunic and full lappet wig seated in the usual attitude (left hand open below breast, right hand open on thigh). The seat has a deeply carved moulding and a low back-rest like that of the royal statues. The forms of the figure are heavy, but the modelling under the garment of legs and thighs appears pronounced and the details of the wig are carefully noted. The feet and hands

<sup>1</sup> The reading of all these names presents considerable difficulty. Ankh is the name accepted by Weill, reading the rest of the inscription *iry ht sh*. For the British Museum statue, Reisner adopted Weill's reading of Ankh-aperuw, but Ranke in his *Personennamen* has accepted the old reading Bezmes, which seems more probable to me. For the Louvre and Leiden (No. 19) statues, the readings Nezem-ankh and

Ankh-aper have been proposed, but recently Keimer has very plausibly suggested that it be read simply Ankh, seeing in the doubtful sign a cockroach and finding a reading 'nh for this insect in the Pyramid texts (*Annales*, XXXI, pp. 174 ff.). The name of the Turin Princess is read *Rdi-f* by Ranke instead of Reisner's Redyzet, although the snake resembles a *d* more than an *f* on the statue.

are slender and well formed and the bony protuberance of the ankle is indicated. As in all these statues, the face is full-cheeked and rather heavy, but the eyes and narrow eyebrows are well, if conventionally, drawn. The inscription *sst nswt nt ht f Rdi-d* is placed on the base separated by the feet. A similar treatment of the full face is presented by the seated granite statue of Nezem-ankh in the Louvre (Weill, *La II<sup>e</sup> et La III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties*, pl. II). Here a new attention is given to the modelling of the breast and to the bones of knee and shin, and the well-drawn hands are in an unusual attitude, clasped in the lap. The full wig presents a less spreading outline than is common later. A curious necklace in the form of a cartouche is worn with the short skirt. The inscription is again on the lap, on each side of the hands.

Finest of all these statues is the second figure of Nezem-ankh in Leiden (Pl. 3), carved in black granite. The position is the usual one with the left hand clenched beneath the breast and the right hand clenched, back up, on the knee. The wig is again full, but the costume is more elaborate, consisting of a panther skin wrapped across the body in an unusual manner and held in place by the half-oval shaped ornaments known from Old Kingdom reliefs. These ornaments are inscribed with the man's titles and name. A curious feature is a series of little parallel ridges which project from beneath the ties of the shoulder ornaments. These ridges are wider than the spacing of the hair strands in the wig, but may be meant to represent wider curls that terminate the base of the wig at the sides. Their meaning is by no means clear. The statue is a superb piece and shows the sculptor with almost complete control over his obdurate material. The full face is well modelled and a particularly lifelike quality is imparted by the careful working of eyes, nose, and mouth. Although heavy in form and possessing the same facial characteristics as its counterpart in the Louvre and the Turin princess, this statue, in common with the other two, does not give the impression of clumsy stiffness that one feels in the three standing figures in the Louvre, but points towards the complete mastery of his craft which the sculptor was to attain in Dyn. IV.

The three standing limestone statues in the Louvre have a heavy awkwardness of form and yet, at the same time, a lively aspect which is due to the careful modelling of the faces and to the traces of paint preserved around the eyes. They consist of two almost identical standing figures of the man Sepa, and a third representing his wife Neset (Pl. 4). The man places the left foot forward and holds a walking stick in front of him against his body, while with his right hand he holds up a *shm*-wand vertically against his arm. The pose is rigid, with the arms tightly pressed against the body. The advanced leg is not disengaged but is connected with the other by a stone support against which the lower part of the staff is carved. The man wears one of the earliest examples of the short wig with its tiers of curls, and the short skirt with belt, tie, and pleated flap usual in Old Kingdom sculpture. The pose and accessories are of a sort only to be attempted in an experimental period of early art, and are obviously not completely successful. They appear to have been soon abandoned, as no other example has been preserved. The slender forms of staff and wand were unsuitable for stone carving and are retained later only in wooden statues. The device of carving them in relief against the figure was evidently modified into the usual attitude with arms hanging at the sides, the hands closed about two small round objects which may be a conventional reminiscence of these two forms.

The woman stands in an equally rigid attitude with the legs pressed tightly together, her right hand hanging open at the side, while the left hand is placed open beneath her breast. She wears a heavy lappet wig, a long tunic, and thick bracelets covering the lower part of the arms. The feet and hands of all three figures are carefully drawn but simplified to the fewest possible planes, as is the modelling of the limbs and torso. The collar-bones of the men are here indicated for the first time, as far as I

have been able to observe, although they are merely sharp ridges. The greatest effort has been concentrated on the face, which, full-cheeked and wide, is similar to that found in the seated hard-stone figures, but the modelling of the surfaces is here more detailed. The eyes are carefully drawn, and the black-painted pupils and eyebrows are well preserved in the statue of Neset. Notable, too, is the furrow which runs down from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth. All three statues show traces of green eye-paint, which has been applied liberally around the borders of the eyes. The deep furrow and the application of green eye-paint are two peculiarities characteristic of the reliefs of Hesi-ra and of the transition period at the end of Dyn. III and the beginning of Dyn. IV, particularly to be noted in the portraits of Kha-bauw-sokar and his wife. There seems to me to be a strong resemblance between the facial characteristics of these statues and the heads in the last-named reliefs. The inscriptions, like those of the seated statues, show clumsy forms of hieroglyphs, with the added peculiarity that they are placed sideways on the base.

A standing limestone statue of a woman in Brussels (Pl. 4) bears a close resemblance to the Turin princess in the treatment of the wig and face, and in attitude to the statue of Neset. The face and body do not show the same excellence of workmanship as do the other statues, but there is a similarity of technique, particularly in the drawing of the eye and in the careful delineation of the strands of hair in the wig (with diagonal cross-lines like the Turin wig). Only the bust of the statue was intact. Capart believed that the feet and base were cut by a modern restorer. The lower part of the right arm has been restored in plaster (Capart, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée de Bruxelles*, *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XIV).

Three other seated statues are to be dated most probably to the reign of Sneferuw. These are the seated statue of Methen in Berlin, the lower part of the seated statue of Akhet-a'a (Weill, *La II<sup>e</sup> et La III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties*, pl. VI), also in Berlin, and an equally fragmentary seated figure in Cairo (Borchardt, *l.c.*, No. 2). The granite statue of Methen in Berlin was found by Lepsius in a *serdab* behind the north wall of a chapel in the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah. It is in a slightly different attitude from the majority of the archaic seated figures (Pl. 4; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pl. 6, 7), the right hand being closed against the chest and the left hand open on the thigh. Methen wears a short wig with horizontal bands but without any indication of the separate curls, and a short skirt. The seat is a plain block, and instead of the bent wood supports at the sides there is an inscription giving titles and name inside a rectangular frame. The figure is rather squat, the hands and feet well indicated, and the eyebrows and strip of eye-paint at the corner of the eye conventionally drawn in relief. There is an indefinable quality about this piece which suggests that it is private work (that is, less proficient work than that produced by the royal workshops) of a later period than the statues hitherto discussed. This accords well with the style of the reliefs in the chapel. The statues of Sepa and Neset, although I believe them to be slightly earlier than that of Methen, convey a similar impression of belonging to a period of advanced technical accomplishment and yet retaining a certain stiffness, which we would probably find had been thrown off by the royal sculptors if we were fortunate enough to possess any examples of their work. I should suggest that the statues of Sepa and Neset bear the same relationship to the statue of Methen that the reliefs of Kha-bauw-sokar bear to the slightly later reliefs of Methen, Akhet-a'a, and Iy-nefer. All this sculpture belongs, it seems to me, to a transitional period at the end of Dyn. III, including the reigns of Huni and Sneferuw.

The reliefs of Akhet-a'a certainly belong to the above group, which would therefore place the broken statue of this man in Berlin at about the beginning of Dyn. IV. The attitude probably resembled that of Methen, although the right hand is open palm down on the thigh. The upper part of the body, with

the left arm, is broken away. The feet are well cut, and the seat in this case has the bent wood supports. A long inscription in archaic hieroglyphs is inscribed on the lap, giving titles and name. Similar in type and preservation, but much more rude in workmanship, is a red granite statuette in Cairo (No. 2) which Borchardt dates to Dyn. IV.

These are the last pieces which can be listed as having archaic characteristics. One suspects that at the end of Dyn. III royal sculpture no longer retained any traces of inability to master the material used, or any difficulty in the modelling of the body and the composition of the figures. It is very probable that the statues of Rahotep and Nofret from Medum give an excellent idea of what the finest work of the transition period must have been, although Dr. Reisner, in *Tomb Development*, has shown that these statues are to be dated, at the very earliest, late in the reign of Sneferuw, and more probably in the reign of Cheops. I have included them, therefore, in the next chapter, with a number of master-pieces which they most nearly resemble, all probably deriving from the royal workshops of Cheops. Unfortunately, although we have a considerable body of reliefs from private tombs of the Late Dyn. III to Early Dyn. IV period, there is no royal sculpture and very little private work to illustrate the final stages in the development of sculpture in the round. As in the case of the royal reliefs, the material for this most interesting period of transition is almost completely lacking. It is to be hoped that in future the excavation of the great cemetery to the east of the pyramid of Sneferuw, and work in the neighbourhood of the South Stone Pyramid at Dahshur and the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah may add to our knowledge.

### III

## THE SCULPTURE OF DYNASTY IV

### a. The Reign of Cheops.

THE only completely preserved statue of Cheops is the tiny seated ivory figure which was found by Petrie in the temple at Abydos, and is now in the Cairo Museum. It shows that ruler in an attitude which was retained from Dyn. III sculpture and disappears after this reign. The king holds his right hand on his breast grasping the handle of the flail, and his left hand on his thigh, palm down. He wears a short skirt and the red crown. Although on a very small scale, the face is broad and forceful, with a strong jaw, full cheeks, big mouth, and wide nostrils. The little figure has received much deserved praise. It has a monumental quality out of all proportion to its small size (Pl. 5).

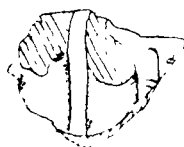
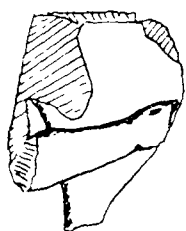


FIG. 9. Two fragments from torso and feet: Nos. 25-11-611, 612.

Of the fragments of royal sculpture found at Giza very few can be attributed certainly to Cheops, and these are so broken that they are of very little assistance in studying the characteristics of his sculptors' work. Two bases are inscribed with his name:

- (1) Base and front of feet of a seated statuette inscribed with the cartouche of Cheops: alabaster; Reg. No. 24-12-59; found north of first queen's pyramid, G I a; size 8.2 × 7.6 cm. Boston.
- (2) Base and feet of a seated statuette inscribed . . . *fw* in cartouche: alabaster; Reg. No. 12-12-164; found in surface debris of G 2391 near north-west corner of Great Pyramid; length 9 cm. Boston (M.F.A. 13.3448).

Not inscribed with the name of the king, but probably from a statuette like No. 1 of Cheops (the base fragments do not fit) are the following fragments. The type resembles the ivory statuette and is unknown in the following reign.

- (3) Two fragments probably from the same seated alabaster statuette (Fig. 9): found in upper debris of G 7000 SW; right arm against breast, hand clenched (pierced to hold metal flail); Reg. No. 25-12-611; ankles, feet, and part of base of a seated statuette, inscribed on right, *nswt-bit* . . . ; Reg. No. 25-12-612. The fragment of base is only 6 × 6 cm.

Several alabaster fragments provide evidence for at least one statue of the seated Chephren type with a high-backed chair and protecting hawk shielding the back of the king's head. It is possible that this type originated in the reign of Cheops and that the earliest example is to be found here, but unfortunately statues of Chephren were broken up in the area east of the first pyramid as well as west of that pyramid. Therefore while these fragments were found in the neighbourhood of the Cheops temple, it is not impossible that they may be from a statue of Chephren.

- (4) Fragments showing back of wig and head-cloth, and portion of protecting Horus hawk: alabaster; Reg. No. 25-1-587; from the debris over G 7102 and therefore in the neighbourhood of the Cheops temple; from a life-size figure (Pl. 5). Boston.
- (5) Fragment from the head of an alabaster lion: possibly from the chair of a seated figure of the same type; Reg. No. 24-11-813; size, 6.2 × 8.5 cm. Boston.

The Berlin Museum possesses a fragment of the fore-part of a basalt ram of fine workmanship, inscribed with the Horus name and cartouche of Cheops (Schäfer, *O.L.Z.*, XXIX (1926), No. 10, pp. 723 ff.).

We are more fortunate in the preservation of the private sculpture, which includes three of the greatest productions of the Old Kingdom sculptor, as well as a series of portrait heads hardly less fine in quality. While these are in limestone, the fragments from the chapel of Ka-wab show that some of the chapels of the princes were also furnished with an extraordinary number of hard-stone statues and statuettes. All of these statues and portrait heads are the products of the royal craftsmen, who were trained in the great workshops that must have grown up in the neighbourhood of the pyramids of Sneferuw and Cheops. The same superlative craft that is evident in the great building works of these two kings at Dahshur, Medum, and Giza, in the reliefs in the chapels of the princes and courtiers, in such paintings as those in the chapels of Nefermaat and Atet at Medum, and in the furniture of Queen Hetep-heres I, is exemplified in the sculpture in the round. This superb work reaches its apex in the hard-stone statues of Ramedef, Chephren, and Mycerinus, and in the remarkable limestone bust of Ankh-haf.

Probably of the early reign of Cheops, although perhaps deriving from a different school of sculpture than that at Giza and possibly reflecting the style of destroyed works of the reign of Sneferuw, the seated limestone statues of Rahotep and Nofret are justly famous (Pl. 6). They were found by Mariette's workmen intact, sealed up in the offering-niche of the inner chapel of Rahotep in a crude brick mastaba of the cemetery adjoining the Medum Pyramid. The remarkable preservation of the painted surfaces of these two statues and the able portraiture of the heads, with the amazing naturalness lent by the inlaid eyes, gives them a lifelike quality equalled, perhaps, only by the Louvre scribe, the Sheikh el-Beled, and the Ankh-haf bust. The man is seated in the early attitude with his right hand closed on his breast, the left hand clenched, thumb up, on his thigh. He is shown with short hair and a white-painted short skirt. Around his neck is a white cord with an amulet and a single tubular bead. The head, the muscles of the chest and arms, and the bony structure of the knees are well modelled, but the feet are over large, the ankles thick and clumsy. The face is of the wide, full type, but the bony structure beneath is indicated, and certain details, such as the creases between the brows, the lines around the mouth, the full lips, and straight nose with the nostrils wide at the base, give evidence of faithful portraiture. A slight moustache is partly carved and partly indicated in grey paint. A living quality is imparted by the eyes, which were formed by an opaque white quartz eyeball, the cornea being of rock crystal and the iris of some material partly brown and partly grey.<sup>1</sup> Attention has been called to a resemblance between the head of Rahotep and the reserve head of the negroid princess from G 4440.<sup>2</sup> This appears evident in the photographs published for comparison, but I can see little real resemblance after an examination of the heads themselves (Pls. 6, 8). A kind of architectural frame has been lent to both the statue of Rahotep and that of his wife by the high back of the seat. The shining white surface with its two groups of incised black hieroglyphs provides an effective background for the yellow-brown skin of the man, and the brilliant colours of Nofret's necklace and head-band against the yellow flesh and black hair.

The position and dress of Nofret are unique in Old Kingdom female statues. She wears over her tunic what appears to be a feminine counterpart of the long robe worn by the king. It rests low on her shoulders and is drawn tightly about the body by the arms, which are folded beneath the breast. The left arm and hand are completely concealed by the garment, but the right hand, above the other, protrudes from the edge of the cloak and is placed open on the body beneath the left breast. The forms of the breasts and arms are well indicated under the brilliant white surface of the garment. The line of the

<sup>1</sup> Lucas, 'Artificial Eyes in Ancient Egypt', *Ancient Egypt*, Dec. 1934, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, p. 48.

cloak across the shoulders suggests to me that there may be some connexion between this garment and the peculiar pointed shoulder-pieces of the dresses worn by the mother of Khufuw-khaf and by Hetepheres II.<sup>1</sup> The Heb-Sed robe worn by the king stands up stiffly at the back of the neck in the Kha-sekhem statue in Cairo, and stiffened linen or heavier material worn about the shoulders in the way that Nofret holds her cloak might stand up in similar fashion at the sides. A detail so easy to break would ordinarily be omitted in a statue, although quite safe to represent in relief. Nofret wears a full short wig over her own hair, which is parted in the middle and brushed back on the forehead. The wig is held in place by a wide white band decorated with a flower-pattern in red, green, and black. A broad necklace of red, green, and dark blue is worn about the neck. The face is full and would be rather banal in expression if it were not for the liveliness of the inlaid eyes and a certain incisiveness of character about the nose, again with the two lines extending to the corners of the mouth. There is no little resemblance to the plump, placid features of Queen Kha-merer-nebty II as she appears in the Boston slate pair, but the latter displays a superb modelling of the surfaces not achieved here (Pls. 6, 13). Compare in profile, for example, the slight fullness of the throat of Kha-merer-nebty, a ripple in the line from chin to neck, with the fattish rounded surface of that of Nofret. Nofret's face varies in appearance according to the angle from which it is viewed. It is at its worst in the three-quarters view from the left given by Steindorff (*Kunst der Ägypter*, p. 178) and presents its most refined aspect in the coloured frontispiece to Maspero's *Art in Egypt*.

A superb piece of portraiture, unfortunately not perfectly preserved but remarkable for its unusual recording of peculiarities of facial and bodily structure, is the white limestone statue of Hemyuwnuw found by Professor Junker in the *serdab* of that prince's great mastaba in the Western Cemetery at Giza (G 4000). Hemyuwnuw is shown as a portly man of middle age, seated upon a simple block seat, this time with no support at the back (Pl. 6). He wears his own short hair, and a plain short skirt with girdle tie. On the base, around his feet, are inscribed name and titles in incised hieroglyphs filled with coloured paste, but no other colour is preserved on the figure. The position is interesting, for we have here for the first time the attitude of the hands familiar from the Chephren statues. This attitude (right hand closed, thumb up on thigh, and left hand open, palm down on thigh) is again found in fragments of statues of Radedef from Abu-Roash, and was, perhaps, invented in the reign of Cheops by the predecessor of Dr. Reisner's sculptors A and B.

The modelling of the head and torso are of unprecedented realism. The pronounced breasts and the rolls of fat beneath, as well as the wide slit in the abdomen indicating the navel, admirably suggest the corpulent form of the prince. The arms and legs are heavy, and in this case the bulging ankles and big feet were, perhaps, characteristic of the man. The collar-bones are carefully indicated, as is the depression along the spine, but the shin-bones present the same sharp line found in the Rahotep statue and the knees have been given little detail. The hands and feet are well modelled, the nails being carefully drawn. Pains have been taken to give the face a lifelike aspect. The full throat and sharp jutting chin, as well as the beak-like nose, seem to indicate sharply personal characteristics. The eyes were inlaid and in wrenching them from their sockets, anciently, the nose was damaged and the character of the upper part of the face marred. It is particularly interesting to find that the sculptor who executed the reliefs in Hemyuwnuw's chapel has carefully noted the same facial structure. This is preserved in two fragmentary relief portraits now in the Boston Museum (Pl. 48). Thrown out of the chapel, these pieces were discovered by the Harvard-Boston Expedition near the south-east corner of the mastaba. Attention has recently been called to one of these fragments by Professor Steindorff (*Ä.Z.*,

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. 44; also the small fragment illustrated in Fig. 14 c.

vol. LXX, p. 120), but the less well preserved piece confirmed the resemblance. Such exact correspondence between portraits in relief and in the round is known to me elsewhere only in the case of Nofer (G 2110, Pl. 48). The aquiline nose seems to have been a family characteristic which appears again in the reserve heads of Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240, Pl. 7), the husband of the negroid princess (G 4440, Pl. 8), and the Princess Iabtyt (G 4650), all of whom may have been closely related to Hemyuwnuw. Nofer (G 2110), who was not a prince and probably not related at all to the family group in Cemetery G 4000, also had a sharply aquiline nose. A certain similarity in the form of the nose exists to a lesser degree in the case of the two male heads from G 4340 and 4640 (Pl. 7). A feature to be noted in the Hemyuwnuw statue is the pronounced modelling of the hair-line where it joins the face and neck, which gives it a heavily rounded profile and a more plastic quality than is to be found in the reserve heads, where the edge of the hair is indicated by a very slight raised surface or by an incised line. This plastic treatment of the hair has already been found in the head of Rahotep and is characteristic of the head of Ankh-haf, and later of the Louvre scribe, the Sheikh el-Beled, and the wigless standing statue of Ranofer.

Portrait heads of extremely fine quality accompany the burials of the reign of Cheops in the Western Cemetery at Giza. These are the so-called reserve heads. Although some of them are to be dated to the reign of Chephren and a small number even to Dyn. V, most of the finest examples seem to have been, like the slab-stelae, gifts indicating the special esteem of Cheops. Nearly all appear to be the products of the royal workshops and they form a remarkable series of portraits of the great people of the court of Dyn. IV. It seems best to discuss them all together because of their peculiar type and resemblance in style to one another, although it must be remembered that a few of them are later in date than the period under discussion.

These heads are cut off at the base of the neck, having a smooth flat surface beneath so that they stand upright. They are extremely simple in the treatment of the hair, all being alike in having a very low surface or an incised line surrounding the forehead, ears, and the back of the neck. Only the head of the Princess Iabtyt has a slightly more elaborate treatment, with an incised line showing the parting of the hair in front projecting from beneath the ordinary hair-line, which may in this case indicate a head-cloth. The ears are invariably broken away, and in some cases may have been carved from a separate piece of stone and attached. A number of the heads, but not all, show a vertical scoring from the top of the head down the back of the skull. By whom this was done and at what time is at present obscure.

The reserve head is always found in the burial-chamber and is associated with the actual burial. It seems possible that the creation of these portrait heads is bound up with the imitation of the features in the wrappings of the dead man, sometimes moulded in linen over the skull and painted, sometimes formed by covering the linen wrappings with a coating of plaster in which the features were modelled. This plaster coating in certain examples extended over the whole body. In the Heracleopolitan period a cartonnage mask, covering the upper part of the body, took the place of these plaster coatings, and developed finally in the Middle Kingdom into the anthropoid inner coffin. The simulation of the outer bodily form by padding with linen and moulding the wrappings is found early in Egyptian burials. One of the earliest examples preserved is that of the foot of the mummy of Zoser found in the granite burial-chamber of the Step Pyramid,<sup>1</sup> but a very realistically padded and wrapped contracted body has recently been found by Emery in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah. The burial in the great mastaba 17 at Medum, of the time of Sneferuw, shows that the head was padded out with linen to imitate its

<sup>1</sup> Lauer and Derry, *Annales*, XXXV, p. 25.



original shape, and the eye-sockets were carefully stuffed with linen pads, while the male organ was imitated in moulded linen. A wooden girdle-tie and the end of the girdle show that the costume of the dead man was also simulated (see wooden girdle-tie from the much later Giza tomb G 2420 S).<sup>1</sup> Another Dyn. IV example, much better preserved, was that of Ranofer at Medum.<sup>2</sup> Here the shrunken body had been packed with linen covered with resin and moulded to the form of head and body. This was then covered with fine linen, and the eyes and eyebrows were painted in green on the outer wrappings. At Abusir, in the reign of Ne-user-ra, the body of Weserkaf-ankh<sup>3</sup> had the face modelled in linen and covered with a white wash of plaster. The eyes, eyebrows, and mouth are cut out and appear to have been of some other material.

At Giza, with the exception of the burial in the small mastaba G 1109, which is dated by Dr. Reisner to Dyn. IV, all the examples of such treatment of the body and head which have been preserved seem to belong to Dyn. V and VI, or to the end of the Old Kingdom. This is probably due largely to the paucity of well-preserved burials. All the burial-places in the great mastabas of Dyn. IV had been thoroughly looted by thieves, who destroyed the bodies leaving scarcely a trace. In G 2416 D the linen wrappings were almost entirely decayed, but fragments of the plaster roundels from a crown were preserved and the eyes had been painted on a coating of papyrus laid over the face. The eyes were outlined in black, with red markings in the corners (as is observed in all the best examples of Old Kingdom painting), while the eyebrows were painted a grey-blue. The burial of a woman in G 2220 B showed the careful modelling of the head and body in the wrappings, and here a tunic with shoulder straps was imitated with a large piece of linen (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. I, pl. 42). The painting of the face had disappeared except for faint black outlines of one eye and eyebrow. The eyes and mouth were painted on the wrappings of the face in G 1021 B, while modelling of the face in linen with the eyes painted on was found in G 1025 a E. The burial in G 1106 B had a piece of cloth sewed on the head with the right eye drawn in black. Professor Junker<sup>4</sup> mentions the painting of the face on the linen-enveloped body of Yeduw II. The best example of this painting of the face and wrapping of the body, however, is that of the woman found by Firth in shaft No. 255 of the mastaba of Ka-m-sennuw at Saqqarah.<sup>5</sup> Here the modelling of the wrappings and the position of the body on the left side resembled that mentioned above from G 2220 B, but the whole figure was painted: the tunic white, the skin yellow with blue bracelets and anklets. The hair and eyes were black, the eyebrows green, and the lips red.<sup>6</sup> One other example of a linen-wrapped head is in the Cairo Museum.<sup>7</sup> In this case only the eyes and eyebrows are painted in black.

The mummy of Zoser and those of Ranofer and Mastaba 17 at Medum would seem to suggest that it is only because of the destruction of the majority of burials of Dyn. III and IV that we do not find more examples of this careful wrapping of the mummy to reproduce the natural form of the body. It is probable that this was the general custom<sup>8</sup> and that it is only through accidents of preservation that the examples cited above derive mostly from the late Old Kingdom. The modelled plaster coatings of the head and body seem to have been merely an attempt to give a more permanent form to these

<sup>1</sup> Petrie and Wainwright, *Medum and Memphis*, p. 4, pl. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 17-18; G. Elliot Smith, 'Egyptian Mummies', *J.E.I.*, I, pl. XXXI.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal Ne-user-ré*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *J.E.I.*, I, 'The Austrian Excavations', 1914, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 36, pl. 32 D.

<sup>6</sup> If the lips were really painted red, it is the only example I know in an Old Kingdom mummy, statue, or relief where such is the case. The custom seems to have been to leave the

lips the colour of the flesh, red or yellow as the case may be, in statues and reliefs.

<sup>7</sup> Jequier, *Tombeaux de Particuliers Contemporains de Pèpy*, II, pl. VIII.

<sup>8</sup> A probability further strengthened by the well-preserved burial found by Emery mentioned above and by a similar body found by Quibell in less good condition, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. XXIX.

linen substitutes for the outward form of the body. These have been found only in the less important burials of the great cemetery at Giza. Only one (G 1109) is earlier than Dyn. V and the majority of them belong to Late Dyn. V and Dyn. VI. It seems possible that in the burial-places of the great mastabas of Dyn. IV a more expensive substitute for the perishable linen-wrapped body was evolved, the beautifully sculptured white limestone 'reserve heads'. The reserve heads, of course, did not supplant the modelling of the face in linen but accompanied the elaborately wrapped body. Like the majority of the plaster-modelled forms and the Heracleopolitan cartonnage masks, the limestone sculpture was concentrated upon the portrayal of what must have seemed to the Egyptian the most important part of the body, the head. The 'reserve head' placed in the burial-chamber, like the statues in the serdab and chapel above, appears to have been made to serve as a second residing-place for the soul in case the body itself suffered destruction. When the practice of placing reserve heads in the tomb fell into disuse, a practice which seems to have grown up to provide a more permanent substitute for the perishable modelling of the head in painted linen wrappings, its place seems to have been taken frequently by the covering of the actual face and body with modelled plaster. This would have been a less expensive mingling of the two methods which formerly seem to have existed side by side, the modelling of the face in linen and the limestone carving, and constituted a transition between the painted linen head and the separate cartonnage mask of the First Intermediate Period.

The occurrence of the reserve heads in the great mastabas of the Western Cemetery at Giza suggests that they represent the expression of the special favour of the king and that they may be gifts from the royal workshops. The great majority of these heads belong to a group of mastabas in Cemetery G 4000, closely related in time. Very few have been found outside this cemetery, and only a limited number at sites other than Giza. The list is as follows:

Cemetery G 4000 (heads found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition):

(1)-(2) G 4140: Prince . . . : Boston (M.F.A. 14.717); a characteristic Old Kingdom head with features rather more delicate than is usual, perhaps because of the excellence of the carving. The ear was carved from the same block but broken. Eyebrows carved in relief; h., 0.265 m. Pl. 7. (Also, Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 52 a.)

Princess Merytyetes: Cairo 6003 = 46217; possible resemblance to head of princess on slab-stela; curious 'bust-like' modelling of base of neck, with wide curve of throat; delicate drawing of eyes and brows (brows in relief), subtle modelling of cheeks, smoothness of finish; nose broken. Pl. 6. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 52 b.)

(3) G 4240: Prince Sneferuw-seneb: Cairo 6004 = 46215; simple treatment of face in flat planes; prominent bony cheeks; deep line etched around mouth from base of nostrils; well-cut eyes; flat bridge of nose and sharp angle between nose and forehead; no eyebrows. Pl. 7. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 53 a.)

Part of neck fragment, probably from head of wife; perhaps part of head found later intruded in G 5020 Annex.

(4) G 4340: Unknown man: Cairo 6006 = 46218; deeply set eyes, carefully worked; head tipped back; eyebrows drawn in relief, but not in conventional manner. Pl. 7. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 53 b.)

(5)-(6) G 4440: Unknown man: Boston (M.F.A. 14.718); seen from the side a stubborn jaw lends a stern expression to the face, in front an impression of weakness produced by the asymmetrical arrangement of the features and the lines around the mouth; deep-set eyes; no eyebrows; h., 0.305 m. Pl. 8. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 54 a.)

Wife of above: Boston (M.F.A. 14.719): negroid face showing the most striking personal

- characteristics of all these heads; eyes treated rather summarily; no eyebrows; h., 0.30 m. Pl. 8. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 54 b.)
- (7) G 4540: Unknown woman: Boston (M.F.A. 21.328); delicate type of face with sharply-pointed nose; bald skull; very deep-set eyes; brows modelled, but not drawn conventionally; h., 0.263 m. Pl. 7. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 55 a.)
- (8) G 4640: Unknown man: Cairo 6005 = 46216; resembles G 4340; sharp edge to bridge of nose; eyebrows in relief. Pl. 7. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 55 b.)
- (9) G 4940: Unknown man: Boston (M.F.A. 21.329); head probably displaced from another shaft; the face is in simple planes but better worked (in spite of bad preservation) than the heads in University College, the Tewfik Boulas head, or the Giza 1905 head; skull projects at back; nose sliced off and perhaps originally filled out with plaster; eye set well back; h., 0.274 m. Pl. 9. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 56 b.)
- (10) G 5020 Annex: Woman's head: Cairo; displaced from original position; possibly, from evidence of chip missing from neck, this may have fitted the fragment from the burial-chamber of Sneferuw-seneb; no eyebrows; simple drawing of eyes; h., 0.21 m.; nose broken. Pl. 7. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 56 a.)
- (11) G 4430: Mud head found with a sealing of Chephren.

Cemetery G 4000 (heads found by Professor Junker):

- (12) G 4160: Broken male head: Hildesheim 2158; front of face broken away in long slice; replaced but surface of face battered; right eye well modelled; eyebrows not drawn. *Giza*, I, pl. XIII.
- (13) G 4350: Unknown woman: Vienna; a splendid head; the skull is wider at the top as seen from front (cf. G 4560); the eyes are well modelled, not very deep set; flat bridge of nose with sharp edge at curve of nostril; ears broken away; cavity under right eye perhaps filled originally with plaster; eyebrows not drawn. Junker, *Giza* I, pl. XII; Breasted, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, 2nd edition, fig. 58.
- (14) G 4560: Unknown woman: Cairo 44974; resembles G 4540 but does not have the sharp nose and deep-sunk joining of nose and brow; skull wide at top; eyebrows not drawn. *Giza*, I, pl. XIV.
- (15) G 4650: Princess Iabtyt: Hildesheim 2384; strong aquiline face; left side of face badly damaged; parted hair appears beneath wig or head-cloth; flat bridge to nose; resemblance to Hemyuwnuw, Sneferuw-seneb, as well as Nofer and G 4940; eyebrows not drawn. *Giza*, I, pl. XIII a-b.
- (16) G 4840 (Shaft 984): Mud head of woman: Cairo; probably portrait of Princess Weneshet; skull projects at back; eyes and mouth resemble G 4540; 'bust-like' projection of back of neck at base; brows moulded but not drawn. *Giza*, I, pl. XIV.
- (17) G 4660?: probably to be identified as Cairo Piece  $\frac{19}{24}/\frac{11}{5}$  badly weathered head found in street south of mastaba of Kay-m-ankh, between mastabas G 4560 and G 4660; the left eye is partly preserved; the nose and chin are badly battered, as is the neck in front; the whole is so pitted by weathering that little can be seen of its style or type.
- (18) G 4260: Fragment (*Hinterhaupt und Halspartie*).
- (19) G 4360: Fragment: left ear.
- (20) G 4460: 'Reste.'

Cemetery G 1200 (Hearst Expedition):

- (21) G 1203: Wife (?) of Kanofer: Berkeley, University of California; resemblance in full-throated, blunt-chinned face to Princess G 4140 and to Dahshur head; pronounced widening of skull at top; eyes not deeply set; eyebrows lightly indicated. Pl. 9. (Also Reisner, *l.c.*, pl. 22.)

Cemetery G 2100 (Harvard-Boston Expedition):

- (22) G 2110: Nofer: Boston (M.F.A. 06.1886); the head is asymmetrical when viewed from the front (cf. G 4440); the nose aquiline and flattened across the tip in the manner of the relief portrait on the door-jamb from the chapel in Boston; eyebrows lightly drawn; h., 0.172 m. Pl. 48. (Also *l.c.*, pl. 34.)

Eastern Cemetery (Harvard-Boston Expedition):

- (23)–(24) G 7560: Unknown man (?): Boston; Reg. No. 36–12–6; fitted together from pieces, badly battered.

Wife (?) of above: Boston; Reg. No. 36–12–5; head fitted together from fragments.

- (25) G 7650 (?): Boston; Reg. No. 27–4–1219; battered head thrown out in street between G 7650 and G 7660; no face remains.

No Provenance:

- (26) Cairo head No. 47838 = Maspero Cat. No. 97 A; Giza, 1905; broken nose, no ears; badly modelled head with the simple planes of the University College head but uneven surfaces; eyebrows drawn. Pl. 9.

- (27) Cairo head No. 37832: Found in a tomb near the group of mastabas east of the Great Pyramid by Tewfik Boulas in 1923; very crude modelling; ears broken, one fitted on again and the other lying beside head. Pl. 9.

Excavations of Egyptian University:

- (28) Head of unknown person found by Selim Bey Hassan: *Illustrated London News*, April 11th, 1936; eyes not very carefully drawn; no eyebrows; long neck like Nos. 30 and 31 below.

Heads from sites other than Giza:

- (29) Head of an unknown person: Cairo No. 519; Dahshur Mastaba 5; De Morgan, *Dahshur*, I, p. 9; head resembling that of Princess Merytyetes and wife (?) of Kanofer, and probably that of a woman; eyebrows drawn; possibly the earliest of all the heads, if mastaba is to be dated to the reign of Sneferuw. Pl. 6.
- (30) Princess Kat-hetep: Berlin No. 16455; Borchardt, *Ne-user-rê*, p. 133; from the mastaba of the princesses at Abusir; head carved in simple planes; eyebrows not drawn (?); long neck. Dyn. V.
- (31) Head of unknown person: University College, London; *Ancient Egypt*, I, p. 125; head carved in simple planes; deep line on each side of mouth; eyebrows apparently drawn. Probably Dyn. V.

The plaster masks which have been discovered at Giza by the Harvard-Boston Expedition and Professor Junker are listed as follows. All of these are modelled plaster coatings applied over the linen wrappings of the head of the mummy. They are not ordinary death masks, in the sense that they are not casts taken from the actual face such as that found in the Tety Pyramid temple by Quibell,<sup>1</sup> but are a rounding out of the shrunken features of the dead man to simulate his appearance in life. Often they are very rough and conventional, retaining only the general aspect of the person represented. Sometimes, however, as in the case of No. 2 below, the plaster is thin, the modelling delicate, and a remarkable impression of accurate portraiture is obtained.

- (1) G 7491 B (Chamber): Reg. No. 27–3–715; well-preserved mask but with little detail about eyes; nose blunted. Pl. 9. Cairo 54942.
- (2) G 2415 T: Reg. No. 36–7–15; delicate modelling; plaster thin; still in place adhering close to skull but with traces of linen wrappings between. Pl. 9. Cairo.

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations at Saqqarah, 1907–1908*, pl. LV.

- (3) G 2092 A: Reg. No. 36-8-7; broken in two pieces; rather coarse in quality; thick coating of plaster; prominent grooves on each side of mouth; *rest of body covered with plaster coating*. Boston.
- (4) G 6014 A: Reg. No. 25-11-115; broken in four pieces; nose missing; eyes well modelled. Boston.
- (5) Debris east of G 6012: Reg. No. 25-11-75; small fragment of forehead. Boston.
- (6) G 4813 A: Reg. No. 15-11-64; rough mask. Boston.
- (7) G 1109 A: lower part of a plaster mask found in burial-chamber. Dyn. IV.
- (8) G 5040 C: Reg. No. 15-10-5; mouth, chin, and piece of nose.
- (9) G 2033 C: Reg. No. 37-10-44; coarsely modelled face, lower part missing. Boston.
- (10) G 2347 A: Reg. No. 35-9-54; fragment of top of skull.
- (11) G 2037 b X: broken but almost complete mask; *body completely covered with plaster*. Boston. Junker: *Vorbericht*, 1914, pp. 31 ff., pls. V, VI; also *Giza*, I, pp. 57 ff.
- (12) Shaft 346 (Pl. V): mask, mouth broken away; *whole body covered with plaster*.
- (13) Shaft 466 (Pl. VI): mask; *arms and legs also covered with plaster*.
- (14) Shaft 820: only the head covered with plaster.
- (15) Shaft 493 (Pl. VI, above): only the head covered with plaster; ears in place; eyes not well modelled.

The limestone heads show two different methods of treating the eyebrows. In one case they are carefully but conventionally drawn in relief, in the other the brow is more impressionistically rendered by the rounding of the upper edge of the eye-socket with no delineation of the eyebrow. A transition between these two forms is to be seen in the male head from G 4340 (Pl. 7 e), where the lower edge of the eyebrow is indicated by a clean-cut line, and in the female head from G 4540 (Pl. 7 d), where a sharply projecting fold of skin is carved along the upper edge of the depression of the eye. A similar treatment is to be found in the mud head which probably belonged to the Princess Weneshet (G 4840). The distinction between the two types of representation cannot be used as a criterion for dating, for, although the eyebrow drawn in relief occurs in some of the earliest heads of the Harvard-Boston excavations, the other form is clearly to be seen in the beautiful head of a princess (Vienna) found by Professor Junker in the early mastaba G 4350. It seems, at first, possible that these two types may represent the conventions employed by two different groups of sculptors. But, if this is true, the two methods of modelling the brows appear somewhat indiscriminately in the works assigned by Dr. Reisner to both the sculptors A and B in the reigns of Chephren and Mycerinus. Thus all the statues assigned to sculptor A, with the exception of the Great Sphinx, the Chephren slate statue and the Hölscher pieces 7 and 2 and the M.F.A. Chephren alabaster fragments, lack the eyebrow in relief. But on the slate triad No. 10, while Mycerinus and Hathor lack eyebrows in relief, the Nome figure has them indicated. The alabaster statue from Memphis, the Leipzig diorite head of Chephren (Pl. 12 e), and Hölscher fragments 5, 6, 8, all assigned to sculptor B, have carefully drawn eyebrows and an indication of the paint-stripe extending out from the corner of the eye, although the rest of this sculptor's work lacks these details. It is very probable, as is evidenced by the Mycerinus triads, that all these royal heads had the eyebrow and paint-stripe added afterwards in paint, whether they were indicated in relief or not. Of the reserve heads, those from G 4140 (Pl. 7 b), 4640 (Pl. 7 f), 1203 (Pl. 9 b), 2110 (Pl. 48 d), the Dahshur head (Pl. 6 a), Cairo 37832 (Pl. 9 d), and the coarse head in University College have the eyebrows carved in relief. It is difficult, therefore, to see how the method of treating the eyebrow can be used to differentiate between the work of two different groups of craftsmen.

The heads present a variety of facial types, showing a clear attempt to portray the personal characteristics of the owner. Attention has been called to the aquiline types of Sneferuw-seneb, the husband of

the princess from G 4440 (Pl. 8), the intrusive head in G 4940 (Pl. 9 a), Nofer (G 2110) (Pl. 48), and the Princess Iabtyt (G 4650). The negroid character of the face of the princess from G 4440 is immediately striking (Pl. 8). It has also been noted in discussing the portrait of Prince Hemyuwnuw that there is a remarkable similarity between the head of Nofer (G 2110) and the relief heads in his chapel, particularly that on the north jamb of the entrance now in Boston (Pl. 48). The rather weak face of Sneferuw-seneb (Pl. 7 c), with its drawn lines around the mouth, and the long face of the man from G 4440 (Pl. 8), with a stubborn jaw in profile but less forceful in appearance when viewed from the front, should be noted. The piquant little face of the woman from G 4540 and the heads of unusual type from G 4340 and G 4640 are equally remarkable (Pl. 7). A very precise and careful drawing of the eyes, with delicately outlined rims and an indication of the fold of skin of the eyelids, is evident in the heads from G 1203, that from G 4640, the woman's head from G 4540, that of the Princess Merytyetes (G 4140), and Junker's head from G 4560. The fold of the eyelid is less well shown but the delicate rimming of the eye continues in the head of the husband of Merytyetes and in the male head from G 4340. A much broader treatment of the eye and the surfaces surrounding it is found in the heads of the negroid princess and her husband (G 4440), in the heads of Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240) and Nofer, in the Junker head in Vienna (G 4350), the Princess Iabtyt, and in the mud head of Weneshet (?) (G 4840), although several of these still retain the delicately drawn eye-rim (Sneferuw-seneb, G 4440 male head, and Iabtyt). There is a wide range in the modelling of the surfaces from the delicate gradations of the face of Princess Merytyetes to the rather flat planes of the Sneferuw-seneb head. The simple, large masses of the latter are found reflected in the two heads from G 4440, in that of Nofer and the head of Princess Iabtyt. Equally simple in modelling but with smoother gradations from plane to plane are the head of the man from G 4140 (Pl. 7 b), that from G 5020 Annex (Pl. 7 a), G 4560, and the Vienna princess. One has a feeling that these belong to a somewhat idealized type strongly in contrast to the vigorous realism of the group just referred to. They have the profile familiar from the best reliefs of Dyn. IV and bear a strong resemblance to the heads in the chapel of Khufuw-khaf, with their straight noses, lightly rounded or flattish foreheads, and delicately worked eyes and mouth. To this group I would also add the battered heads from G 7560.

One other peculiarity of the reserve heads should be observed. This is the tendency to mark the outer curve of the nostril by a sharp incision or by an angular edge to the raised surface. This is particularly prominent in the head from G 4340, the Nofer head, G 4640, and the Vienna head, less distinct in some of the others. The two vertical lines of the upper lip, just below the nostril, are sharply marked in nearly all the heads. One of the finest of all the heads is that of the Princess Merytyetes (Pl. 6 b). This resembles the Ankh-haf bust in the unusual rendering of the pouches beneath the eyes, a rare concession in Egyptian art to what might be termed transitory peculiarities (the detail does occur in a less pronounced fashion in the male head from G 4640). In spite of the broken nose a strong personality is expressed in the Merytyetes head. The curve from throat to base of neck, almost as though the artist had intended to cut a bust, gives an added impressiveness when seen from the side. It should be noted that there is a resemblance between this head and that of the Dahshur lady (Pl. 6 a). Both have the same placing of the eyes and modelling of the brows, the same strong chin and mouth and firmly modelled cheeks. To turn to the other extreme, the later heads, even that of the Princess Kat-hetep from Abusir, show a falling off in careful workmanship. These (G 7560, Cairo 47838, 37832, University College, and that found by Selim Hassan) are probably to be dated late in Dyn. IV or to Dyn. V and are conventionally modelled in simple planes. With the exception of the G 7560 heads and that found by Selim Hassan they present little claim to artistic merit. Finally, it should be remembered that several of the heads show a coating of plaster over the limestone to correct defects in the cutting. The nose of the Nofer head

(G 2110) is a striking example (Pl. 48), as is the head from G 4940 (Pl. 9 a). It is possible that in the case of some of the more roughly modelled heads the finer detail was later worked out in a plaster coating as seems to have been done with the Ankh-haf bust.

Although the statues of Methen, Rahotep and Nofret, and Hemyuwnuw were concealed behind the walls of a *serdab*, this was not the common custom during Dyn. IV at Giza, where the great majority of statues were not provided with closed statue chambers (*serdabs*). The evidence from the chapel of the Crown Prince Ka-wab suggests that the majority of statues of this time were exposed in the chapel, and the practice continued sporadically after the use of the *serdab* had become customary. Provision was also made in the exterior chapel of Ka-wab for the placing of statues in two niches built in the west wall. Each of these niches contained two square emplacements for statues, and from their shape Dr. Reisner thought that they contained three fragmentary figures of Ka-wab as a squatting scribe which were found in the debris of the chapel. A similar arrangement of statue niches is found in the exterior chapel of Prince Min-khaf of the reign of Chephren, and these built niches may have suggested the use of squatting scribes in rock-cut niches in the south wall of the chapel of Queen Meresankh III, towards the end of the Dynasty. The last-named certainly set the precedent for a number of similar figures in rock-cut chapels of Dyn. V (G 7837 and the chapel of Khafra-ankh in the quarry behind the Chephren Valley Temple).

Other statuettes of Ka-wab must have stood on the floor of the rooms of the outer chapel and, perhaps, in the portico. In the crude-brick exterior chapel of Khufuw-nekht (G 1205), a white-washed mud platform approached by a short ramp, in the south-east corner of the offering room, seems to have been the emplacement for a statue, although none was recovered.

The majority of the fragments of Ka-wab statues were of translucent diorite, but a few were of red and black granite. Five of the pieces were inscribed with the name of the prince, and the fragments belonged to at least ten or twenty life-size and half life-size standing and seated figures in addition to the seated scribes. This is the most extensive use of hard stone which has so far appeared and is probably due to Ka-wab's importance as a Crown prince. Several of the figures wore the full wig, but only part of one of the faces has been preserved (24-12-978 m) and little more can be said concerning details. The three scribe statues are as follows:

- (1) Reg. No. 25-1-393: squatting scribe; missing above the waist. The right hand rests clenched around some round object in the lap, the left hand is open, palm down, in the lap. Between the hands are inscribed titles and name. The width of the base was only 28.5 cm. Red granite. Pl. 10. Boston; M.F.A. No. 27.1127.
- (2) Reg. No. 34-4-1: lower part of a statue about twice the size of the preceding. Hands badly broken, body missing above waist. Inscribed across top of base and on belt with titles and name. The long roll held in the lap is inscribed with a *di nswt htp* formula and list of offerings. Base 52 × 39.5 cm., black granite. Pl. 10. Boston.
- (3) Reg. No. 24-12-1105: a fragment of a statuette even smaller than No. 1. This shows only a small portion of the waist, lap, and left arm of a seated scribe. Piece only about 7 cm. wide. Translucent diorite with traces of red paint.

The varying sizes of these statues make it difficult to visualize a symmetrical arrangement of them in the niches, and the smallest of the figures would not have occupied much space vertically in a rather tall opening. They may, of course, have been arranged with two small figures in one niche and a large pair in the other.

These are the first examples of this new form of the seated scribe. It is interesting that a crown prince should be represented as a scribe, and since it is in the statue of such an important person that the type first appears, it may mean that it was invented for these statues of Ka-wab to show him serving his father Cheops in the office of scribe. From this time on the attitude is a common one, occurring frequently in examples in hard stone. It is found soon afterwards in the portraits of two other princes, the son of Radedef, Prince Set-ka (a red granite statue from Abu Roash in the Louvre, Pl. 10), and Prince Khuwnera (yellow limestone in Boston, Pl. 10), a son of Mycerinus. As in the later statues, the modelling of the ankles and feet of Ka-wab is rudimentary, although attention has been shown to the rendering of the bones and muscle of the knee and upper part of the leg. The position of the hands is the common attitude followed by Khuwnera, although the Abu Roash statue has the more detailed treatment where the thumb and forefinger are held as though grasping the writing implement, while the left hand lies palm up with the thumb bent over the papyrus roll. The statue of Set-ka has an individual peculiarity in the rolls of fat across the abdomen.

The other royal mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery have preserved practically nothing of the statuary that they must once have contained. There remain only the following fragments from statues almost entirely destroyed. Only the first two certainly belong to the reign of Cheops:

- (1) G 7130 + 7140: Fragments of two statuettes of Prince Khufuw-khaf.  
Reg. No. 24-12-962: base of a seated diorite statue with part of name of Khufuw-khaf. 16.5 × 13.5 cm.; 12-12-656, 657 (two right hands). Boston.
- (2) Fragments of the heads of two statues in basalt; found in the debris of the first queen's pyramid (G I a).  
(a) Reg. No. 24-12-214: fragment of head with close-fitting hair, traces of red paint. H. 12 cm. Boston.  
(b) Reg. No. 24-12-365: royal fragment (white crown?). H. 15.4 cm. Boston.
- (3) Fragment from the base of a black basalt statue found in the Queen's Boat Grave: Reg. No. 24-11-694: h. 5.6 cm. Inscribed, [m]rr nb-f ḥt-ḥtp, a man otherwise unknown, unless he be the husband of Merytyetes (G 7650). Boston.
- (4) A statue of a seated vizier in diorite, found in the Isis Temple (Pyramid G I c) in 1888 and now in Cairo (Borchardt, *Statuen*, No. 46). Right hand on thigh, broken away, but left hand open on left thigh. Head gone. Inscribed beside right leg, sḥ nswt n ḥt-f, ḥdꜣwty bity. . . . Beside left leg (on front of seat), rprt, tyty sḥb tyty, wr 5. . . . No. 24-12-962 is part of this statue.

#### b. The Reign of Radedef.

A considerable body of very fragmentary statuary was found by Chassinat in the excavation of the temple and boat-grave of the pyramid of King Radedef at Abu Roash.<sup>1</sup> Many hundreds of statue fragments were found, and from these it was possible to establish the existence of a number of different types of royal figures. These all seem to have been executed in a hard reddish quartzite coming from Gebel Ahmar to the north of Cairo. At least twenty-one figures were found. These were of five different sizes and most of them showed the seated king with his left hand placed open on his thigh and the right hand closed holding a 'bâtonnet', or a 'bandolet', which probably means either the small circular object held by seated figures when the right hand is clenched with the thumb up, or else the 'handkerchief' held by the large alabaster statue of Mycerinus (Pl. 13). We thus find the Chephren attitude already

<sup>1</sup> *Monuments Piot*, vol. XXV, pp. 65-8.



established in the statue of Hemyuwnuw and in the royal figures of the reign of Radedef. The sizes of the statues were as follows:

- (1) Six examples 1.68 m. high.
- (2) Two examples 1.20 m. high.
- (3) Seven examples 0.80 m. high.
- (4) Four examples 0.50 m. high.
- (5) Two examples 0.30 m. high.

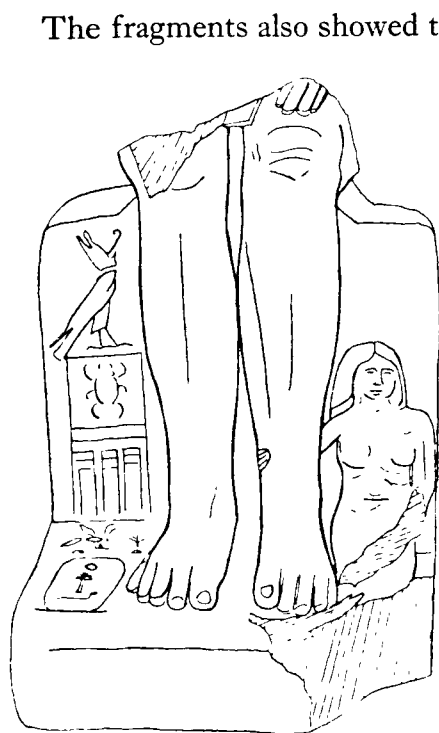


FIG. 10. Fragment of a statue of Radedef, Chassinat, *Monuments Piot*, XXV, *A propos d'une Tête en Grès Rouge du Roi Didoufré*, fig. 2.

The fragments also showed that there had been at least two standing figures of the king, somewhat smaller than life-size, with a support at the back containing a fragmentary inscription with the royal name. This is one of the few large examples of the single standing male royal figure that is known from Dyn. IV. It is found on a small scale in the ivory figurine of Mycerinus, in the unfinished porphyry statuette of the same king, in the alabaster fragment from the Chephren temple (Hölscher, *Chephren*, p. 98), and a slate statue of Chephren in Cairo (legs only preserved, Borchardt, No. 16). The Radedef fragments set the precedent for a statue type otherwise unknown except in the private figures of Dyn. V and later. This is the wife squatting at her husband's feet with one arm around his leg. In this case the figure is probably that of Queen Khentit-n-ka, whose name is known from other inscribed fragments at Abu Roash. She sits beside her husband's left leg (Fig. 10). Hers is the only female head preserved from this site but it is not particularly remarkable for good workmanship, her face, for example, being slightly lop-sided. She wears a short full wig parted in the middle, and has the full-cheeked round face so common in the royal ladies of this period. The type of squatting woman beside her husband is not common in the reliefs until later, although it occurs already in the chapel of Neferma'at at Medum, and it is remarkable in a royal statue of Dyn. IV.

Two large heads from figures of the king are preserved, one in the Louvre, wearing the royal head-cloth (Pl. 11 a, b), and the other, with a white crown, in the Cairo Museum (Pl. 11 c, No. 35139). Of these, the Louvre head is the better preserved, the lower part of the face being missing in the Cairo piece. Both show magnificent modelling and an extraordinary realism, proving that the sculptors of Radedef were not one whit less proficient than those of the preceding and following reigns. There is a strong resemblance between the heads and both show a peculiarity in the modelling of the eyes. There is a deep undercutting of the lower surface of the eyeball, so that the top part of the eye projects forward. A vertical surface is left beneath the eye between the rim and the flesh of the cheek, somewhat resembling the 'pouches' of Merytyetes (G 4140) and the head from G 4640. The brows have that slightly impressionistic modelling without the conventionalized eyebrow which is found in many of the reserve heads and a number of the heads of Chephren and Mycerinus. The drawing of the eyes is of the simplified type, the nose is broken in both heads, and the ears are large. Most characteristic is the indication of the cheek muscles and a bunching of the flesh at the corners of the mouth, which lends to the face an expression of great strength and firmness. A small head of the king in Cairo (Pl. 11 d, No. 35138) shows a more conventional

and idealized treatment of the features. The straight nose, carefully drawn eyes, and mouth are delicately worked in the red quartzite, but there is little or no resemblance to the other heads. The king wears the *nms*' head-dress. The Louvre head shows traces of having been painted, as do other fragments from Abu Roash, but the painting of hard-stone statues will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Of the statues made for the people of Radedef's court little is known. However, parts of the statues of five members of the royal family were found by Chassinat still in their original position in a room of the Pyramid temple. Only the squatting scribe statuette of Prince Set-ka, referred to above, was complete (Pl. 10). The red granite figure was fixed in a semicircular piece of wood set in an emplacement in the rectangular limestone base. The name and titles of the prince were inscribed on the roll held in his lap, and at greater length around the top surface of the limestone base. In the latter case the sunk hieroglyphs were filled with black paste, a rare usage of a technique which in its more elaborate form has given us the coloured paste inscriptions of the Hemyuwnuw statue and the paste-filled wall decorations of the mastaba of Nefermaat and Atet at Medum. Apparently two bases inscribed with the name and titles of Prince Hor-ent were found, and in one of these was fixed the lower part of a red granite scribe's figure. The other, now exhibited in the Louvre, shows a semicircular depression cut to receive a scribe's statue larger than that of Set-ka. The base of the statue of Prince Ba-ka seems to have been similar. That of the Princess Nefer-hetep-s (in the Louvre) contained a nearly square depression, but whether for a standing or a seated statue remains uncertain. The beautifully worked limestone torso of this statue suggests the latter possibility (Chassinat, *l.c.*, pl. X; also in the Louvre). The lower part of the statuette of a second princess, Hetep-heres, together with a fragment of the wig, was also found. This was apparently a seated figure of white limestone with the painted surface preserved. The white dress showed a rectangular pattern in blue paint imitating a bead garment.

As for the curious painted limestone statuette of a crouching sphinx found in the temple of Abu Roash (in the Cairo Museum, No. 35137), one hesitates to assign it to Dyn. IV. There is no conclusive evidence to prove that it belongs to the time of Radedef and its form suggests a much later date. On the other hand, it is not absolutely impossible that it may be early. Figures of sphinxes (admittedly of much larger size) flanked the entrance to the Chephren Valley Temple. Their emplacements were found as were hard-stone fragments of such statues. The skin of the Abu Roash creature is painted yellow, an unusual feature as the face of the great Sphinx of Giza was coloured red like other male statues. The face is beardless and full, and the forms throughout plump.

### c. The Sculpture of the Reigns of Chephren to Shepseskaf.

In *Mycerinus*, Chapter VII, Dr. Reisner has given a detailed discussion of the royal sculpture found in the temples of Chephren and Mycerinus. This material is fully illustrated by the plates in that volume and in Hölscher's *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*. Here, therefore, I shall only review the main points established in *Mycerinus*, and add a few minor observations. A few other important fragments of Chephren statues have been found in the excavation of both the Eastern and Western Cemeteries. These should be added to the list of examples given in *Mycerinus*. One group was found partly in the chapel and east of the mastaba of Prince Duwanera (G 5110) and partly in the neighbourhood of the adjoining tomb of Khnum-baf. Another group was discovered in the debris of the Senezem-ib (G 2370) complex. The statues had apparently been dragged to these places from the Chephren temple in order to break them up for the manufacture of stone vessels. Another head was found by Professor Junker in the far western part of the central strip of the cemetery west of the Great Pyramid.

The fragments from the Eastern Cemetery were very incomplete and add little to our knowledge of the sculpture of this reign. They can be listed briefly as follows:

- (1) Reg. No. 25-1-1190: alabaster fragment of cartouche of Chephren from the side of the throne of a seated figure; found in pit G 7422 A; size, 8.0 × 7.4 cm. Boston M.F.A. No. 21.952.
- (2) Reg. No. 24-12-822: front and side of seat, with cartouche of Chephren on the front and heraldic plants on the side; black granite; found in pit G 7220 A; h., 10 cm.

Three other fragments have no royal name but may be parts of statues of Chephren:

- (3) Reg. No. 26-2-47: lap of an alabaster statue wearing the *šndyt* skirt; from pit G 7050 B; w. 17 cm.
- (4) Reg. No. 24-12-366: alabaster fragment of papyrus plant from the side of a seat; found in street between G 7220 and 7230.
- (5) Reg. No. 26-1-1221, 1222: lappet wig, shoulder, and beard from a diorite statue; found in Avenue 4; w. 8 cm.

The fragments from the Western Cemetery comprise a very fine face from an alabaster statue about life-size, a fragment of a similar face, a face from a statue about one-half life-size, an incomplete head in alabaster, and the somewhat battered slate head found by Professor Junker. The group of fragments is as follows:

- (1) Head of a slate statue wearing the *nms* head-cloth. Cairo Museum; thought by Professor Junker to be a portrait of Chephren; found at NW corner of the small mastaba D 16. *Vorbericht*, 1926, p. 105, pl. IX.
- (2) Reg. No. 14-12-1 + 14-11-206: alabaster face associated with fragments bearing cartouche of Chephren; Boston; found in debris at NE corner of G 5330; total h. 20.5 cm. Pl. 12; M.F.A. No. 21.351.
- (3) Reg. No. 14-12-49: left eye and forehead from head resembling last-named but about one-quarter life-size. With it were found fragments from at least three alabaster statues of Chephren; one life-size, one three-quarters life-size, and one one-quarter life-size. These fragments included sides of throne with name of Chephren, part of right knee, and part of wig. Pl. 12. Boston M.F.A. No. 21.951.
- (4) Reg. No. 12-12-175: three-quarters of a very fine alabaster face (the right eye is missing) resembling those mentioned above; Boston; about one-half life-size; 12.3 × 8.3 cm. Found with the group of fragments in Boston, Reg. No. 12-12-176: fragments of several alabaster statues some of which were inscribed with the name of Chephren. From the surface debris in front of G 2370 B and in G 2382 A. Pl. 12.
- (5) Reg. No. 33-2-221: a badly battered head of alabaster wearing the *nms* head-cloth; Boston M.F.A. No. 34.52 a & b; found in the surface debris of the Senzem-ib complex, like the preceding fragments. Nearly life-size; h. 0.193 m.
- (6) Reg. Nos. 14-12-57, 58, 63: fragments of similar seated alabaster figures, probably Chephren; found north of G 5412, 5411. Boston.
- (7) Reg. Nos. 14-12-71, 72: fragments of shoulders, thighs, and wrists of a seated alabaster figure, probably Chephren; G 5223 A. Boston M.F.A. No. 21.951 a-d.
- (8) Reg. Nos. 14-11-107, 108, 110: fragments of several alabaster statues, some inscribed with the name of Chephren, but two with the name of Mycerinus; found between G 5110 and G 5230.
- (9) Splinters of an alabaster statue of Chephren found by Professor Junker east of the mastaba of Ka-seza; *Vorbericht*, 1914, p. 39.

In addition to the above there is a beautiful little alabaster face in Copenhagen (14.5 cm. high, Pl. 12) resembling the face in Boston, and purchased from the MacGregor Collection in 1922 (Mogenson, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La Collection Égyptienne*, pl. II, No. A 2 a).

Dr. Reisner has noted, in summarizing the characteristics of the great sculptures from the temples of Chephren and Mycerinus, that the work of two schools can be distinguished. These he has designated as the works of Sculptor A and Sculptor B. In the first he would see an older man working in a more severe manner, 'not so much an idealist as the creator of the formula of a type of face which influenced all his work', and in the second a sculptor who applies a softer modelling to his surfaces, and who is essentially a realist, striving for exact portraiture. He would divide between these two sculptors the royal work of the two reigns as I have listed them below. I have also added an observation as to which of the two styles of representing the eyebrow appears in each work. There is here possibly a heritage from the work of two schools of an earlier reign. The formal drawing of the eyebrows and paint-stripe in relief is certainly an early treatment seen in the sculpture of the Archaic period. I would suggest that the more impressionistic modelling of the brow was first used to a large extent in the best work of the reign of Sneferuw, although it is foreshadowed in one of the Kha-sekhem statues and in the hard-stone private statues where it was difficult to carve extra detail. Both types of modelling of the brow seem to have existed side by side in the reign of Cheops.

To Sculptor A Dr. Reisner assigns:

- (1) The Great Sphinx (eyebrows in relief).
- (2) The famous diorite statue of Chephren (Cairo No. 14) (eyebrows not in relief).
- (3) The slate statue of Chephren (Cairo No. 15) (eyebrows in relief).
- (4) Various fragments: Hölscher's No. 7, perhaps No. 2; also the alabaster fragments from Western Cemetery (all with eyebrows in relief).
- (5) The slate pair of Mycerinus and his queen; Boston (eyebrows not in relief) (Pl. 12 c).
- (6) Mycerinus triad No. 10, slate, Theban Nome, Cairo (no eyebrows drawn on two figures but indicated on Nome figure).
- (7) Mycerinus triad No. 11, slate, Cynopolis Nome, Cairo (no eyebrows drawn).
- (8) Mycerinus triad No. 12, slate, Nome of Diospolis Parva, Cairo (no eyebrows drawn).

Perhaps by apprentices of A:

- (9) The small head of pink limestone, Hölscher No. 3 (eyes inlaid).
- (10) The Mycerinus statuette No. 37 (unfinished), Cairo.

To Sculptor B are assigned:

- (1) Alabaster statue of Chephren found at Memphis (Cairo No. 41) (eyebrows in relief).
- (2) The diorite face of Chephren, Leipzig (eyebrows in relief) (Pl. 13).
- (3) Hölscher's fragments Nos. 5 and 8 (eyebrows in relief).
- (4) The great alabaster statue of Mycerinus, Boston (eyebrows not in relief) (Pl. 13).
- (5) The Cairo seated statue of Mycerinus, alabaster (eyebrows not in relief).
- (6) The large alabaster head of Mycerinus, Cairo (eyebrows not in relief).
- (7) The head of Shepseskaf (?), Boston (eyebrows not in relief).
- (8) The Mycerinus triad No. 9, slate; Hare Nome, Boston (eyebrows not in relief) (Pl. 13).

Perhaps by apprentices of B:

- (9) The small diorite statuette of Mycerinus from Memphis (Cairo No. 42) (eyebrows not in relief).
- (10) Unfinished statuettes of Mycerinus, Nos. 32, 35 (Boston), 36 (Cairo), and perhaps Nos. 25-31 (25-27, 31 in Boston; 28-30 in Cairo).

In the work of these two sculptors we have a number of complete statues of hard stone by which to judge the superlative craftsmanship of the royal work of the period. The portraiture in the heads, and the treatment of the bony and muscular structure of the knees of the great seated Mycerinus in the Boston Museum (Pl. 13), have reached an excellence never again surpassed. The arrangement of the single figures and the composition of the groups show a culmination of experiment resulting in the ideal type for the representation of kingly majesty. A monumental simplicity is achieved in the diorite seated statue of Chephren, in the slate pair, the great alabaster statue, and the triads of Mycerinus, where one

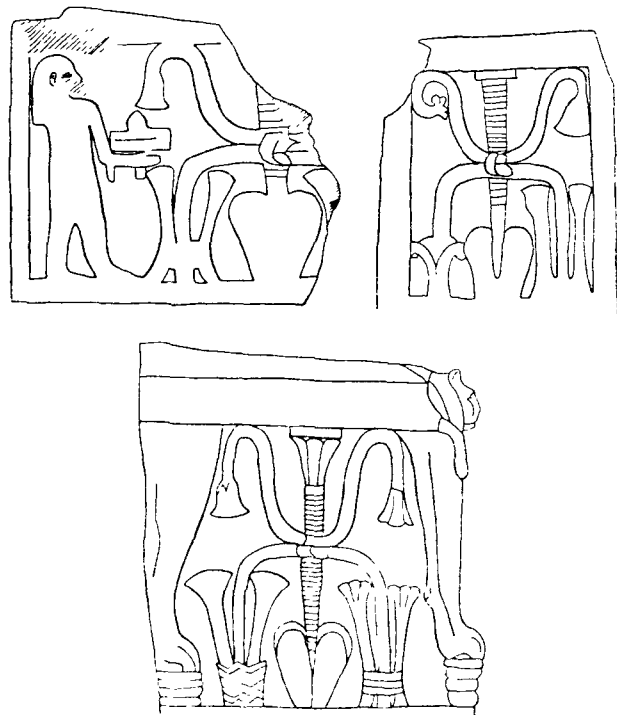


FIG. 11. Back of seat of statue of Chephren and Bast (Borchardt, *Statuen*, p. 12); side of seat of same statue (*l.c.*, p. 11); side of chair of Chephren statue (*l.c.*, p. 9).

feels that all superficial ornament has been eliminated and a restrained richness in dress and decoration has been subordinated to the imposing form of the royal figure. In the Chephren seated statues the old-fashioned seat imitating a plain rectangular wooden construction with bent wood supports or plain mouldings has given place to two more elaborate forms. One of these represents a high-backed chair with lion's legs. The back leg is carved in profile against the stone block and the front leg is seen in two aspects, carved in high relief along the side and with the head, shoulders, and forelegs of the lion projecting strongly in front view. Between the legs of the chair, on the sides of the base, and carved in heavy, bold relief contrasting markedly with the delicacy of the limestone reliefs of the period, are found for the first time<sup>1</sup> the intertwined heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, joined in the middle by the hieroglyphic symbol meaning 'to bind together'. While the plant of Lower Egypt is consistently the papyrus, two forms are shown for the emblem of Upper Egypt. The southern plant is most commonly represented as a palm-like growth such as decorates the ends of the carrying-chair poles of Queen Hetep-heres I, or ornaments the end of the seat-board of the chair of Sethy-hekenet (G 1227) on a slab-stela of the Cheops period, but once (Fig. 11) the southern plant is that known in the hieroglyph for south (*šmꜣw*).

The second type of throne consists of a plain block without lions' legs but having on the sides a rectangular framework in relief enclosing the heraldic plants as before. The chair with the high back disappears after the reign of Chephren, but the more simple type continues. The statues seated in the chair with high back are further elaborated by having a protecting hawk at the back of the king's head, bridging the transition between the top of the chair-back and the head. A fragment of such a hawk and part of the king's head has been mentioned above under the sculpture of the reign of Cheops. If it is really from a statue of Cheops the form of the seated Chephren statue may have been invented in the preceding reign.

A further addition to the heraldic plants is found on the back of a statue showing Chephren seated

<sup>1</sup> The design occurs already on the side of a throne in a Zoser relief fragment from Heliopolis. It would seem that a similar design of heraldic plants also exists on the side of

the throne of Queen Meresankh III in the badly weathered reliefs of the south wall of G 7530.

beside the Goddess Bast (Cairo No. 11). To the left of the plants is carved a figure of a Nile God presenting an offering in the form of a *htp* sign. This figure was presumably flanked by another, now broken away on the right of the plants (Fig. 11). It is simply and rather rudely drawn, but belongs to a very rare group of figures cut in relief in hard stone. Earlier than this one can think of only a few First Dynasty examples on a small scale, such as the fragmentary bits of figure sculpture on stone bowls found by Amélineau at Abydos. A little later there is the Khasekhemwy granite door-jamb from Hierakonpolis. The few inscriptions there are in the hard-stone revetments of the Chephren Temple

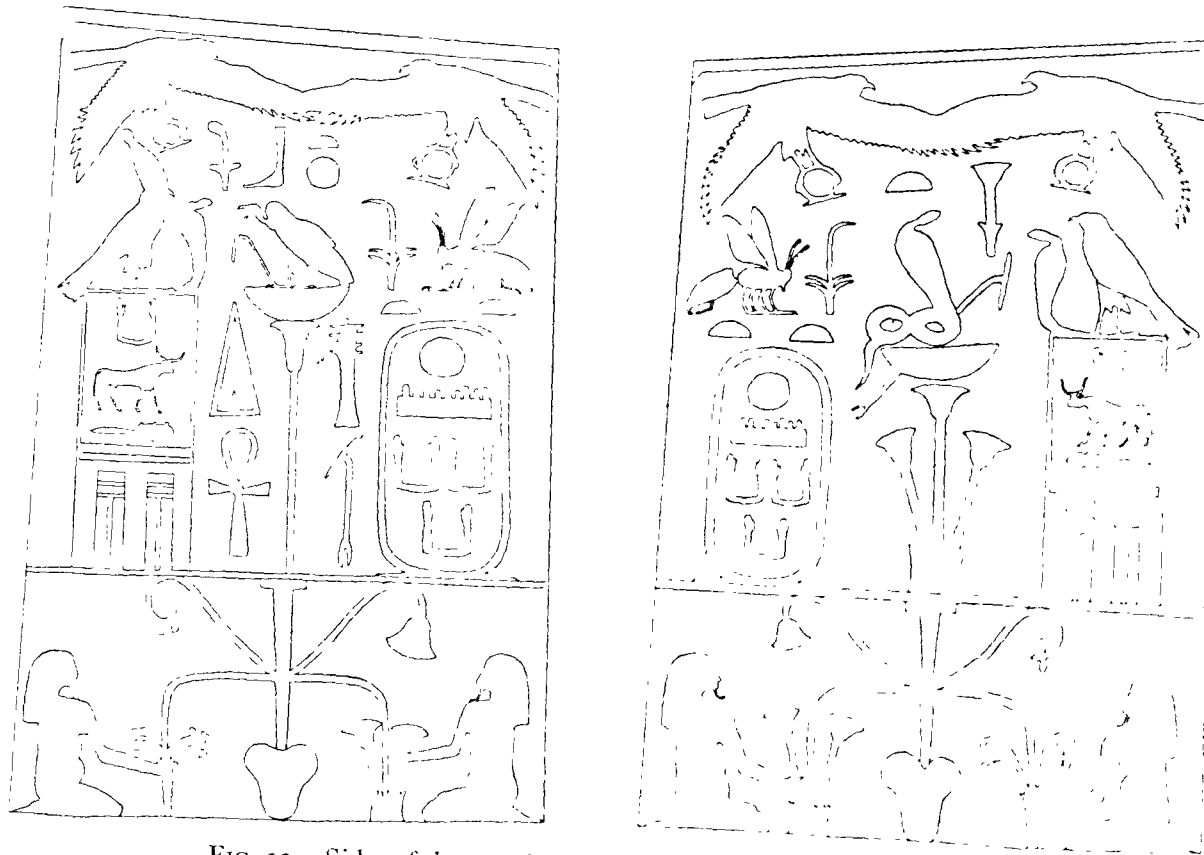


FIG. 12. Sides of throne of alabaster statue of Mycerinus in Boston.

itself, and a newly found piece from the Cheops Pyramid Temple, are worked in sunk relief and the use of relief sculpture in hard stone is very infrequent later in the Old Kingdom.

A more elaborate design is found incised on the sides and back of the seat of a broken alabaster statue of Mycerinus in Boston (Fig. 12). This shows squatting Nile Gods twisting the heraldic plants (this time the southern plant is in the form of *šmꜣw*) about the emblem meaning 'to join together'. The plants support the cartouche and Horus name of the king, and a central element rising from the *smꜣ* sign (formed of a papyrus column on one side of the throne and the papyrus plant on the other) holds up the Goddess Nekhbet on the south and Buto on the north (right and left sides of the seat). Two Horus hawks hover above, facing each other and holding *šn* signs. On the back of the seat are again the bound plants, and above, the king's Horus name with an epithet. Hölscher found a curious fragment of alabaster, apparently from the side of a throne, incised above with the figure of a seated lion, and below with part of the wing of a bird (Fig. 13). The design is, of course, incomplete, but is reminiscent of the decoration on the side of the block throne on which Meresankh III sits, in the relief on the tablet of her southern false-door (G 7530+7540; Fig. 13). This fragment suggests a seated figure of a queen, a type otherwise known only in the colossal statue of Kha-merer-nebty I.

The seated statue of Chephren and the Goddess Bast, mentioned above, is the earliest example of the seated pair statue that has been preserved. The piece is too fragmentary to make clear the exact position of the figures. The seated pair statue is not preserved in any other royal examples from Dyn. IV, but the Mycerinus triads show more complicated arrangements of seated and standing figures, all of which were imitated by the makers of private statues. Just as the positions of the seated and standing figures of Chephren formed a pattern for the private statues of the following period, so the pose of the standing pair statue of Mycerinus and his queen (Pl. 13) provided the type form for such a group. The position of the woman, with her right arm around her husband's waist and her left hand placed on his hanging left arm, is varied by two poses, one where the arm is placed on the shoulder of the man, while the other arm hangs at the woman's side, and the rare position where the husband's arm is flung about

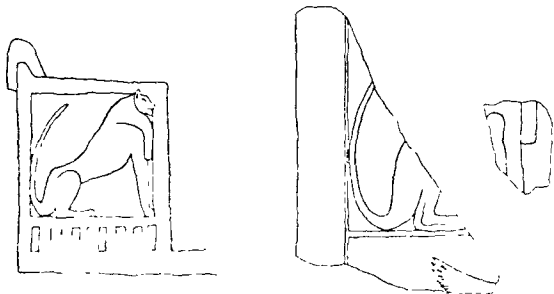


FIG. 13. Throne of Queen Meresankh III in relief on tablet of southern niche in chapel G 7530; fragment of statue from Chephren temple (Hölscher, *Chephren*, p. 100, fig. 124).

the shoulder of his wife, the arm hanging down in front of her shoulder. The standing figure of the woman with her arm around her husband's waist sometimes shows the other hand hanging at her side instead of placed on the man's arm. These are, after all, minor variations, and the general form of the Mycerinus pair is usually followed.

The triads of Mycerinus introduce a grouping of figures hitherto unknown in Egyptian statuary. They show the standing king combined with a standing or seated figure of Hathor, and a male or female figure personifying one of the Nomes of Egypt. In the four complete statues from the Mycerinus Valley Temple, the men ordinarily hold their hands clenched at their sides, but there are a number of variations. The standing Hathor holds the king's right hand in triads 12 and 13, while the seated Hathor places her arm around the king's waist and her right hand on his arm in triad No. 9 (Pl. 13). In statue 12 Hathor and the goddess of Diospolis Parva hold their hands clenched around the round objects usually confined to male statues, while in No. 11 the women place their arms around the king (so that although invisible they must cross at the back), resting their hands on his upper arm and not on his shoulder as ordinarily. In the other hand each goddess holds an *anh* sign. It is interesting to note that in the case where the throne with the seated goddess provides it with support, the king holds a mace in his right hand, while on the other side, the goddess of the Hare Nome holds forward an *anh* sign along the side of the throne (Pl. 13). The compactness of Egyptian design, and the fear of breakage, usually prevented the representation of such accessories in stone statues, although they may well have occurred in wooden pieces.

Probably to be dated to the reign of Chephren is the painted limestone bust of Prince Ankh-haf (Pls. 14, 15, Boston, M.F.A. No. 27.442; h., 0.506 m.), one of the most remarkable creations of the Fourth Dynasty. It was found in the crude-brick exterior chapel of that prince's mastaba (G 7510), the largest construction in the Eastern Cemetery. The bust lay on the floor of the chapel in front of a low brick basis or bench, and it is possible that it may have stood on this construction. The interior chapel was supplied with a large *serdab* and it may be that this piece was dragged from the smashed *serdab* with other sculpture which has now disappeared. The piece itself appears never to have formed part of a statue. It is designed very much in the fashion of a modern bust, extending a little below the breast, with a flattened under-surface and the arms cut off just below the armpits. No other sculpture of this exact form is known, although there are a few examples where the bust is not free-standing but incorporated in a false door. Thus there is a certain resemblance to the curious figure of Yeduw, set in

the lower part of an offering-niche which had been cut away to frame the rock-cut head and upper part of the figure (Pl. 57). Another unusual representation shows the bust of Nefer-seshem-ptah set in the place of the tablet in his false door at Saqqarah (Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, II, pl. XCVI). There can be no question of such a disposition of the figure in the chapel of Ankh-haf. Although the southern offering-niche is almost completely destroyed, it seems to have been (from the fragments preserved) of the ordinary type like the northern niche of the chapel, which would admit of no such modification. The bust itself shows no trace of attachment to a wall. The only free-standing piece of sculpture which bears a resemblance to Ankh-haf is the interesting red-painted head and shoulders of an unknown man in the Louvre. I believe that the resemblance in form is purely fortuitous, the bust-like shape of the Louvre piece being due in all probability to modern cutting intended to remove the unsightly projections of a fragment broken from an ordinary statue (I should suggest a squatting scribe) (Pl. 15).

The surface of the Ankh-haf bust is well preserved and, although it is difficult to detect under the coating of light red paint, a thin layer of plaster, varying in thickness and most evident on the back of the shoulders, has been applied over the original limestone surface. It is almost impossible to determine how much of the carving was executed in the limestone core, but some of the softer modelling of the face and hair certainly seems to have been cut in the plaster. In parts, the coating appears to have been only a film like the white-wash often applied over reliefs to aid in retaining the colour. The same difficulty arises in attempting to determine the extent of the finishing touches applied in plaster to certain of the reserve heads. Traces of black paint survive on the inner rim of the right eye, while the pupil seems to have been painted brown. An unmistakable remnant of the short beard still adheres to the chin. It seems to have been cut entirely in plaster. The chin-beard is known to me elsewhere in Dynasty IV only in royal statues but appears in reliefs.

For pure realism and the plastic quality of its surfaces, the head of Ankh-haf is perhaps unrivalled in all Egyptian sculpture. The bony structure beneath the skin makes itself felt as does the sturdy framework of chest and shoulders. The form of the eyebrows, the little fold of skin in the eyelids and the pouches beneath the eyes, the lines around the mouth, the firm chin, and the sensitive modelling of the lips, all bespeak keen observation of the personal characteristics of the prince and a masterly handling of the material. The hair is treated in impressionistic fashion. There are here the realistic tendencies and softness of modelling that have been noted as the characteristics of Sculptor B, but which were simplified slightly in the obdurate material of the Chephren and Mycerinus statues. In the softer limestone an even fuller subtlety of modelling is reached in the facial planes. Whether or not this piece is a work of Sculptor B, it represents the same trend of ideas and has been executed by a master of equal power. In spite of the naturalistic qualities of their portraiture, exemplified at its best in the statue of Hemyuwnuw, I feel that the finest of the reserve heads (and the Hemyuwnuw statue) bear the same relationship to the Ankh-haf bust as the royal works of Sculptor A do to Sculptor B. This does not mean to say that the first group is the work of Sculptor A and the bust that of B, which would require too long a life for Sculptor A. He would have had to produce masterpieces as a mere boy for Cheops and as a man between 60 and 70 for Mycerinus, which is extremely improbable. What it does mean, I think, is that Sculptor A was working in the fine tradition which extended back into the great workshops of the reign of Cheops and probably also of Sneferuw (of which I should see a reflection in the statues of Rahotep and Nofret at Medum), while a new spirit of naturalism coupled with more plastic modelling made itself felt both in the works assigned to Sculptor B and the Ankh-haf bust. To this group of sculptures I should be inclined also to assign the two large heads of Radedef, which would carry the introduction of the new spirit of naturalism back a few years earlier than the reign of Chephren. Unfortunately



there is no other private work showing similar tendencies preserved from Dyn. IV, though the Sheikh el-Beled, the Louvre scribe, and the statues of Ranofer may be said to show a continuation of this tradition in the early part of Dyn. V.

The Louvre bust belongs probably with the group of Early Dyn. V statues mentioned above, but its resemblance to the Ankh-haf bust makes a discussion useful here, if only to point out the differences between the two. The only evidence for dating this head (acquired from the Salt Collection in 1826) lies in the style of the sculpture itself. It belongs to the realistic school of portraiture exemplified by all Dyn. IV sculpture, whether it belongs to the severe style or that of the 'B school'. It is perhaps more reasonable to date it to the time of the continuation of this realism in certain great heads of the first half of Dyn. V. I do not believe that the same high standard of workmanship continued in private sculpture to the end of Dyn. V, if we can judge by the falling-off in quality in the head of the large statue of Thiy of the end of that dynasty, a work belonging to one of the most influential people of his period, who decorated his large mastaba with reliefs of the best workmanship of his time (they themselves are less fine than those of Dyn. IV or the royal reliefs of the first part of Dyn. V). The eyes of the Salt head are treated in summary fashion, the right eye being larger than the left. The cheek-bones are prominent to the degree of giving the face an almost haggard expression, accentuated by the lines from cheek-bone to mouth which leave hollows along the jaws. This feeling for the bony structure is what makes one want to compare the head with that of Ankh-haf. It is seen to a more remarkable degree in the modelling of the skull (from which the hair appears to have been shaved), particularly in profile. The tendons of the throat, and what is more extraordinary, those at the back of the neck are prominently carved, as are the collar-bones. The right ear, alone preserved, is well modelled. A certain asymmetry of the features as seen from the front, however, detracts from what would otherwise be a superlative piece of portraiture.<sup>1</sup> It is this slight unevenness in workmanship (recalling the head of the Louvre scribe) which makes one hesitate to assign this piece to Dyn. IV.

To return to the Giza sculpture, mention must be made of a fragment found by Professor Junker in the chapel of Akhy (G 4750, *Giza I*, pl. XXXIX). This is only the clenched hanging hand of a large figure and the adjoining head of a small boy, but it suggests that we have here an early example either of a family group statue or of a type of composition which is known from a statuette from G 1314. This is also found in another example from G 1402 (Pl. 22) and shows a standing man with a little boy beside him. It is likewise possible that the beautifully modelled naked male figure found by Professor Junker in the street east of mastaba II, south of the Great Pyramid, may belong to late Dyn. IV. It is not certain, but probable, that it is a statue of Ka-m-nofret, who is buried in the mastaba. Dr. Junker describes it as being of dark basalt-like stone. The modelling of the knees is particularly fine (*Vorbericht*, 1928, pl. VIII b).

There must now be considered a group of statues all of which seem to belong to the end of Dyn. IV and which were made for the members of the family of Chephren and Mycerinus. A small yellow limestone statuette showing the prince as a squatting scribe was found in the rock-cut chapel of Khuwnera, a son of Mycerinus and Kha-merer-nebty II (Boston, M.F.A. 13.3140, h., 0.305 m.). This chapel was the finest of a group of tombs cut in the quarry south-east of the Third Pyramid, from which came

<sup>1</sup> The beautiful photographs of the head reproduced on pls. 12-15 of the 'Tel' *Photographic Encyclopaedia of Art*, I, tend to minimize the asymmetry of the face and the difference in size of the eyes. The lighting in these photographs seems to me to have idealized certain qualities in the face, less obvious in the original. I am not prepared to accept the suggestion recently put forward by Hellmut Müller-Feldmann (*J.Z.*,

LXXIV, pp. 132 ff.) that the head belongs to the Amarna Period. To answer two of the arguments made in this article, the overlapping of the upper eyelid appears in an even more pronounced fashion in the Ankh-haf bust, and the drawing of the ear is closely duplicated in the Louvre Radedef head (Pls. 11, 15).

much of the stone used in the building of that pyramid. Khuwnera is shown in the attitude known already from the Ka-wab statues and his statuette has been mentioned in considering these. The left hand is open palm down in the lap, while the right hand, now broken away, was probably closed as if holding a writing implement (Pl. 10). The body and wig have been carved out in large simple masses without much secondary detail. They do not seem to have received the fine polish which has been given to the face, and it may be that the figure lacks the last stage of completion. The legs have the large calves and rudimentary feet characteristic of the majority of seated scribes, although these should have been easier to approximate correctly in soft stone. The full face bears a resemblance to the prince's mother, Queen Kha-merer-nebty II, who is shown with him in the reliefs of his chapel. The eyes have the impressionistic treatment of the brows. The whole figure shows a conventional, simple treatment of surfaces, the attention being concentrated upon the face.

In another rock-cut tomb, not far behind the Valley Temple of Chephren, Count Galarza (*Annales*, X, p. 41) found a group of limestone statues belonging to Queen Kha-merer-nebty I, the wife of Chephren, and her family. Daressy, in discussing these statues, unfortunately only illustrates the most interesting pieces and does not describe the others in detail. The cloaked figure of the queen (*l.c.*, pl. VI) is now in the Cairo Museum as well as a colossal seated statue of the lady (No. 48856), but the present location of the other pieces appears to be unknown. There were six statues, none of the faces being preserved: in addition to the cloaked figure of the queen, three other figures of a woman seated alone, and one pair statue where she was shown with a man whose name ended . . . *n-r*, as well as a seated male figure of a prince who seems to have been named Sekhem-ra (*l.c.*, pl. II). Besides these there was an unfinished rock-cut statue of a woman set in a niche of the pillar separating the two halves of room B and there seem also to have been alabaster fragments and the support of a diorite statue. It is impossible now to judge of the style or workmanship of these pieces, although from the fine quality of the fragmentary standing statue and the remarkable size of the seated piece it is a great pity that more care was not taken in recording and preserving the other statues. The cloaked statue is unique in type. It shows a woman standing with the left leg forward in the striding attitude of the queen in the Mycerinus slate pair. She is wearing a pleated tunic with shoulder-straps, which are supplied with some sort of ties on the left shoulder. A long pleated cloak is wrapped twice around her body leaving the left arm and shoulder free. Her right hand is open on her breast, the arm being hidden by the cloak, while the left arm hangs bare at the side with the hand open. The figure is placed against a narrow plinth. The modelling of the collar-bones and the neck, the drawing of the hands, and the delicate pleating of the dress show the work of a skilled craftsman and make one regret the loss of the head. Such a cloaked figure is almost unique in Old Kingdom sculpture but Selim Bey Hassan has recently found in a later tomb, not far away from the tomb of Kha-merer-nebty, a rock-cut statue of a man set in an offering-niche and wearing a cloak resembling that of the king in the Heb-Sed feast.

The enormous seated figure of the queen in Cairo (No. 48856) is at least twice life-size (228 cm. high) and there is nothing comparable to this in the Old Kingdom except the colossal granite head of Weserkaf which must have come from an even larger statue (head of Weserkaf 68 cm.; that of woman 38 cm. high), the almost completely destroyed statuette of Zoser mentioned on p. 15, or the great alabaster statue of Mycerinus in Boston which is well over life-size. There is nothing remarkable about the piece except for its size. The lappet wig is worn as is usual in statues of queens. The dress is a long tunic, and the hands are placed palm down on the thighs. The seat has a back-rest which reaches almost to the base of the wig. Down the front of the seat on the left side is inscribed: *wrt hts, srt nswt nt ht-f, hmt nswt Nbty-hr* . . . and on the other side: *mt Hr Stb, srt nswt nt ht-f, hmt nswt Nbty*. . . . The

funerary priest, Khemten. This man apparently had charge of the cutting of the tomb and took occasion to include a portrait of himself. Fearing the displeasure of his patroness Hetep-heres (the mother of Meresankh who ordered the tomb prepared), he arranged for a slab of stone to be let into the wall to hide the statue. Later his son, Khemten the younger, carved his own statue quite openly and removed the slab from in front of his father's figure. One is reminded of the relief portraits which Senmut caused to be carved where they would be hidden behind the folding doors of the chapels of the temple which he built for Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari.

A new fashion seems to have been set in the Meresankh tomb, for here we find for the first time examples of the small limestone servant statues which were to become an important feature of the *serdabs* of the following dynasty. It is uncertain where they were placed as no *serdab* is preserved, but it is possible that they may have been walled up in a rock-cut recess still present in the southern face of the rock outside the entrance to the chapel. Three figures were found. One of them (Boston) shows a badly preserved squatting male figure engaged in cutting up a bull (Fig. 14 b). The animal is carved as though in relief on top of the stone base, instead of being modelled in the round as are later examples (cf. Pl. 28). A second is that of a standing female figure in a long skirt. She leans over a basket, through which she is probably straining some substance into a large basin (Fig. 14). This action is often found accompanying the scenes of beer-making. The third represents a squatting woman holding on her lap a large basket-work tray into which she seems to be straining something from a smaller basket (Fig. 14, Boston, M.F.A. 30.1458; h., 0.223 m.). The pose of this figure, with her feet drawn back under her body but exposed at one side, is an attitude which is found in the small statues of wives sitting at the feet of their husbands. It seems to have been invented for the queen of Radedef in the statue from Abu Roash, although the feet and legs of that figure are badly damaged. The rarity of the occurrence of the pose in the case of a male figure has been noted by Quibell in describing a statue of uncertain date found by him at Saqqarah (*Excavations at Saqqarah, 1906-1907*, pl. XI). This third type of servant figure is rare in occurrence, but an almost identical statuette is in the Cairo Museum (No. 35313), similar also in style and workmanship. I have been unable to ascertain the date of the latter piece which was found at Saqqarah in 1901.

We have seen that servant figures have already occurred in a Predynastic grave at Naqadah and amongst the early figurines of the Abydos temple. The statuettes made for Queen Meresankh are however, the first developed examples of a type of figure that was commonly to be deposited in the tomb (see pp. 95 ff.). They were intended to supplement the magical properties of the reliefs and paintings on the chapel walls which showed peasants executing the work of the owner's estates, in order to provide the noble with the services which he required in after-life. To set the beginning of this custom in the last few years of Dyn. IV accords well with the increasing use of scenes from life on the walls of the chapel, an expansion which was taking place at this same time.

## IV

### THE SCULPTURE OF DYNASTY V

#### a. The Sculpture of the First Half of Dynasty V

WE shall see when we come to discuss the reliefs of Dyn. V that there is a kind of transitional period during the reigns of Weserkaf and Sahura in which the royal temples are decorated with low relief as fine in quality as that of Dyn. IV. The scenes in the private chapels and the forms of the chapels themselves conservatively retain the simple forms of the inner offering-room of the preceding dynasty at Giza and Saqqarah. At Giza the L-shaped chapel is still common, decorated with the traditional scenes little different from those in earlier chapels. At Saqqarah the short corridor chapel is frequent, showing a similar simplicity of decorative treatment. It seems to have taken some time for the widely extended wall decoration which began in the rock-cut tombs towards the end of Dyn. IV to make itself felt in the chapels built of masonry above ground. I believe it is possible to find similar evidence of continuity in a group of statues, the date of which has never been set within very precise limits. I should like to place these at a time when only the very wealthy private person could afford a statue of fine quality. Therefore these works are all large statues belonging to people who had a certain prominence or who enjoyed the special favour of the king and received their statues as presents from the royal workshops. After the first half of Dyn. V I would detect a certain deterioration in the workmanship of large pieces, but by this time even a person of moderate means could afford a small statuette of medium quality. This does not appear to have been possible before, and was due undoubtedly to the great training-schools formed by the enormous works undertaken by the kings of Dyn. IV.

It is significant that there appears to be little sculpture in relief or in the round of a provincial source which can be dated to Dyn. IV (see p. 142). Exceptions are some small reliefs at Reqaqnah and El Kab and a standing and seated statue of a man named Nefer-shemem found by Quibell at El Kab. The standing statue is headless and in the usual pose (*El Kab*, pl. III, Philadelphia). The seated statue, however, is more interesting. The attitude is the less usual one of right hand open, palm down on the thigh, and the left hand clenched. The forms of the body are heavy and vigorously modelled in big simple planes. The face is harsh and framed by a bulging, clumsy, short wig which rests on the shoulders, giving the impression that the figure has no neck (Cairo, Borchardt, No. 650). The neighbouring tomb of Ka-mena, dated usually to the reign of Sneferuw because of the stone bowls inscribed with the name of that king found there, also contained fragments of a statue bearing the name of the owner, and the leg of another statue. The style of the Nefer-shemem pieces seems to me to make a date earlier than the end of the reign of Cheops impossible for this group of mastabas. It is unthinkable that, if private people at the capital had to be content with archaic work like the statue of Methen or Aket-a'a, a provincial notable of no great prominence could possess statues as developed as those of Nefer-shemem. If the Rahotep and Nofret statues are to be pushed up as late as the reign of Cheops, these El Kab mastabas cannot be as early as Sneferuw.

Even at Giza and Saqqarah the only statue belonging to a minor person which I would venture to assign to a date in or shortly after the reign of Chephren is a small seated figure of white limestone found in a little rock-cut tomb on the northern edge of the Western Cemetery at Giza (G 1608). This statuette

be said that the face bears a remarkable resemblance to the scribe, although the eyes are again inlaid. There is, however, a bony quality to the face which suggests the other head, and a good test which shows that there is similarity is to examine pl. XXXI of Capart's article (*J.E.A.*, vol. VII), where these two figures are given in conjunction with the Cairo pieces. The rather gaunt, bony faces of the two Louvre statues are certainly in strong contrast to the full-cheeked Cairo heads, which seem more conventional in treatment. Kay wears a short wig with horizontal rows of curls. His position is reversed from the majority of seated statues in having the right hand open on the knee and the left hand closed, thumb up, on the left thigh. The seat has a high back providing a support for the figure which reaches nearly to the top of the head.

Similar in many ways to this last pair are the seated figure (Cairo, No. 35) and the squatting scribe (Cairo, No. 36) found at Saqqarah by De Morgan in the corridor chapel of an unknown man. The material of the figures is a fine-grained yellow limestone and both show a detailed modelling and exquisitely finished surfaces. The seated man is in the usual position with right hand clenched, thumb up, on his thigh, and wearing a short skirt with a pleated apron. An unusual detail is the occurrence of some sort of copper ornaments which were originally let into the short wig on each side of the face. These have now disappeared leaving only rough fragments of copper adhering to the holes bored in the stone to receive them. The eyes of this statue and the scribe are both inlaid in the early composite technique of Dyn. IV, which was soon to give way to a more simple method. Neither of the faces bears the stamp of strong personal character which one feels in the face of the Louvre scribe. The Cairo scribe is in the same attitude but appears to represent a younger man. There is no hint of corpulence. The long full wig is worn with the strands of hair carefully delineated, the wig being drawn back to show the lower part of the ears. The paint is well preserved.

The large crude-brick mastaba of Ka-aper with its simple exterior chapel could be dated with plausibility to the later years of Dyn. IV. The monolithic stela of red granite, well worked and inscribed on the cross-bar with large incised hieroglyphs giving the titles and name of the owner, would accord well with such a date. The position of the tomb as one of the earliest mastabas in the later extension of the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah is also contributory evidence. I should be inclined to place the date a little later, however, in the early years of Dyn. V, and to group the wooden statue of the owner, the famous 'Sheikh el-Beled', with the realistic portraits of the first half of that dynasty. The mastaba (C 8) lies in the neighbourhood of the tombs of Kay (C 20) and Ranofer (C 5), both built of crude brick and to be dated with fair certainty to Dyn. V, and a little to the north of a group of stone mastabas belonging to a family the members of which were given the common name Ptah-shepses. One of these men has left a biographical inscription which records his early years at the court of Mycerinus and Shepseskaf, his marriage to a daughter of the latter, and the continuance of his career into the reign of Ne-user-ra. The tomb in which this inscription occurs is certainly later than that of Ka-aper, but it suggests that the first mastabas in the extension of the cemetery need not have been earlier than the beginning of Dyn. V, when we should expect renewed building activity owing to the transfer of the royal burying-ground from Giza to the neighbourhood of Saqqarah.

Professor Capart has put forward a very reasonable theory that two other wooden statues of similar technique in the Cairo Museum, the bust of a woman and the upper part of the figure of a young man, are to be assigned to the chapel of Ka-aper (*J.E.A.*, vol. VI, pp. 225 ff.). These are the earliest known large figures of wood that have been preserved and form the beginning of a line of important productions in this softer material. The portly figure of Ka-aper is one of the finest examples of the realism of the Old Kingdom. The fat face with its full cheeks and throat is set on a stocky neck (Pl. 18). The eyes are

inlaid and add liveliness to the portraiture, while the hair, set back from a bald forehead, is impressionistically cut in wavy lines that are gouged out in horizontal curves away from the temples. The curved sagging lines of the body suggest admirably the elderly dignity of the upright carriage. The left arm is bent, the hand raised to hold a walking-stick (restored in place of the destroyed original). The right hand hangs closed at the side and originally perhaps carried the *shn*-wand. This is the common attitude for all standing statues of wood or copper, one rightly felt by the sculptor to be unsuitable for stone figures. The feet and lower part of the legs are restored. The height is 1.10 m. (Cairo, No. 34).

The second wooden statue, which according to Capart would represent Ka-aper as a younger man, does not possess the same powerful realism (Cairo No. 32). It represents the ideal figure of a man in the strength and health of early maturity. The eyes, like those of the other statue, are inlaid in the old technique. The features are delicately worked, the modelling of the torso and arms is excellent. The pose is similar to that of the Sheikh el-Beled. The armless torso and head of the woman is as fine technically as either of the two preceding figures (Cairo No. 33). She wears an elaborately carved short full wig, and traces of a collar and necklace can still be seen dimly, although the paint that originally covered the figure has disappeared. The face is not so well preserved as in the others, but there is a certain piquant touch which endows this head with the same life that one sees in the face of her husband, even though the sparkle of the inlaid eyes is absent here. Instead they are carefully carved in the wood.

The two large standing statues of Ranofer (somewhat over life-size) fittingly close this great group of Saqqarah sculptures. With these was found a seated statue of the wife which lacks the technical perfection of the other two figures. Both statues of Ranofer stand in the same position with their arms hanging at the sides, and there appears at first to be only a slight differentiation between the two in the wigs and costume. Mr. Engelbach has recently made the interesting experiment of fitting a full wig to a cast of the head with short hair, and then comparing this with the other statue in a full wig (*Mélanges Maspero*, I, p. 101). The resemblance is remarkable. On close examination, though, it will be seen that the statue in the long skirt and close-cropped hair (Cairo, No. 18) is meant to represent Ranofer as a man of more advanced age, while the statue in the full wig and short skirt with pleated apron shows him as a young man (Cairo, No. 19). In other words, we have a reflection of the same idea which produced the two figures of Ka-aper and the relief portraits of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140) on each side of the façade of his chapel. The difference is not so strongly pronounced here, but it is evident. Less perhaps in the faces, where one might detect a more deeply etched line around the base of the nostrils and mouth in No. 18 than in the other, but more in the torso of No. 18, where in profile the tendency towards corpulence and the sagging abdomen that signified advancing years to the Egyptian artist are evident. The eyes are no longer inlaid in these statues (Pl. 18). The pupil still retains a dimmed surface of black. The modelling of the faces, the torsos, and the muscles of the arms and legs is of excellent quality and the finish of the surfaces is careful.

The figure of the wife, Hekenuw (Cairo, No. 53, height 1.195 m.), lacks the smoothness of finish and the subtlety of modelling of the two male statues. Her face is badly preserved. She sits on a high-backed seat with her hands lying open, palm down, on her lap. She presents the full-checked face and plumply rounded body with which we have become familiar in Dyn. IV, but without the care in rendering detail which has characterized the earlier works. As the only large seated female statue of Dyn. V the figure necessarily assumes a certain importance.

The standing statues of Ranofer are important in a way which is not at first so obvious. This is in presenting us with complete examples of a type of figure, otherwise preserved without the head, which is characteristic of the mastabas of the period of transition between Dyn. IV and Dyn. V at Giza. These

are known in the case of the fine life-sized statue in Leipzig found by Professor Steindorff in the elaborate serdab of Seshem-nofer (G 5080), in the nine standing statues of Khnum-baf (G 5230), and in the figure of Ra-wer standing in a niche-like frame found by Selim Bey Hassan (*Excavations at Giza*, I, pl. XIX). All of these limestone figures are badly damaged, but they show in each case a particular attention to the finish of the surfaces and to the careful modelling of the torso and the arm and leg muscles. The portion of the face of a life-size head of Ra-wer (*l.c.*, pl. XXIV) may have come from such a large standing figure.

In addition to the ten standing statues mentioned above, Khnum-baf supplied his tomb with a large number of other statues and statuettes of various materials which must have totalled between thirty and fifty pieces. Many of these are exceedingly fragmentary. The most important pieces which have survived are a squatting black granite statuette of Khnum-baf as a scribe (Reg. No. 14-12-7+82) and several alabaster statuettes. A small red granite head wearing a full wig is the only other piece which preserved the face of the owner (Reg. No. 14-11-73). This may have formed part<sup>1</sup> of a granite pair statuette (about 60 cm. high) with two male figures seated side by side, which was fitted together from many fragments (Reg. Nos. 14-11-91+46, 155 b). Also of red granite was a second pair statuette showing two standing male figures, each inscribed on the base with the name of Khnum-baf (Reg. Nos. 14-11-84+89, 117, 118, and 14-12-27). There were at least three more seated red granite statuettes and a number of unidentified fragments. In addition to the complete black granite scribe there was a life-size seated figure of the same material, to which fragments inscribed with the name and titles of Khnum-baf seem to have belonged (Reg. Nos. 14-11-204+31, 50, 120). There was also a small standing statuette and at least three small seated figures of black granite. Worked fragments of diorite, black and white granite, slate, and basalt were also found, but these were so badly broken that they could not be assigned to definite types of statuettes.

The standing white limestone statues of Khnum-baf were nearly life-size. Six were preserved complete, except for the heads which were all missing (Reg. Nos. 14-11-92-97; Boston, M.F.A. Nos. 21.953-956, 34.235, 34.1461). Only the bases were preserved of three of the figures (Reg. Nos. 14-11-78, 79, 80), but many white limestone fragments were found which may have belonged to these statues, although none actually fitted. Evidence for the tenth figure exists only in a small piece from the right side of the basis with part of the inscription giving titles of Khnum-baf (Reg. No. 14-11-81).<sup>2</sup> The six figures stand with their arms hanging at their sides with the hands closed. Four of them wear short skirts with a pleated flap, and two wear long skirts. All ten were inscribed in the space beside the advanced left foot with titles and name in incised hieroglyphs. The workmanship is excellent (see Pl. 19).

The black granite seated statuette of Khnum-baf as a scribe is small and irregularly worked (Pl. 19, Reg. No. 14-12-7, 82, Boston). The figure slopes a little to the left and the face is conventionally treated. The eyebrows are drawn in relief. The nose is unusually large. Across the front of the base are incised titles and name, *rpwt smr Hnm-b;f* (or *B;:-b;:-f*). The figure is in the usual attitude, but he holds a rectangular two-colour palette in the left hand while the right hand is closed as though grasping the pen. He wears a full wig drawn back over the ears and partly exposing their lower tips. Most unusual is that the head and neck are bent slightly forward as though to read the roll on his lap. The face of the small red granite head wearing a full wig is more carefully delineated (Reg. No. 14-11-73, Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.950, h., 0.125 m.). The features are better proportioned and the surface shows a finer finish. The fragmentary alabaster statuettes of Khnum-baf were badly smashed but show evidence of fine workman-

<sup>1</sup> The granite of the head differs slightly from that of the pair statue. Therefore they cannot belong together.

<sup>2</sup> The inscribed basis of an eleventh statue has recently

been identified. It came from far to the north in the debris east of G 2370.

ship and careful polish. There appear to have been at least four of these, varying in size. The largest (Reg. Nos. 14-2-4, 14-3-1, 2, Boston, M.F.A. No. 24.603, Pl. 19) is a standing figure with hands clenched at sides. He wears a full wig and a short skirt. Down the back of the support ran a vertical inscription: *rp̄t s̄ n̄s̄wt n̄ ht-f Hnm-b̄-[f]*. One arm of a smaller standing figure is preserved as well as part of the inscription on the back of its support: *sm̄r w̄cty*. . . . The head of a third figure, nearly as large as the first, has a short wig.

The face of the man with the short wig is badly broken, but that in the full wig is well preserved. Both show plump, full faces, and the cheeks of the full-wigged head are accentuated by a deep line bordering the mouth. Particularly interesting is the way in which the brow slopes back, an almost straight line receding from the tip of the nose to the top of the forehead. The eyes of both the faces have a narrow border along the top of the eyelids, but not below the eye. The eyebrows are drawn in relief. The lips of the larger head are full and rather protruding. The modelling of the leg of the larger figure shows careful attention to the muscles.

Four fitting fragments, with a flat inscribed surface wider than the supports at the back of the standing figures and apparently with a sloping edge at the top, seem to come from the right side of the seat of a small seated statuette (width 17 cm.). This was inscribed with a vertical line of inscription: *rp̄t, h̄ty-ε, h̄ry-h̄b, h̄ry tp̄ Hnm-[b̄-f]* (Reg. No. 15-1-41). In the same place (the north-west angle between G 5230 and G 5110 at the back) was found the front of the waist of a seated figure which probably belonged to the same statuette (14-11-42). Also to be considered with the alabaster statuettes of Khnum-baf are three fragments from the debris of the street in front of G 4920, G 4930, and G 4940 which seem to belong together. Reg. No. 15-1-30 shows the right side of a delicately worked alabaster face with part of a full wig; 15-1-28 is the basis and feet of a small seated figure; and 15-1-29 is part of the ankle. Perhaps all of these are from the same figure, and in view of the wide scattering of the Khnum-baf alabaster standing statuettes (pieces were found as far away as G 4620 and G 4830) it is possible that these may belong to the same group of figures.

Alabaster statues of private persons are by no means common, and it might be well to refer here to others of Dyn. V. The princess (?) in the British Museum has been mentioned already and assigned to a Dyn. IV date. In the absence of any evidence save that of the style of the piece itself, it is always possible that this statue may be of a somewhat later date. The statuette found by Selim Bey Hassan in a fragmentary condition in the complex of Ra-wer (*Excavations at Giza*, I, pl. X) perhaps belongs to a time a little beyond that set as the limit of the period under discussion, as does the limestone standing figure of Ra-wer mentioned above with the statues of Khnum-baf. A biographical inscription in the chapel mentions an incident that occurred in the reign of Neferirkara and shows that these statues are to be dated at least to that reign, if not somewhat later. The workmanship of the alabaster figure is excellent, but the face does not show the character or fine finish of the Khnum-baf heads. A certain resemblance to the Khnum-baf faces can be seen in the full lips and cheeks and in the deep lines around the mouth. Two alabaster statuettes (of a man and a woman), for which the provenance of both Saqqarah and Assuan is claimed, according to Borchardt's catalogue (Nos. 132, 134) are now in Cairo. The almost complete absence of statues from provincial sites makes Saqqarah the more likely source for these two figures which from their style, size, and material seem to belong together. They are each a little stiff, holding their arms tightly against their sides and lacking the detailed modelling and finish of the pieces just mentioned. The faces are also those of the average, well worked, conventional private head. The woman might almost be a slightly awkward later version of the British Museum female statuette. There are differences, however. The wig is full instead of the lappet wig of the earlier figure, and the left leg



is placed slightly forward (apparently imitated from such royal figures as the cloaked Kha-merer-nebty or the queen in the Mycerinus slate pair). At least one well-worked scribe statue is known in alabaster. It is that of a man named Rahotep, found by Mariette in Mastaba C 24 at Saqqarah, and is now in Cairo (No. 127).

The elaborate provision of statues made by Ra-wer and Khnum-baf is reflected also in a *serdab* of unusual type built by the owner of G 5080, Seshem-nofer, and copied in G 5170 by a son bearing the same name. This mastaba, G 5080, in which the burial was dated by a sealing of Shepseskaf, is a little earlier than the other tombs under discussion. Here an entire room, opening on the south of the exterior chapel, was lined with cubicles for statues into which opened slots for the purpose of censing the figures. The *serdabs* behind the north wall were hidden behind an elaborate carved decoration of palace-façade panelling. The south wall had a series of wooden double-doors imitated in stone, and the west wall had carved, in bold relief, a huge offering-table piled high with food (Junker, *Giza*, III, figs. 33-5). The room in G 5170 was undecorated but similar in arrangement, except that the space provided for the statues ran continuously behind the north, south, and west walls and was not separated into cubicles (*l.c.*, fig. 36). Of the statues provided with such a rich setting in G 5080 very little was found, while nothing seems to have been recovered from the *serdab* in G 5170. Mention has been made above of a fine standing limestone statue in Leipzig, found headless in one of the *serdab* cubicles of G 5080 (*l.c.*, pl. XIV c). The Harvard-Boston Expedition found also a red granite head (life-size) at the northern end of the exterior chapel in pit G 2191 B, which must certainly have belonged to Seshem-nofer (Boston, M.F.A. 12.1487; h., 0.245 m.). Fragments of the knee and shoulder of the same statue were found in the street east of G 5080 with a fragment of the arm of a life-size alabaster statue, the arm of a smaller alabaster statue and fragments of the foot of a black granite life-size figure. In Pit B of the mastaba itself were found a small, rather rough black granite scribe (Reg. No. 33-2-101, in Boston, M.F.A. 34.53; h., 0.33 m.) and a little painted limestone male head (Reg. No. 33-2-96, in Boston). The latter was badly battered and the former not very well worked, but the life-size granite head is one of the important pieces of Old Kingdom sculpture. In it we find again the strong realistic impulse which influenced the sculptors of Dyn. IV, although here in the rough granite the same perfection of finish has not been attained as in the hard-stone royal statues. The full wig, for example, shows the incised lines which indicate the locks of hair, but does not mark the parting of the hair in the middle in front. The face is modelled in simple planes, but the area around the eyes is carefully delineated, the mouth and chin firmly cut, and two creases beside the mouth emphasize the fullness of the cheek and the transition to the chin. A vivid quality is lent to the face by the preservation of the red paint on the pupil of the eye (Pl. 20).

Two other life-size granite heads of excellent quality are known from Giza. One was found by Tewfik Boulas, in 1923, in the excavation made by the Service des Antiquités at the north-eastern extremity of the Eastern Field. It is said to have come from the neighbourhood of two large inscribed red granite blocks, bearing the name of Prince Mery-khufuw, still lying on the slope east of G 7810. This red granite head is now in the Cairo Museum (Pl. 20). The face is full, the modelling simple, but the features are firmly delineated. The head-dress is worked in a fashion similar to that of the Sheikh el-Beled and the Shepseskaf head (without the uraeus, of course), with wide horizontal lines gouged out of the granite. It may be meant to show a cloth tightly wrapped around the head.

The other head was found in the burial-chamber G 4813 C in the Western Cemetery. The original provenance of the statue is, of course, uncertain, but it is perhaps not rash to suggest that it may have belonged to one of the widely scattered statues of Khnum-baf (G 5230). The neck and right shoulder are preserved, and fragments of the arms were also found. The material is red granite (Reg. No. 15-11-69,

Boston M.F.A. 21.932; h., 0.325). The forms are simple and the short wig smooth, the details of the curls not having been carved (Pl. 20). The nose is battered and the effect of the face a little heavy, but the modelling of the eyes and mouth is capable. The piece suffers little by comparison with the two large heads in hard stone of early Dyn. V already mentioned.

Closely connected with the Seshem-nofer family is a man named Pen-meruw in whose little chapel (G 2197) is inscribed a will referring to the disposition of the funerary offerings of the Vizier Seshem-nofer, who is probably the owner of G 5170, the son of the man whose portrait head in granite is discussed above. Thus the Pen-meruw tomb need not be later than the middle of Dyn. V, and the fine group of statues found in the serdab support this dating by their excellent workmanship. Here, for the first time, we find the triad in large private statues. The finest of the three groups shows three standing statues of Pen-meruw connected at the back by a slab of stone (Pl. 21, Boston M.F.A. 12.1504; h., 1.200 m.). He stands in all three examples with the left foot forward and his hands at his sides, grasping the familiar round objects. In each case he wears a short skirt, but his head-dress has been differentiated. The figure on the left wears no wig, that in the centre a full wig, and although the head on the right has been broken away it probably showed the short curled wig. The face has strong, ugly features, a big nose and full-lipped mouth, certainly an attempt at accurate portraiture. The modelling of the body is good, but simplified. The name and titles of the man are inscribed beside the feet of each figure, from left to right: *imh hr ntr c3 Pn-mrw*; *hrp sh Pn-mrw*; *rh nset Pn-mrw*.

The second triad (Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1484; h., 1.55 m.) is really a family group with two small children added on a very small scale. It is unusual in that the figures are set in an inscribed frame provided with a rounded moulding like a long drum, and with an inscribed architrave above (Pl. 21). The figures might be described as being in very high relief within this frame. The group consists of two standing male figures, in the usual attitude, with the wife standing on their left, her right hand placed on the shoulder of the nearest figure and her left hand hanging open at her side. A tiny naked girl stands between the woman and the adjoining man, with her arm around her father's leg, while between the two men stands a small naked boy, his finger to his lips and his left arm around his father's leg. There is little differentiation in dress between the two men, except that the outer figure wears a pleated apron over his skirt. The faces, although they are obviously intended for the same person, bear no resemblance to one another. One face is large and clumsily cut, the other smaller and more carefully executed. The woman presents a well-worked example of the conventional female figure. Her face is nicely finished but cannot be taken for a portrait. She wears a full wig and long tunic. A technical detail to be observed is the way in which the stone has been left between her figure and that of the man, the outline of her body being indicated in very summary fashion. A block of stone has been left on the other side, from which the front edge of her hanging hand has been cut out in relief (a similar saving of labour can be observed in the rock-cut statues of Queen Meresankh III on the north wall of G 7530). The inscriptions are incised as is usual in all these statues and the paint is well preserved. In addition to the inscriptions on the frame and drum (see Pl. 21), at the feet of the figures is written, in front of the daughter: *st-f Nfr-šm-š*; in front of the son: *st-f Šm-nfr*; both figures of the men are labelled: *Pn-mrw*.

The triad in the frame forms a kind of bridge between the very good work of the male triad and the mediocre carving of a smaller pair of male figures found in the serdab. This shows all the deficiencies of careless Dyn. V work. It is perfectly conventional in treatment and has only the minimum of modelling. The figures are badly proportioned. The two men stand side by side in the usual attitude, wearing full wigs and short skirts (Pl. 21; Cairo 43753). The name of Pen-meruw inscribed on the base, and their position in the serdab, would be the only indication that they belong to the same group as the first triad.

Another tomb connected with the Seshem-nofer family is that of Pehen-ptah (G 2320), who is the son of the Seshem-nofer of G 4940. The lady named Imen-zefa-s, shown with Pehen-ptah in the pair statue from G 2320 and called there 'his mother' is to be identified with the wife of the owner of G 4940, who bore that name. The statues from the serdab of G 2320 should, I think, be dated to the middle of Dyn. V. There were three statues, a standing figure of the man (Reg. No. 12-10-2, 130 cm. high, in Cairo, No. 44609), a standing pair statue (Reg. No. 12-10-3, in Vienna, Junker, *Giza*, III, fig. 43), and a seated triad (Reg. No. 12-10-4, 60 cm. high, Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.4330). The pair statue is headless. It is well worked but conventional in type and not remarkable in any way. The woman places her right hand on the man's shoulder and her left hand upon his arm. The standing figure of Pehen-ptah is better preserved. He varies the usual pose of the single male figure by placing the right foot forward instead of the left. The face is clumsily worked under its full wig. The exaggerated modelling of the leg muscles is unusual. The triad is headless and shows a woman seated between two men.

Finer in workmanship and coming from one of the large mastabas probably completed about the same time as those of Seshem-nofer (G 5080) and Khnum-baf (G 5230), is the badly battered pair statue of Seshat-hetep (G 5150, Junker, *Giza*, II, pl. XIII), now in Vienna. The faces are mutilated. The woman apparently places her right arm around the man's shoulder. Her left hand hangs open at her side. The modelling of the torso of the woman is unusual. The waist is high and very narrow, and the bones of the pelvic girdle are pronounced. The feet appear to be badly executed. An inscription in five columns covers the back of the plinth. Probably of a Mid-Dyn. V date are the sculptures of Nesuwt-nofer, found by Junker in the mastaba G 4970 (*Vorbericht*, 1913, pl. X, *Giza*, III, pl. XIV). These consist of a seated statuette of the man (in Hildesheim), and a statuette of the wife seated with a little naked child beside her legs. Technically, these are not as good as the statues previously considered, and begin to show the conventional characteristics and faults of the mediocre work of the latter half of the Dynasty. The man sits in the usual attitude (right hand clenched, thumb up on the knee, and left hand open palm down) in a short wig and short skirt. The wife is placed on a high-backed seat with both hands open palm down on her thighs. The naked child places one finger of his right hand to his lips.

Mention might be made of one other tomb at Saqqarah which appears to be of Early Dyn. V date, but the statues from this tomb do not contribute very important material for the study of Old Kingdom sculpture. It belonged to a man named Nen-kheft-ka. The owner is shown, probably, in the reliefs of the Sahura temple, and in the reliefs of his own chapel he appears to be associated only with the names of Weserkaf and Sahura. The mastaba is in a group which I have suggested was begun as a cemetery for the courtiers of Weserkaf. Of the sixteen statues from the tomb (Mariette D 47), two seated male figures (Cairo, Nos. 30 and 31) show good work in diorite. There is also a good granite scribe (No. 170), a well-worked, seated pair statue of man and wife in limestone (No. 94, the wife stands beside her seated husband), and a nicely modelled limestone male head (No. 263). Of the other small statues from Saqqarah, none can certainly be assigned to the first half of Dyn. V. It should be noted that the large number of statues provided by Nen-kheft-ka is consistent with the custom noted in several Giza tombs of this time.

#### b. The Sculpture of the Second Half of Dynasty V

There is a paucity of royal material from the second half of Dyn. V similar to that found in the earlier part of the Dynasty. The pyramid temple of Neferirkara has provided us with no statues at all, while that of Ne-user-ra has but little to show. A large granite head of a lion in the Cairo Museum

(*Grabdenkmal Ne-user-ré*, fig. 7) is a magnificent piece of simple modelling, where large planes suggest the characteristics of the animal in a monumental fashion. A similar basalt head which served as a water spout is in Berlin (*l.c.*, fig. 44). This shows a more detailed working of the hair of the mane and the features. A third lion's head of basalt served a similar purpose in the Abu Gurob Sun Temple.<sup>1</sup> An interesting fragment is the broken limestone figure of a kneeling captive with his arms tied behind his back, in Berlin (*l.c.*, fig. 24), which continues the idea expressed by the heads of captives found in the Zoser temple and the figurines of the Early Dynastic period. This captive from the Ne-user-ra pyramid temple is also a forecast of the similar figures found by Jéquier in the temple of Pepy II.

There are a few royal figures preserved. At Karnak, Legrain found the lower part of a red granite standing figure of Ne-user-ra (Cat. No. 42003, in Cairo). At Mitraheneh was discovered a seated granite statuette of Ne-user-ra in the usual attitude of the Chephren statue, but by no means distinguished in workmanship. The head seems conventional and is too small to portray significantly the features of the king (Cairo No. 38). A small statue of Menkawhor in alabaster is very roughly blocked out and is perhaps unfinished. The king is seated, wearing the white crown and Heb-Sed cloak, holding the crook and flail against his breast (Cairo No. 40).<sup>2</sup>

Very little important private sculpture was found in the mastabas which formed the cemetery of the family and courtiers of Ne-user-ra. Mention has been made already of the white limestone reserve head found in the burial chamber of Princess Kat-hetep and now in Berlin. It has been noted that this is inferior in quality to the fine workmanship of the Dyn. IV heads. The face is more conventional and the modelling in simple, rather sharp planes. The lines around the mouth have become schematic. It must be admitted that part of the impression of inferior work, produced by this head, may be due to the poor state of its preservation (*l.c.*, fig. 114). Much more attractive is the charming little fragment of a woman's face in alabaster, found in the debris of the temple. The careful modelling of the eye, the eyebrow in relief, the deep furrow at the corner of the mouth, and the careful polish of the whole, reminds one of fine work of Dyn. IV (*l.c.*, fig. 80). The fringe of beading that borders the base of the hair is meant apparently to represent a row of little round curls. These round curls, the almond-shaped eye, and the smile accidentally produced by the indentation between cheek and mouth, results in a fortuitous but striking resemblance to an archaic Greek face.

The remaining private sculpture from Abusir is quite mediocre. One could expect something better from the fine chapel of Ptah-shepses, but unfortunately no statues were preserved. An elaborate arrangement has been made there for three statue shrines in the west wall of the room that opens from the north side of the great pillared court. The shrines are reached by low flights of steps and were intended evidently for large standing figures. This is a disposition of private statues that we have not encountered, although the appearance of rock-cut statues of the owner, somewhat similar in type, occur at Giza in the chapels of Ankh-ma-ra (G 7837) and Khafra-ankh (LG 75), probably both to be dated to early Dyn. V and are known later in such examples as that of Yasen (G 2196) and in the open court of Ptah-neferbauw (G 6010) or at Saqqarah in the Mereruwka statue. The shrine containing the statue of Ra-wer, mentioned above, presents a similar idea. Of the other tombs, that of Weserkaf-ankh was provided with a painted granite pair statue showing the owner and his wife, quite ordinary in quality. A limestone standing figure of the same man is well worked but presents no unusual features.

The private statues from Giza and Saqqarah of the latter half of Dyn. V are usually small in size and,

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-User-Re*, I, p. 55. This piece has recently been discussed by J. Sainte Fare Garnot; *Le Lion dans l'Art Egyptien*.

<sup>2</sup> The legs and basis of a well worked limestone statuette of Isesy were found by Petrie in the Abydos temple (*Abydos* I, Pl. LV).

while they present a general high average of workmanship, are very seldom distinguished by outstanding merit. In type and style they are very similar to one another, and it is difficult to date them unless the tomb from which they come is fixed by more conclusive evidence. Although this great number of statues and statuettes presents a rather monotonous aspect one must remember the very high average maintained by the ordinary craftsman. While these men did not create masterpieces, they maintained a very commendable level of technical skill which lasted throughout Dyn. V and VI and left a heritage which was not wholly lost even during the troublesome times of the First Intermediate period. It is a very rare occurrence in ancient art to find the middle-class man so well served by skilled artisans who were, after all, mere manufacturers of tomb equipment. In searching for a parallel, the most striking is the manufacture of grave stelae in Athens in the fourth century B.C. There again the level of taste was so high, and the achievements of the great sculptors had produced such a strong impression, their training had prepared such a large number of capable pupils, that even the minor craftsmen produced work of great beauty for the private person.

In dealing with this large mass of material, it seems to me best to discuss first the outstanding examples from Giza and then list the less important pieces according to their provenance, bringing the Saqqarah examples, which are less easily datable, to bear upon this discussion as comparative material. This is reversing the proper order of discussion, as Saqqarah in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties was certainly the chief site, while Giza had assumed a subsidiary importance. Nevertheless, the Giza objects can all boast a definite provenance and can be seen much more clearly against the background of the tombs from which they come, than can the less well-documented Saqqarah sculpture. It must be admitted, too, that except in a very few examples there is very little difference in style and technique between work from Saqqarah and that from Giza, just as there is no strong demarcation between the work of Dyn. V and that of early Dyn. VI.

Of the small statues from Giza of late Dyn. V date, two fragmentary pieces worked in fine grained yellow limestone stand out for the beauty of their workmanship. One of these is part of the torso and the head of a small seated male statuette showing particularly good finish (Pl. 22). The face is very carefully cut, although along conventional lines (Reg. No. 15-12-11, Boston M.F.A. No. 30.830; h., 0.245 m.; from the debris of pit G 4817 A). The other piece, now in Turin, is also badly damaged. It forms part of a seated statue, about one-half life-size, which was found by Prof. Schiaparelli in the Eastern Cemetery. It came from a *serdab* (?) in the mastaba G 7391 belonging to a man named Itety (Ballerini, *Notizia Sommara degli Scavi*, p. 52). The chapel is of the old-fashioned L-shaped type and the exact date in Dyn. V cannot be determined. The reliefs are of unusually clumsy quality and have been left unfinished. The paintings on stone from the façade, now in Turin, show a row of birds and are also roughly executed. It is surprising to find a statue of such excellent workmanship accompanying these mediocre reliefs and paintings. The man is shown seated in the usual attitude with his right hand clenched, thumb up, on his thigh, and the left hand open, palm down. He wears a short wig with elaborately worked curls. The leg and seat of a chair have been carved in relief on the sides of the block seat. This is almost the only occurrence of such a detail in a private statue later than the Archaic period, and the use of the legs of an ordinary chair is unusual (but *cf.* p. 87). The eyes had been inlaid and the upper part of the face and nose were badly damaged when these were wrenched out. The chin, mouth, and throat are preserved to show a smooth finish and a crisp cutting of the lips with a slight moustache above them. The impression produced by the battered fragments is that we have here the work of a master. One would be inclined to place the piece much earlier were it not for the subsidiary position of the small mastaba in the old royal cemetery, and the poor quality of the reliefs. Perhaps this statue was a sign

of favour from the king, a gift from the royal workshops, while the tomb itself had to be prepared out of the limited resources of the man himself.

Not so fine in quality as the preceding, but representing good workmanship, is the seated statue of Akhet-mery-nesuwt, found in position in the offering-niche of his chapel (G 2184, now in Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1482; h., 0.69 m.). Although the paintings in this chapel showed considerable originality and freedom in their treatment of unusual subject-matter, the statue itself received a careful traditional handling (Pl. 22). Nevertheless, something new seems to have entered into the style of this figure, a plumpness in the forms of the body and a different convention in the drawing of the face. The latter is broad, with the same plump form to be observed in the body. The eyes are unusually large and prominent. The same type of face has already been found in the standing statue of Pehen-ptah, and the treatment of head and body is characteristic of the Dyn. VI statuettes of Nekhebuw to be discussed on p. 85. The figure is in the common attitude and wears full wig and short skirt with pleated apron.

More unusual in treatment is the pair statuette from G 2353 B. (Reg. No. 12-11-21, 39, Pl. 25; Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3164 a-c; h., 0.50 m.). This is the only example that I know in which the attitude of the Meresankh III pair has been imitated. The man has thrown his arm over the shoulder of his wife, and his hand hangs down open on her breast. His other arm was at his side but has been broken away. The woman places her left arm around her husband's waist, while her right arm has been damaged. The resemblance to the Meresankh pair is obvious. The workmanship is better than one would have expected after examining a standing male statuette wearing a long skirt which was found with the pair (Reg. No. 12-10-7, 12-11-38). The modelling of the woman's torso, although simple, shows good observation of the human form.

The most interesting piece of sculpture found by Professor Junker in the Far Western Cemetery at Giza is undoubtedly the family group of the Dwarf Seneb (Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, pl. 189). This is probably to be assigned to late in Dyn. V, if not Early Dyn. VI. The sculptor has shown originality in representing the deformed figure of the man. By making the head large in proportion to the body he has given the upper part of the seated figure the same height as that of the wife, but has fashioned the arms small and placed them on the breast with the hands laid over one another. The tiny legs are crossed under the man on the seat. In front are placed a pair of small figures, naked son and daughter, which occupy the space which the legs of an ordinary man would have filled. Thus the sculptor has created the same impression, in the disposition of his masses, that would have been presented by an ordinary seated figure. The wife, of normal proportions, sits beside her husband, placing her right arm about his shoulder and her left hand on his arm. It is interesting to compare this treatment with that adopted in the reliefs of Seneb's offering-niche. There Seneb is also shown as a dwarf, but his retainers are all drawn small, although of normal proportions, so that they remain subsidiary to their master and his figure is able to dominate the scenes. The workmanship of the statuette is of medium quality. The characteristics of the dwarfed figure are well suggested, but the modelling is simple, and although his face may be an attempt at portraiture, that of the wife shows a trace of that grotesque, grinning character which we shall find in some of the crude work of a number of minor mastabas of the Western Cemetery. This quality resulted apparently from an inability of the sculptor to proportion the face correctly and to give a finished modelling to the surfaces.

In connexion with this statuette, it is instructive to examine other sculpture representing dwarfs. The finest of these is the little statuette of Khnum-hotep in the Cairo Museum (No. 44) from Saqqarah, which must be of approximately the same date as Seneb. This is a masterpiece of realism. The projecting skull, the stocky legs, and the corpulent development of the body are modelled in detail. Equally

Reg. No. 12-10-35: a similar figure; Boston.

Reg. No. 12-10-36: a naked figure in same attitude, wigless; Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3464; h., 0.40 m.

Nos. 121 and 139 (elaborately painted) in the Cairo Museum show similar types of female figures, but these, I should think, are certainly Dyn. VI.

At Saqqarah, Firth found an intact serdab belonging to a man named Mitri, south of the temenos wall of the Zoser Pyramid. In this were eleven wooden statues which he assigned to the early Fifth Dynasty, but since he gives no reason for this early date, I think it is more conservative to date them to the end of the Dynasty. Most of the mastabas in the group south of the pyramid are late Dyn. V or Dyn. VI. The statues are unpublished except for the fine female statue and the squatting scribe reproduced in *Annales*, XXVI, pls. IV and V, and the hunch-backed man mentioned above (all three statues in Cairo). The modelling of the standing woman is of the best quality. She wears a lappet wig, unusual in private statues of women, and an interesting technical detail is the way in which the arms are completely separated from the body, hanging free. The scribe is less well preserved. The figure had been covered with a coating of painted plaster which has partly peeled away. The eyes are inlaid (in the later simple style), the ears prominent, and the hands hold a roll of papyrus in the lap in a realistic fashion uncommon in stone-work, where the hands are seldom so completely freed from the block. The lower legs and feet still retain their rudimentary quality. One would expect a more plastic treatment in wood where it was less necessary to retain the compactness of the stone mass. Four more of the Mitri statues are in the Metropolitan Museum. These comprise a standing woman with hands at sides open; a standing male figure in long skirt with staff and wand; a seated male figure with right hand open on knee and left hand clenched on knee, thumb up; as well as a pair statue of Mitri and his wife. In the pair statue, the two figures stand separately. The woman's hands hang open at her sides. The man wears a full wig and short skirt and carries staff and wand. The figures are life-size in this case, like the Cairo standing woman, but they are less well worked, the woman's face being particularly crude. The other statues in Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum vary in size from the small statuette of the dwarf to the three-quarter life-size standing figures in New York.

Another Saqqarah piece is the life-size wooden head found by Quibell in the debris of the mastaba of Ra-shepses (north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid). This tomb is to be dated to the reign of Isesy or a little later from a historical inscription found by Quibell in an exterior room of the chapel. The head is a strong piece of realistic carving, enhanced by the careful painted detail. In the corners of the eyes little red strokes indicate the veins, a convention often observed in good paintings and painted reliefs, but seldom preserved in statues (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah, 1907-1908*, pl. LX).

Wooden statues of uncertain provenance but interesting quality are found also in two European Museums as well as in Cairo. The large pair statuette in the Louvre (*Art of Egypt through the Ages*, p. 112) has suffered from decay and warping, but is valuable as a rare example of such a group in this material. The man places his left hand closed on his breast, with his thumb extended. His right hand hangs clenched at his side. The wife is incompletely preserved, but she apparently places her left arm around her husband's waist. She is smaller in stature, the top of her head reaching only to the man's shoulder. The modelling of the bodies is simple but good. The heads, however, show a coarse treatment of the features, although the eyes and eyebrows are carefully delineated. Certainly the warping of the wood has lent an aspect of clumsiness and disproportion to the piece which it did not possess originally. A standing statue of a man named Per-her-nefret in Berlin, said to come from the Fayum,

represents the finest type of conventional male beauty. The regular features, the delicacy of the carving of the eyes, and the finish of the surfaces of the face and body belong to the best tradition (Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, pls. 36-38). Six standing male statues in the Cairo Museum represent this same conception of the ideal male figure, but less competently realized. Two of these are from Saqqarah, but one, which is equally good in workmanship, is said to have come from Akhmim and is one of the rare statues having a provincial source. No. 152 (unknown provenance) and No. 153 (Akhmim) have no arms, while No. 155 (Saqqarah) has both arms hanging at the side with the hands closed. No. 154, from the mastaba of Tep-m-ankh (Mariette D 10) at Saqqarah, has the right arm hanging at the side, but the left arm is bent in a position to hold a walking staff, and Nos. 267 and 370 (unknown provenance) have this same attitude. These statues show a harsh facial type, particularly exemplified by Nos. 153 and 154. Deep lines at the base of the nostrils, the broad base of the nose, and a large firmly cut mouth contribute to an impression of brutal strength.

A small ivory statuette from Giza in the Cairo Museum (No. 815) has scarcely received the attention that it deserves. It was found in 1886 in the tomb of Ra-wer (Lepsius G 94), south-east of the rock-cut tombs of the Chephren family. With it were at least seven limestone seated statues of the same man (Cairo, Nos. 197-200, 216, 217, 365-367), a standing statue (No. 280?), and parts of a life-size standing statue (Nos. 287, 318 (?), 350 (?)). The height is 13 cm. and the attitude is unusual as the left arm hangs at the side, while the broken right arm must have been raised. The face is badly broken, but the delicate modelling of the left leg, hips, and torso is fine enough to stand beside that of the Cheops ivory and the statuette of Mycerinus.

Before considering the other sculpture at Saqqarah, it seems practical to complete the description of the Giza statues by a list of the minor work found in the subsidiary mastabas of the Western and Eastern Cemeteries. The great majority of these small pieces seem to date to Dyn. V, although there is little to distinguish many of the statuettes of Dyn. VI from those of Dyn. V. One or two pieces may, from the position of the mastabas to which they belong, be as early as the reign of Mycerinus. Unless otherwise stated the material is white limestone.

#### i. Statues from The Far Western Cemetery at Giza

Statues from the nucleus mastabas of Cemetery G 1000-1200 which can be dated to late Dyn. IV or the first half of Dyn. V (Mycerinus to Neferirkara) are as follows:

G 1020:

- (1) Seated pair statue: man and wife; wife seated on husband's right with left arm around man's shoulder, right hand palm down on thigh; the husband places his left hand palm down on his thigh, and clenches right hand on thigh; inscribed: *rḥ nswt Ḥtpi; rḥt nswt Rnpt-nfrt*; size, 44.5 × 26.0 cm.; University of California, No. 6-19760; Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, pl. 32.
- (2) Standing male statue with hands clenched at sides, left foot forward; inscribed: *Mš -s*; height, 78 cm. University of California, No. 6-19826.

These statuettes occupied the southern end of a well-built serdab which would seem, from the empty space remaining, to have contained other decayed statues of wood. The statuettes are well worked, but conventional. The faces are rather clumsy with big noses and large eyes. The seated woman wore a long tunic, and traces of a broad collar show on the seated man. The standing man wore a pleated flap on his skirt. There is nothing in their style or workmanship to suggest that these statues are earlier than Dyn. V, and they resemble the mediocre work of the latter half of that Dynasty. The mastaba,



however, is one of the earliest in Cem. 1000, and cannot be later than early Dyn. V. The same is true of the following group of statuettes.

G 1109: Incomplete pair statuette. Wife sits on left of husband. She places her right hand on his right shoulder; her left arm is broken. She wears a short full wig and a long tunic. The head of the man is missing; right hand palm down on thigh, left arm broken away. He wears a broad collar and short skirt. Three battered figures of children stand between the legs and on each side of the legs of their parents. Inscribed on the base beside the wife: *rh̄t n̄swt Mrt-ib*; in front of little girl to left of wife's legs: *hm n̄tr Hth̄r S̄st-mrt*. Size, 39.5 × 21.3 cm. California, No. 6-19785; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 33 b.

This statuette is better in modelling and finish than the preceding. The navel is shown as a deep hole in the man's figure, as it was in the standing figure from G 1020. The woman's face is better worked than that in G 1020, and the breasts are well indicated. The wavy line of the wig as it frames the face is carefully drawn. There is again nothing to distinguish this piece from good work of medium class of Dyn. V.

G 1206: Well preserved standing pair statuette. The woman stands on the right of her husband and places her left hand on his shoulder. Her feet are together and her right hand hangs open at her side. The man stands in the usual attitude. He wears a short wig, broad collar, and short skirt. The woman wears a short full wig and tunic. Her dog-collar, broad collar, bracelets, and anklets are well preserved in paint. The painted surface of the whole is nearly intact. The support at the back reaches nearly to the top of the figures' heads. Size, 74 × 35 cm. Uninscribed. University of California, 6-19775; Lutz, *l.c.*, pls. 34, 35 a.

The good preservation of this piece lends a lively aspect to the faces, but the quality of the modelling is about on a par with the two groups of statues previously discussed. In type and workmanship it differs little from other statuettes of Dyn. V and even of Dyn. VI, found in the subsidiary mastabas at Giza. The group had been placed with three wooden statues (decayed) in the L-shaped chapel which was then blocked up to form a serdab.

The remaining statues from the Far Western Cemetery at Giza (Cem. 1000-1600) come from mastabas which either by their subsidiary position in relation to the nucleus mastaba of a group, or by other indications of date, appear mostly to belong to the second half of Dyn. V. A few of them are certainly of Dyn. VI. I list them as follows:

G 1021: A seated statuette of a woman in an unusual attitude; she places her right hand open on her body below the breast, left hand palm down on thigh; the short full wig is rather crudely marked with cross-hatched lines on the separate strands of hair; long tunic; simple modelling; conventional face; uninscribed; h., 0.38; Boston, M.F.A. 21.2603.

G 1032: Two pair statuettes which bear the same names as that on an offering-basin in place in the chapel of G 1032. This shows that In-kaf is a son of Hetep-ib, the owner of the mastaba. This little mastaba seems to be the last of a series commenced by G 1022. In the debris of G 1033 were found a small seated statuette and a plaque with a male figure in relief. These may not come from the same chapel, but I list them with the others.

(1) Pair statue; two standing male figures in usual attitude; poor conventional work and not very well preserved; inscribed on base by one figure: *Imy r̄ w̄bt Ink̄f*; beside the other: *sh̄d w̄bt rh̄ n̄swt Ink̄f*; size, 62.2 × 38.5 cm. University of California, No. 6-19782; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 31.

(2) Pair statuette; standing naked man and woman in long tunic; woman on husband's right, places left arm on his shoulder; man in usual attitude; head of man missing; modelling of body fair,

but work on the whole conventional and mediocre. The naked man shown thus in a pair statue is, so far as I know, unique. Size, 48.0 × 23.0 cm. On base, man inscribed: *šhd wbt, Htp-ib*; woman, *Štp*. (Pl. 25.) University of California, No. 6-19781; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 35 b.

- (3) Very crude small statuette of a seated man; right hand open on thigh, left closed but so rudimentary that position is uncertain; rudely indicated pleated flap of skirt; misshapen forms; painted.
- (4) A plaque of equal crudeness showing a standing man in relief with arms hanging at sides; misshapen forms; on the back are inscribed in paint and partly incised the inscription: *rh nšwt Ni-k3-r(?)* and what appears to be a female figure. The same name occurs on a smaller flake of worked stone.

G 1036: A limestone figure of a squatting scribe; left hand, palm up, holding roll and right hand as if grasping pen; figure worked in simple planes, face conventional; work mediocre and the body lop-sided, the two sides of the figure not properly aligned with one another; inscribed on edge of skirt: *sš sb Šwḥm(?)*; found in place in serdab; h., 30.5 cm. University of California, No. 6-19765; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 25 b.

G 1039: Eight statuettes of painted limestone and one of granite:

(1)-(2) Two statuettes of man and wife, forming a pair but carved separately:

(a) Conventional seated woman with both hands open palm down on thighs; poor work, painted; inscribed on front of seat: *hm ntr Hthr nbt Ywnt, Ynt-k3-š*; h., 34 cm. University of California, No. 6-19773; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 26 b.

(b) Conventional seated man, right hand clenched, thumb up on thigh; poor work; short wig and skirt; painted; uninscribed, h., 39 cms. California, No. 6-19774; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 19.

These two statuettes stood in a serdab behind the south wall of the chapel. The others were apparently in the corridor.

(3) Badly broken pair statue; poor work; wife on left of husband, placing right arm around his shoulder and possibly left hand on his arm; naked male child below; man holds his hands in conventional attitude (right hand clenched, thumb up); base, 34 × 21.5 cm.; bust of man 23.5 × 18.2 cm.; bust of woman 20.0 × 16.0. University of California, No. 6-19763; Lutz, *l.c.*, pls. 36, 37. Inscribed down right side of seat: *rh nšwt, imšh hr ntr 3, imy r3 pr h3 Mr-t3š*. Son: *s3-f šmšw Snnw*.

(4) Clumsy standing statue of a woman; arms hang open at side; painted; poor work resembling the following statues; forms plump and badly proportioned; inscribed: *rh(t) nšwt nb(t) nt pr Nb-nt-k3*; size, 56.0 × 6.5 cm. Cairo No. 37718.

(5) Standing male figure in conventional attitude; clumsy work; inscribed: *imy r3 ikdw imšhw hr ntr 3 Ih3*; h., 59 cm. Cairo No. 37715.

(6) Standing woman, similar to No. 4; but smaller; inscribed: *rh(t) nšwt Ynt-k3-š*; size, 50 × 13 cm. University of California; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 29 b.

(7) Standing male figure; conventional; bad work; base broken; inscribed: *in s3-f ir n-f Ih3*; h., 55.5 cm. Cairo No. 37721.

(8) Standing conventional male figure; similar to last but smaller; inscribed: *šhd ikdw Ipi-wr*; h., 49 cm. University of California, No. 6-19799; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 23 a.

(9) Very small, shapeless seated statuette of black granite; h., 26 cms. California, No. 6-19809.

G 1040: Three curious misshapen statuettes of painted limestone; very poor work:

(1) Seated male; conventional attitude; inscribed on both sides of seat: *rh nšwt šhd ikdw Tti*; h., 32 cm. Cairo No. 37720. Pl. 25.

(2) Standing conventional female figure; schematic modelling of body; grotesque face; h., 32 cm. Cairo No. 37723. Pl. 25.

(3) Standing conventional male, similar; h., 41 cm. Cairo No. 37722. Pl. 25.

The group of statuettes from mastabas G 1036 to 1040 shows a gradual degeneration of craftsmanship due apparently partly to lapse of time between the earliest and latest of the mastabas in the group, but probably more largely to the dwindling of the family fortunes. The scribe from G 1036 shows poor workmanship, but not the hopeless inability to render the human form that the ridiculous little figures from G 1040 represent. The whole group of statues illustrates what the poor work of Dyn. V could be like. It is possible that the latest pieces in the group belong to Dyn. VI but this is by no means certain.

The two little figures to be discussed next bear a resemblance to the preceding. They come from poor mastabas and embody the less proficient craftsmanship of the latter half of Dyn. V:

G. 1104: Small conventional seated male; painted; mediocre work; found in an intact serdab; inscribed on right side of feet: *rh nšwt Mš-sš* and on the left side: *šhd . . .* (fishing bark) *Mš-sš* h., 47 cm. Cairo No. 37717.

G 1105: Small figure of a dwarf standing in conventional attitude. The head is large in proportion to the body, and the skull projects at the back. No other hint of deformity. Does not compare favourably with other statues which render more faithfully the peculiarities of a dwarf. Found in small serdab in brick offering-niche. Inscribed: *Pt-pn-nšwt (?)*. Cairo No. 37719. Pl. 25.

The limestone pair statuette in G 1151 is more exactly dated than those which we have previously considered by a reference to the Sun Temple of Ne-user-ra in the chapel reliefs. It certainly belongs to the latter half of Dyn. V. It is interesting to note in this case that the workmanship of the sculpture in the round is inferior to the draughtsmanship and carving of the chapel reliefs. It seems to me that there is a parallel on a larger scale to be drawn from a comparison of the statue of Thiy at Saqqarah with the reliefs in his mastaba.

G 1151: Clumsy seated pair statuette; man in conventional attitude, but left hand clenched on thigh is shown with back of hand up; the wife sits on the right of her husband and places her left hand on his shoulder, her right hand is open palm down on her thigh; between the legs of the large figures stands a small naked boy with his right hand to his mouth and his left arm around his father's leg; uninscribed; h., 75.5 cm. University of California, No. 6-19806; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 33 a.

G 1157: Seated statuette in usual attitude; conventional execution; muscles of body schematically rendered; face pinched and meagre; uninscribed; short wig and short skirt; h., 52 cm. Cairo.

G 1171: Conventional standing male; full wig, short skirt and pleated apron; good work of medium class and smooth finish; found in debris but probably from G 1171; inscribed: *Ihhy(?)šnt-f dt irt n-f šk šw (?) krs hr-ntr rnpwt cš; m ht sš pr Pth-kšp*; h., 64 cm. Cairo No. 37716.

In the statue from G 1171 we find a reversal of the conditions in G 1151. Here the carving of the statue is infinitely superior to the very poor reliefs. The east door-jamb of the chapel of G 1171 shows perhaps the most barbarous representation in the Giza Cemetery. When the figure of the man had been completed on the jamb, it was evidently thought desirable to include his wife behind him. She is squeezed into the remaining space, an extraordinary, attenuated figure. The whole door-jamb shows bad drawing and the incised inscriptions of the rest of the chapel are poorly executed. It would appear, though, that the statue was made later than the chapel which is inscribed in the name of *Kš-m-tnnt*. In the debris of this mastaba were also found the upper part of a seated statuette in bad condition, a fragment of a seated pair (?) with a small naked child beside the legs of one of the figures. A small head,

carefully cut and showing the natural hair of the man trimmed close to the skull was also found. The following are the remaining limestone statuettes found in Cem. 1200-1400.

G 1213: Group of three servant figures thrown down in the corridor of the chapel. Painted limestone:

- (1) Man leaning over with his hands in a beer sieve placed above a basin; 23.0 × 9.3 cm. University of California No. 6-19811; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 41. See Fig. 15.
- (2) Kneeling woman grinding grain; wearing cloth over hair; h., 18.0, width, 11.9 cm. University of California No. 6-19766; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 41. See Fig. 15.
- (3) Kneeling woman grinding grain; short hair; length, 30.5 cm., h., 19.3 cm. University of California No. 6-19812; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 42.

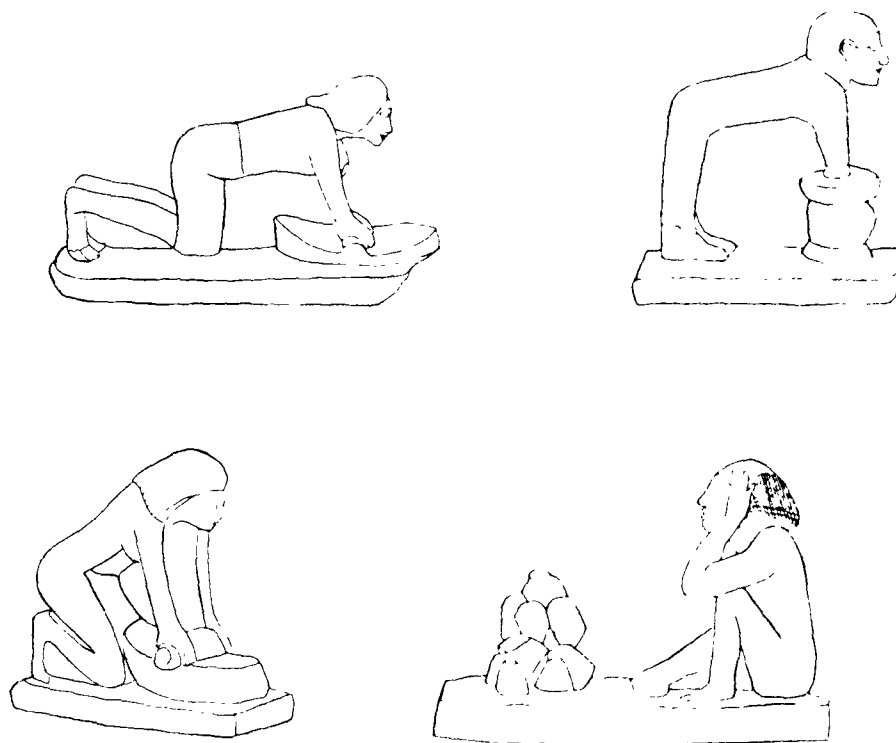


FIG. 15. Woman grinding grain, G 1213; brewer, G 1213; woman grinding grain, G 2422 C; woman tending cakes, G 2415.

G 1214: Two painted limestone statuettes, found in place in serdab:

- (1) Seated male in conventional attitude, but with palm of clenched right hand down; poor work; inscribed on left side of seat: *Kj-tsw*; h., 37.5 cm. University of California; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 18.
- (2) Standing woman in conventional attitude; short full wig and tunic; inscribed on base: *It-k*; size, 41.0 × 10.0 cm. University of California No. 6-19770; Lutz, *l.c.*, pls. 28 b, 29 a.

G 1226: Crudely carved limestone head with fat lop-sided face; reminiscent of heads from G 1040, but even more ludicrous in expression.

G 1231: Small, battered statuette of naked male with plinth at back; headless.

G 1301: Seated male; conventional except for the right hand which is clenched palm down on knee; short wig, short skirt; fair workmanship corresponding to the well-cut palace-façade panelling and the moderately good sunk reliefs and inscriptions of the chapel: inscribed on right side of seat: *wcb nswt Mr-nswt*; on left side: *rh nswt Mr-nswt* h., 58.5 cm. Cairo No. 37713.

G 1314: Standing male statuette of unusual type, found in place in serdab. The chapel belonged to a man who was a *hm ntr* of Sahura. It is to be dated probably, therefore, to the second half of

Dyn. V. The man stands in the usual attitude except that he holds a handkerchief(?) in his right hand. By his left side stands a small naked boy who places his right hand on his father's leg. The man wears a full wig and short skirt with pleated apron. The workmanship is of medium quality. Inscribed on base: *ir šn pr 3 Hc-k3-rc*, and in front of son: *s3-f šmsw cnh-rmn-š*; h., 40.0 cm. University of California No. 6-19780; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 22.

G 1402: Two painted limestone statuettes thrown down in pit.

- (1) Standing male of type like G 1314; arms at side but hands broken away; no wig, short skirt and broad collar; by right side stands small naked boy with side-lock who places his left hand on father's leg. Good work. Position of mastaba and style of work suggest a possible date as early as the first half of Dyn. V. The type of statue may perhaps have occurred in Dyn. IV (see G 4750). Face of large figure well worked; paint well preserved, showing small moustache. Inscribed on base, in front of man's right foot: *imy rc hmwt Šbw*; in front of boy: *s3-f n ht-f Pth-ir-k*; h., 46.5 × 18.7. University of California; Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 30 b. See Pl. 22.
- (2) Conventional seated woman with hands palm down on thighs; short full wig, tunic; on seat beside right leg is inscribed: *mitr-t Rni-sr-3-n*. Not so well worked as standing man; h., 41.0 × 14.5 cm. University of California No. 6-19802; Lutz, *l.c.*, pls. 27, 28 a.

Dr. Reisner dates the intrusive mastabas of which G 1673 forms a part to Dyn. VI. Therefore the two statuettes found thrown down in the small corridor chapel of this tomb probably belong to a time not earlier than the first half of Dyn. VI. There is always the possibility, though, that they may have been displaced from another mastaba. They show better workmanship than most of the statues in the preceding group with the exception of those from G 1171, G 1301, and the male statue from G 1402.

G 1673: Two painted limestone male figures, the colour having almost entirely disappeared from the standing figure:

- (1) Conventional standing male; base broken away; plinth at back; no wig; long skirt; modelling of face and torso good; Reg. No. 32-4-19; h., 53.7 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 34.51.
- (2) Squatting scribe; unusual plastic quality in treatment of plump body; good workmanship; paint largely preserved; rare use of support at back of figure; right hand as if holding pen; left hand closed, palm down over small roll; Reg. No. 32-4-18; h., 24.5 cm. Cairo.

Although the Far Western Cemetery has shown us that the workmanship of the statues in the small mastabas of Dyn. V and early Dyn. VI is usually mediocre and sometimes very clumsy, there is nothing quite so bad as that found in the statuettes of three little crude-brick mastabas in the north-western corner of the Cemetery (Fisher, *Giza, The Minor Cemetery*). The three mastabas in question are probably to be dated to Late Dyn. V. In G 2098 was found only a badly-decayed wooden statue walled up in the eastern face of the mastaba. In the debris of G 2086 was discovered a crude statuette of a seated woman, with the forms only roughly blocked out. She places her left hand on her breast and her right hand across her body beneath her breast. The seat has a high back. The features are roughly modelled and the hair slightly indicated (*l.c.*, pl. 43). G 2093 furnished several statuettes varying in quality. One (*l.c.*, pl. 43) is of the worst possible workmanship. It is a barbarous little standing male statuette in which the forms of the body have been only slightly outlined in the stone block. A conventional little standing statuette is of better quality, although it still displays poor work (*l.c.*, pl. 42). The most interesting piece in the group is a standing male figure carved in very high relief, not completely in the round, against a slab which has an inscribed bar across the top. This was let into the wall of the crude-brick chapel like a stela, and must be an imitation on a very modest scale of the statues standing in

niches known in the larger mastabas of Dyn. V (*l.c.*, pls. 23, 44). The modelling is very simple. The style of each of these three statuettes, all from the same tomb, is different from the others.

The southern section of the Far Western Cemetery, excavated by Professor Steindorff at first, and later more extensively by Professor Junker, has produced a number of statuettes of similar style and workmanship to those found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition. The most important of these, the seated pair statuette of the Dwarf Seneb and his wife, has been discussed in a preceding section. Of the pieces which have been published, the two standing statuettes found by Steindorff in D 61, west of G 4000, resemble the clumsy work of G 1039 and 1040. They form a pair, although carved separately, of man and wife and belonged to Ptah-ir-k and the lady Nefer-hetep-s (Roeder, *Denkmäler des Pelizaeus Museums zu Hildesheim*, p. 51). They stand in the conventional attitude, and have the same ludicrous expression on their faces as do the three little figures from G 1040. The paint is well preserved. The little seated statue of Nebet-pezuw was found by Junker in the serdab of a crude-brick mastaba far out to the west (*Vorbericht*, 1927, pl. VIII). She is seated in the usual attitude with both hands open palms down on her thighs. The style and workmanship closely approach that of the group just mentioned. Somewhat better in execution, and representing the medium quality minor work of Dyn. V, is the nameless seated pair statuette (*Vorbericht*, 1927, pl. VII). The attitude is normal, with the woman placing her right arm about the man's shoulder, but the man's right hand is clenched palm down on the thigh. Perhaps a little better in workmanship, but still wholly conventional in style, is the standing pair (*Vorbericht*, 1927, pl. VI) where the woman places her right arm around her husband's shoulder.

Perhaps to be identified with the Ihy of Miss Moss's plan, D 82 of Steindorff in the area south of Cemetery G 1000, is the Nefer-ihy in whose serdab were discovered two granite statuettes of unusually fine quality (H.U.B.M.F.A. Expedition Photo. A 10927). One, a squatting scribe, is now in Leipzig. The face is well cut and traces of paint survive. The right hand is closed, palm down, the left hand open, palm up, on the lap. The seated statue in Hildesheim shows equally good work and is inscribed with the same titles and name (Roeder, *l.c.*, p. 48, No. 13). The right hand is closed with the back of the hand up. The face is well modelled. The height is 49 cm. The workmanship of these two statues is well above the average usually found in the sculpture of small mastabas in the Far Western Cemetery. Among the statuettes as yet unpublished in Cairo, Leipzig, and Hildesheim, it is possible to identify another group found by Steindorff which come from the serdab of a man called Zasha. This is a little tomb west of the great mastaba G 4000, numbered D 39 40. A number of limestone servant figures are in Leipzig (a woman with a sieve, a man cleaning jars, and a man cooking over a brazier), while in the Cairo Museum, Nos. 37820, 37825, are small seated statuettes of the owner, 37821, the wife of Zasha (a barbarous seated female figure resembling the G 1040 group), and 37822-4, three very fine servant figures. The most remarkable of these is No. 37823 which shows a standing man leaning over to slaughter a bull which lies tied up at his feet. The other two are a baker and a man roasting a goose. This is one of the finest groups of servant figures that has been found, both for the quality of the individual pieces and for the varieties of occupation represented.

Notice should be taken also of a number of statues that were found by Ballard in excavations undertaken in the Far Western Cemetery shortly before the work of the American, German, and Italian Expeditions began. The only site of his work which can be positively identified is the chapel of Nefert-yabet (G 1225) from which he removed the beautiful slab-stela now in the Curtis Collection in Paris. At the same time he found other objects in tombs which it is no longer possible to locate. In the Curtis Collection is a painted limestone standing pair statuette similar in type and workmanship to others

discovered in the subsidiary mastabas of Dyn. V in the Western Cemetery. This belonged to a man named Raherka<sup>1</sup> and his wife Meresankh. In the Berlin Museum, and apparently from the same excavations, are two granite statuettes, one a squatting scribe (Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, pls. 25-7) which has often been reproduced, and the other a seated granite pair, from the tomb of a man named Dersenez. The seated pair is of conventional type, the man holding his right hand clenched, thumb up on his thigh, and the woman placing her arm around her husband's shoulders. The scribe is perhaps unfinished. The different planes of the body are sharply defined and do not seem to have received a final polish. The proportions and alinement of the figure are irregular. The face seems to be an attempt at careful portraiture and has received a smoother finish than the rest of the body. The right hand has the fingers carved as though holding the writing implement, the left hand holds the papyrus, with the thumb pressed down over the edge of the roll.

Von Bissing (*O.L.Z.*, 1937, p. 504) has recently referred to a statuette in the Munich Glyptothek as having come from a Dyn. IV tomb excavated at Giza by a Mr. Kennard. I think that this can only be a reference to Ballard's excavations, but there is no possibility that the tomb was of Dyn. IV. The statue is that of a man *Iw-gsw* and his wife *Wrt* (Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 6) and accords very well in style with the other statuettes found by Ballard, as well as with the pieces from the Far Western Cemetery which have just been discussed. It is very probable that all of Ballard's work was in this area, not far from G 1225 where we know that he dug. It would seem from the other material from his excavations that G 1225 was the only Dyn. IV tomb which he investigated. It is unfortunate that none of the names on the statuettes found by Ballard can be identified with those in the chapels as now excavated. The Munich pair statue shows the wife standing on the left of her husband with her right arm around his shoulders and her left hand placed open on his left arm. The workmanship is only moderately good and the peculiarity of the piece is that the figures are carved as though in high relief upon the support against which they are set, only the heads emerging completely in the round above the backing slab.

In the Cairo Museum are several statuettes registered as having come from the Ballard excavations. A small seated statuette (No. 35566) of a man named Nezem-ib, and a standing man (No. 35567) are of conventional type, but three other pieces (seated man, No. 35563, a standing man, No. 35564, and a standing pair, No. 35565) inscribed with the name Nofer are more interesting. These are of the same barbarous workmanship that has been noted already in the case of the statuettes from G 1039, 1040, D 61 (in Hildesheim) and the Minor Cemetery dug by Fisher. The clumsy standing pair of man and wife (Pl. 26) particularly resembles the awkward little figures from G 1040. The figures lean to one side, and have the same plump, misshapen forms and the ludicrous facial expression of this poor sculpture with which the lesser people of late Dyn. V and Dyn. VI had perforce to be content.

#### ii. *Statues from Cemetery G 2000*

In the absence of any exact indication of the date it is impossible to assign most of the statuettes from the minor cemetery G 2000 and the adjoining spaces south of it and south of the mastaba G 2000 to a more definite period than Dyn. V to early Dyn. VI. In type they correspond to the sculpture found in the minor mastabas west of G 2000, and present similar forms and workmanship. The statuettes from G 2004 and G 2009 as well as the pair statuette from Steindorff's D 215 are of better quality than the others, and should be assigned to a mid-Dyn. V date, I should think. The rest are of late Dyn. V or Dyn. VI.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same name, but apparently not the same person as the owner of the serdab in which Steindorff found the woman carrying a child.

G 2004: Standing pair statuette of painted limestone. The wife stands on the left of her husband, with her right arm around the man's waist, her left hand on his arm. The man is in the conventional attitude, wearing a short wig, broad collar, and a short skirt with a stiff triangle of cloth standing out in front. The wife wears a short, full wig, broad collar and tunic, bracelets and anklets. A support at the back reaches to the shoulders of the figures, but extends, apparently, only as far as the man's right leg. The modelling is good work of medium quality. The paint is well preserved. Inscribed in paint on base in front of man: *imy ht pr ʿ, hnty š Pth-hnw*. In front of wife: *hnt f mrt. . . .*; h., 0.701 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1876.

A model of cakes on a fire, carved in painted limestone, seems to suggest that there was a servant figure of wood (now decayed) in the serdab with this statue, and the size of the serdab would have allowed for a number of wooden figures.

G 2009: A group of painted limestone figures in an intact serdab (Pl. 24):

- (1) A fine standing pair statue. The wife is on the right of her husband and places her right hand on his arm, her left arm around his waist. The man stands in the conventional attitude. He wears a full wig, broad collar, bracelets, and a short skirt. The woman wears a short, full wig, dog-collar, and broad necklace, from which hangs an elaborately painted pectoral. She has a long tunic, bracelets, and anklets. The workmanship is good, above the average for middle-class work. The painted surfaces are well preserved, even to the slight moustache of the man. A support at the back reaches to the shoulders of the figures. In front of the man is inscribed: *hnty š Msi*; in front of the woman: *hm ntr Hthr m šwt nb, hnty š Sssh (?)*. Cairo No. 38670.
- (2) A seated pair, less well proportioned than the larger statue, and less well finished. The woman sits on the left of her husband with her right arm around his waist. Her other hand is open palm down on her thigh. The man is in the usual position, but holds his right hand clenched palm down. The painted surface is well preserved. The man wears a short wig, broad collar, and short skirt. The woman wears a short, full wig, bracelets (?), and anklets. There is no support at the back and both figures wear elaborate counter-weights hanging down at the back of their necklaces. On the right of the man's legs is written: *hnty š Bsw . . . . (?)*. On the left of his legs is inscribed: *. . . . n . . . Bsw. .* To the left of the woman's legs is: *hm ntr Nt wpt wswt, hnty š Bsw*; h., 0.355 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1885.
- (3) Small triad of standing male figures. This is unusual in that the central figure holds the hanging hands of the two outer men. The man on the right of the others wears a full wig, that in the centre a short wig, and the man on the left is without a wig. All three men wear broad collars and short skirts. The work is moderately good, resembling that of the seated pair. The paint is well preserved. On the front of the base is inscribed the name of each with his titles, reading from right to left: *pr ʿ hnty (š) Ni-ksw-hwfw; pr ʿ hnty š Pth-hw; pr ʿ hnty š Hs*; h., 0.250 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1882.
- (4) Small statuette of a naked boy. He stands with left foot forward, his right hand with finger to lips, his left clenched at his side. He wears the side-lock. A support runs up the back to about the middle of the head. The modelling is fair, but, as usual, hardly suggests the forms of childhood except in the small size and the dressing of the hair. The paint is well preserved. Inscribed on the base: *hmww Pth-nfrti*; h., 0.18 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1881.

G 2035: Seated pair statuette of conventional form and mediocre workmanship. The woman sits on the right of the man and places her left hand on his shoulder. He is in the usual attitude, but his



right hand clenched on the thigh has the palm down. The man wears a short wig and short skirt, the woman a full wig, dog collar, broad necklace, and tunic. Beside the legs of each figure, flanking their parents, are two small naked boys. The seat has a back reaching to the base of the wigs of the large figures. The inscriptions are very faint. A long inscription in paint along the right side of the seat is nearly obliterated. Between the two figures is apparently the name and title of the man: *Whc Ysw* (?). In front of the boy on the (observer's) left is written: *Hwfw-snb*, the boy on the right is named *Ity*; h., 34 cm. Cairo No. 38671.

G 2036: Small, poorly worked, seated male statuette. In usual attitude with thumb of clenched right hand up. He wears a short wig, and skirt. Between his feet has been placed a tiny figure of a standing woman with her right hand on her right breast and her left hand hanging open at her side. She is dressed in a short wig and tunic. The name scratched in front of this figure is illegible. Across the left side of the seat is written: *imy r3 pr whc Hsfy*; h., 41 cm. Cairo No. 38672.

G 2070: A small, rough limestone head, badly battered. Very poor work.

Of uncertain provenance is the rough, headless standing female statuette found in the debris east of the chapel of G 2000 (Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1879). A small granite seated figure was found in G 2032 (Boston, M.F.A. No. 06.1877; h., 0.412 m.). This is well worked, considering the hard material, and retains some traces of paint. On the back of the seat is inscribed in paint: *imshw hr (nb)-f(?) Snnw*, and on the side (left) is incised what may be meant for *wcb ššp-ib-rc, šdšwty nšwt hbs(?) Snnw*, while on the other side is: *rh nšwt n pr c3 hr n pr db3t Snnw*. If the inscription on the left has the name of the Sun Temple of Ne-user-ra, which is admittedly doubtful (the writing being far from clear), there is an indication of the date of this statue in the latter half of Dyn. V.

The statues found by Steindorff and Junker are as yet incompletely known. We have referred above to a pair statuette from D 215, the exact location of which I am unable to determine. This statuette, now in Hildesheim (Roeder, *l.c.*, p. 53), shows a remarkable grouping of the figures. The man sits as usual (right hand clenched, thumb up), while the woman stands on his right with her arm around his shoulders and her other hand clenched at her side. Not only is it not customary for women to grasp the round object ordinarily held by men in their closed hanging hands, but the upper parts of the bodies of these two figures are separated by an open space, with no protecting area of stone. There is no support at the back of the man, but the standing woman has a support of her own. The proportions are a little clumsy, but the originality of the design, and the workmanship, which is well above the usual average of the statues from Cem. G 2000, suggest that this may be one of the earliest statuettes of the group. The other statuettes known to be from the German excavations south of G 2000 and Cem. 2000 are of mediocre quality. One of a seated man named Redyfy from Steindorff's D 200 is poorly worked and conventional in attitude (*Vorbericht*, 1914, pl. XI, right). Probably of late Dyn. V or early Dyn. VI is the standing pair statue of Ny-kaw-khenemuw and his sister Nefer-s-reses (*Vorbericht*, 1926, pl. VIII) and the seated pair statue of Iwf and Mery (*l.c.*, pl. VII). These are of moderately good workmanship. An interesting detail is that Nefer-s-reses grasps her brother's hanging hand, a gesture rare in Old Kingdom sculpture. It is found again in a pair statue in Berlin of unusually fine quality, probably from Saqqarah, and in another statuette from Saqqarah in Cairo, No. 151.

Certainly to be assigned to Dyn. VI, I should think, and probably late in that Dynasty are two statuettes found walled up in a niche in the upper part of a rock-cut pit in a small mastaba (G 1903) at the northern edge of Cemetery G 2000, on the upper slope of the cliff-edge:

26-1-132: Seated woman holding a child on her lap; she places her arms around the child which holds

its hand to its mouth; the details of the figures are clumsily modelled, and the forms are squat and heavy; h., 10·1 cm. Pl. 27, Cairo.

26-1-133: Seated male statuette found in same serdab as preceding; man places both hands open, palm down, on his thighs; he wears bracelets on wrists; the figure is more slender than that of the woman; the modelling is careful but inexpert; h., 16 cm, Boston.

These statuettes resemble the type of clumsy little figures found in the Far Western Field. The position of the hands of the man is not common, but the group of mother and child is almost unique. Such a seated figure is known from Denderah, but this was apparently of Dyn. XI date (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XXI). The Metropolitan Museum possesses a very remarkable group from an Old Kingdom serdab which I have discussed in the section dealing with servant figures. Here a woman squats on the ground nursing two children. Similar squatting figures of woman with child are to be found in University College, London, and the Berlin Museum, but these seem to be of Middle Kingdom. The type is well known in the reliefs of late Dyn. V and Dyn. VI and appears in the hieroglyph determining the word for nurse as early as the chapel of Neferma'at (*Medum*, pl. XIX).

### iii. Statues from Cemeteries G 4000, G 6000, and the Echelon Cemetery

Since no statuettes were found in the intrusive mastabas placed in the streets between the great tombs of Cem. G 2100, it remains now only to discuss a small number of statuettes from Cem. G 4000, Cem. G 6000, and from the small tombs that grew up as an extension of the Cemetery en Echelon, along its eastern side and at its northern end. A very small number of statues remain to be mentioned from the Eastern Cemetery. The statuettes from Cem. G 4000 appear to belong to the latter half of Dyn. V with perhaps a few continuing into Dyn. VI. They conform in style and workmanship to those found in other parts of the Western Cemetery. I believe that fragments of two statuettes found in the street east of G 4140 do not belong to the chapel of that mastaba. They are conventional in workmanship and seem to be of a later date:

13-11-39: Conventional little head of a woman in a full wig; battered; *circa* 11·5 cm. high.

13-11-36, 37, 38: Three fragments of a small seated male figure; height of parts preserved, 42 cm. Partly from the debris of G 4530 and partly from the street east of G 4620 came the following fragments:

14-1-27, 14-3-3: Poorly worked little standing male statuette; broken but nearly complete; h., 35·2 cm. Boston, M.F.A. 21.2604.

The burial of Khufuw-ankh in the mastaba G 4520 is dated by a sealing to the reign of Weserkaf. An inscription on a statuette found in the chapel states that it was made by the son of the owner. It may have been placed in the chapel at a considerably later date, as the mediocre style of the piece would suggest.

G 4520: chapel: 14-3-4: Seated pair statuette; wife seated on right of husband, left hand on man's shoulder and right hand on his arm; man in usual attitude (right hand clenched, thumb up); between the legs of the two figures is a small naked boy who places his left arm around his father's leg; the right side of the seat is inscribed in a horizontal and four vertical lines: (1) *rh nswt Hwfw-nh ir-n n-f nw s' f . . .*; (2) *hnr . . . . .*; (3) *m st . . . . .*; (4) *hr nb-f . . . . sn . . . .* Illegible inscription on seat beside legs of man, and a similar inscription beside woman's legs; in front of boy is written: *s'-f mry-f Mnkwrr-nh*. The piece is badly weathered and the man's head is missing; h., 43·5 cm. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 67.

From the debris of the street, but probably belonging originally to the serdab of G 4522 were the following statuettes. They are to be dated in all probability to the latter half of Dyn. V.

G 4522: serdab:

- (1) 14-3-16 + 14-3-32, 23: Standing pair statuette of man and wife; the wife stands on the left of her husband with her right arm around his shoulders and her left arm hanging at her side; the man is in the usual attitude; inscribed down the back in two vertical lines: (1) [*rh nšwt (?)*], *iry šdšwt n pr-č, hnty š Kšp* (2) [*hmt-f m*]rt-f Hy. The work is mediocre and the piece badly weathered. The support at the back is unusual in that the main mass reaches only to the shoulders of the figures and is continued upwards in two narrow strips behind the heads; h., 35.6 cm. Boston, M.F.A. 21.2602. Reisner, *l.c.*, pl. 67.
- (2) 14-3-31: Fragment of the right side of a seat inscribed: *rh nšwt hnty š n pr č imšhw hr ntr č Kšp*.
- (3) 14-3-24: Legs and seat of a seated statuette, thought to belong to last, but also forming the right side of a seat; inscribed: *hmt-f imšh Ni-čnh-hthr*.
- (4) 14-3-20, 22, 29: If the two fragments above formed parts of a pair statuette, it may be possible that the head of a woman and the torso and head of a male figure found east of G 4520 may also have belonged to this group; h., circa 13 cm. Reisner, *l.c.*, pl. 67.
- (5) 14-3-62, 25: Fragments of a kneeling servant figure, female; h., 9.5, w., 7.1 cm., thickness, 6.8.

Found in the debris between G 4720 and G 4721, the exact provenance of a granite pair statuette cannot be determined:

14-2-15: The lower part of a granite pair statuette showing two male figures; work of medium quality; w., 25 cm.

A small serdab in the chapel of G 4410 furnished two statuettes which are dated roughly to the end of Dyn. V or the first half of Dyn. VI by the name of the owner of one of them, Isy-ankh. The name on the other statuette is not the same. These little figures were walled up in a small crude-brick cubicle in the chapel and probably belonged to the funerary priests of the owner of G 4410. The statues of the latter had been placed in a large serdab, but none of them were recovered. The burial in G 4410 was dated by a sealing to the reign of Weserkaf.

G 4410: Two small limestone statuettes with traces of paint.

- (1) Well-worked seated figure of medium quality: 15-12-46. Wears short wig and short skirt; usual attitude with right hand clenched, thumb up; along the left side of the seat is inscribed: *imy r ššr Ni-špsš-nšwt*, and along the upper part of the right side of the seat is written: *hm-kš Ni-špsš-nšwt*; h., 38.5 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.352. Reisner, *l.c.*, pl. 71.
- (2) A much less well-cut figure, smaller, but in same dress and attitude; inscribed on right side of base: *Isi-čnh*; h., 28 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.353. Reisner, *l.c.*, pl. 71.

The excavations of Professor Junker in Cemetery G 4000 and in the central strip of the Cemetery en Echelon have produced a certain number of private statuettes from the minor mastabas, most of which seem to date from late Dyn. V. North of the mastaba G 4000 was found a squatting granite scribe (*Vorbericht*, 1912, pl. V) of medium workmanship. The right hand is closed, palm down, while the left hand is open and the fingers overlap the edge of the skirt. In the little mastaba of Weser, south of the well-known chapel of Nen-sezer-ka (G 2100 Annex-II), the daughter of Mer-ib, was found a small standing male figure of conventional type (*l.c.*, pl. V) which is now in Cairo. The serdab of the small mastaba of Ptah-shepses, east of the large mastaba G 5160, contained a large number of statuettes of painted limestone. The largest is a standing figure in traditional attitude, wearing a short wig and a skirt

with a broad triangle of stiffened cloth in front. Of the two pair statuettes, each showing two standing men, one is in Hildesheim and the other in Cairo. There were also two standing statuettes on a smaller scale, two seated scribes, and a conventional standing woman in Cairo who seems to have been the daughter of Ptah-shepses. Two servant figures were also included, one showing a woman grinding corn, and the other a baker seated at a fire. These figures were all well worked and represent the good quality of sculpture often available for the less important people of Dyn. V (*Vorbericht*, 1913, pl. IX).

In the second street west of the mastaba of Ptah-shepses, on the east face of G 4960, was found a small tomb which contained in its serdab a fine naked male statuette of a man named Sneferuw-nefer (*Vorbericht*, 1913, pl. XI). This is now in Vienna. The attitude is that usual for the standing male figure. The man wears no wig, and the treatment of the naked body is good. This type of male figure is known from the example cited below from the Eastern Cemetery (G 7946), the figure found by Junker in mastaba II south of the Great Pyramid, and from two well-known pieces in the Cairo Museum, Nos. 23, 143, from Saqqarah, and it is fairly common in wooden statues. The type shows a young man, usually distinguished by circumcision from the statuettes of small boys. The unusual occurrence of a naked male figure as part of a pair statuette has been noted in G 1032.

Another group of statues belonged to a man named Hety. These were found in a mastaba (G 5480 - Lepsius 29) north of the large tomb of Zaty (LG 31 - G 5370). One of these was a fine seated scribe (*Vorbericht*, 1914, pl. IX) now in Hildesheim, and with it were found a seated figure of the same man, and a pair statuette showing him standing with his sister. The scribe is excellently worked, the hands being carefully drawn as though holding the writing implement and the roll of papyrus which lies in the lap. In addition to these statues another small figure was found east of the mastaba of Weneshet. This was a conventional standing statuette of a man named Ba-f-ba (*Vorbericht*, 1914, pl. XI).

In the debris of the chapel of G 6040 was found a woman seated in the usual attitude with her hands open, palms down, on her thighs (white limestone, Reg. No. 25-12-26, 47, Boston; h., 46.5 cm.). The face was badly battered, and part of the left arm, base, and feet were missing. She wore a full wig and a long tunic. A trace of red paint shows in the corner of one eye. The work is of good quality without any particular distinguishing features. A second statuette from G 6042 shows a standing pair of man and wife (Reg. No. 25-12-13, 245; Boston, M.F.A. No. 27.1122; h., 53.4 cm.). The man is almost completely preserved and is in the usual attitude, wearing a full wig and with conventional face. The woman on his right has both arms hanging at her sides. The head is missing, and the lower part of the body badly broken.

In the northern end of the Echelon Cemetery a number of statuettes were found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in the small mastabas in the neighbourhood of the Senezem-ib complex. The sculpture of the Senezem-ib family will be discussed in the next chapter dealing with Dyn. VI, but the contents of most of these smaller tombs can now be considered as representing the same type of private work characteristic of the latter half of Dyn. V and the beginning of Dyn. VI in the other small tombs of the Western Cemetery. I have included with this group a certain number of statues from small mastabas along the northern edge of Cemetery G 2100, considerably to the west of the Senezem-ib group. Thus, in G 2185, three limestone statuettes were found in the serdab of this small mastaba:

G 2185:

- (1) Pair statuette showing two standing male figures; unusual in that the man on the right places his left arm around the waist of his companion; the other hands hang clenched around the usual round objects. Both figures place the left foot forward. The figure on the right wears a short wig, that on the left a full one. Mediocre work with clumsily cut faces; h., 35-40 cm. Cairo (Pl. 21 a).

- (2) Headless standing male statuette of conventional type. Inscribed on base beside advanced foot: *Nfr-shfn* (?); h., 0.85 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1483.
- (3) Kneeling female servant figure, grinding grain; fair work; 32 × 8 cm., and 16 cm. high. Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1486.

In Pit B of the mastaba was found the following statuette:

- (4) Reg. No. 35-9-39:  
Limestone seated male figure in full wig and short skirt, left hand open on left knee, right hand closed, palm down on knee; h., 35.5 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 37.640. *M.F.A. Bulletin*, vol. XXXVI, No. 214, fig. 4.

It should be noted that fragments of relief possibly from the chapel of this mastaba (showing a table scene accompanied by harpers and offering bearers) are of good quality. The *motif* of the man placing his arm around another man is found in a male triad from the Ra-wer complex published by Selim Bey Hassan (*Excavations at Giza, 1929-1930*, pl. XXII).

G 2231 X=G 2178: Seated pair statuette of painted limestone; heads broken away; mediocre work; man in usual attitude, but palm of clenched right hand is down; woman sits on right of husband and places her left arm around his shoulder. Note the slight projection of the man's part of the seat so that the wife's legs are placed slightly back from those of her husband. Man's titles and name inscribed on left side of seat: *rh nswt, shd ikdw, Hwry*. On the right side of the seat a similar inscription for the wife: *rh nswt Hwt*. Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1485.

G 1501: Outlying mastaba north of Cem. G 1200: Seated granite pair; woman sits on right of man with arm around waist; man sitting in usual attitude, but closed right hand is palm down; inscribed on lap: *imy-r: pr Pth-ir-eh*; inscribed on woman's lap: *rh nswt Ni-eh-hthr*. Simple modelling, squat figures. Support at back reaching to shoulders. Base, 0.315 × 0.29 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 12.1488.

G . . . The upper parts of what appears to have been a seated pair statuette of limestone; man preserved to waist, but position of hands uncertain; woman's head and bust preserved. Mediocre work with some paint preserved. Height as preserved, 0.210 m. Boston, M.F.A. Nos. 12.1507, 12.1508.

In the serdab north of the chapel of G 2415, belonging to a man named Wery and his wife Mety, was found a group of limestone statuettes, some still retaining traces of paint. The majority of these are of the same good workmanship which characterizes the best of the small private statuettes of Late Dyn. V. It should be remembered that the fine plaster mask came from the burial in pit T of this mastaba.

G 2415:

- (1) Statuette evidently meant to represent a young man; conventional standing attitude; no wig, short skirt with pleated flap; well-worked idealized face; h., 0.46 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2598.
- (2) Similar small statuette, perhaps also meant to represent the owner as a young man; short curled wig, short skirt with pleated flap; usual attitude; inscribed on base *Wri*; h., 0.447 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2599.
- (3) Larger standing male statue in similar attitude and dress, but without pleated flap; good conventional work; face battered; h., 0.80 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2595.
- (4) Standing pair statuette; rather clumsy work; the necks are too long, the woman's head slightly lop-sided and her figure skimpy in proportions; modelling schematic. This is the worst piece

- in the group in its execution. The attitude and dress is the same as in the next group. Inscribed in front of man: *Ihwi*, and in front of woman: *Bbi*; h., 0.565 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2597.
- (5) Standing pair statue; similar clumsy work, but a little better quality; details of wigs and faces carefully executed. The woman's figure leans out slightly away from the man; she stands on his left with her arm around his waist and her left hand on his arm; she wears a full wig and tunic; the man is in the usual attitude and wears a short wig and long skirt with the stiff projecting triangle in front; uninscribed; h., 0.515 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2596.
- (6) Servant figure; kneeling woman grinding corn; good work of this type; h., 0.282 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2601.
- (7) Squatting woman tending fire; h., 0.238 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 21.2600. See Fig. 15.
- (8-11) Traces of decayed bases of four wooden statuettes.

Similar work of good medium quality was found in a number of statues from this neighbourhood. A few remained in place in their serdabs, but the majority of them had been thrown down in the debris of mastabas or pits.

G 2420: A group of painted limestone statues were found in pit D of this mastaba:

- (1) Reg. No. 36-5-31: standing male statuette; wears short wig and skirt and is in usual attitude; inscribed on base, to left of feet: *irt-n n-f s-f Šnb(?)*; in front, to right of foot: *šhd wcb hnty š Ndmw*; h., 37.5 cm. Boston.
- (2) Reg. No. 36-5-52: seated statuette assembled from fragments; attitude usual, but right hand closed, palm down; wears short wig, short skirt with pleated flap; name (*Inti*) inscribed in paint on base; h., 56 cm. Boston.
- (3) Reg. No. 36-5-29: similar seated statuette, but headless; inscribed beside left foot: *hnty š pr ʿ Ndmw*; h., 44 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 37.641. *M.F.A. Bulletin*, vol. XXXVI, No. 214, fig. 1.
- (4) Reg. No. 36-5-30: well-modelled servant figure cleaning a beer-jar; part of left arm missing; good head and simple rendering of body muscles; h., 31 cm., b., 11.5 · 23.0 cm. Paint well preserved. Cairo No. 67570. Fig. 18a.

G 2427: Group of 3 limestone statues and one statuette found in place in serdab, but upper parts missing.

- (1) Reg. No. 36-5-43: large conventional standing figure; headless; inscribed on base: *šhd hnty š pr ʿ Mnw-nfr*; traces of painted bead-work kilt; height as preserved, 120 cm. Boston (M.F.A. No. 37.639). *L.c.*, fig. 3.
- (2) Reg. No. 36-5-42: lower part of a similar standing figure, broken slightly below waist; inscribed on base: *šhd hnty š pr ʿ Mnw-nfr*; traces of painted bead-work kilt; h., 45.5 cm. Boston.
- (3) Reg. No. 36-5-41: lower part of a similar figure; head missing; traces of bead kilt; inscribed on base like others; h., 62 cm. Boston.
- (4) Reg. No. 36-5-40: small statuette of same man; conventional standing figure; wears short wig, short skirt with pleated flap; inscribed on base like others; h., 55 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 37.637. *L.c.*, fig. 2.

G 2407 D: A limestone statue three-quarter life-size and a statuette were found thrown down in this pit.

- (1) Reg. No. 36-4-53: standing male figure like those just described; wears short wig and short skirt with pleated flap; inscribed on base: *šhd hnty š Hwfw-hnwi*; h., 83.5 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 37.638. *L.c.*, fig. 5.
- (2) Reg. No. 36-4-52: small seated figure of conventional type, but right hand closed, palm down;

full wig and short skirt; inscribed down front of seat and on base: *wrb nswt hnty š K3-m-st*; h., 34.5 cm. Cairo No. 67571.

- G 2418 U: Reg. No. 36-7-3: fragmentary pair statuette; man's head and feet of both figures missing; man in usual attitude; wife stands on his left placing her right arm around his shoulder, and left hand on his arm; uninscribed; height as preserved, 29.2 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 37.645; head of woman shown, *l.c.*, fig. 6.
- G 2422 C: Reg. No. 36-6-52: small servant statuette of limestone; woman grinding grain; simplified modelling; stone left between woman's arms; h., 25.5 cm., l., 30.0, and w., 9.5 cm. Cairo No. 67572. Fig. 15.

iv. *The minor Sculpture from Cemetery G 7000*

The statues of private persons found in the Eastern Cemetery are few in number and can be listed as follows:

- G 7510 X: Reg. No. 27-2-304: fragment of a diorite squatting scribe nearly life-size; part of left leg and left hand open palm down on lap; inscription on lap: . . . *f . . . rh nswt . . . m ht . . . (?)*; width of piece, 32 × 36 cm.
- G 7809: Outside pit A: Reg. No. 25-1-1053: upper part of a limestone male statuette, good work; probably a seated figure; pupils of eye retain black paint; plain full wig; height as preserved, 15.5 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 27.1323.
- G 7946: Group of four painted limestone statues thrown down in pit.
- (1) Reg. No. 31-1-6: seated conventional male statue; right hand closed, palm down, on thigh; full wig, short skirt; inscribed on both sides of seat and on front of seat on each side of legs: *shd rht pr hd Tsw*; h., 44 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 31.778.
- (2) Reg. No. 31-1-4: standing pair statuette; conventional; woman smaller than man seated on his right; places left arm around waist and right hand on his arm; inscribed on base: *shd rht pr hd rh nswt Tsw*; *rht nswt mitrt Hnt-m-stw*; paint well preserved; h., 73.5 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 31.777.
- (3) Reg. No. 31-1-5: standing naked male; young man, no wig; good work; usual attitude; inscribed on base: *shd rht pr hd Tnti*; h., 58 cm. Cairo Museum.
- (4) Reg. No. 31-1-7: squatting scribe of black granite; fair workmanship; right hand closed, palm down, on thigh; left hand open with fingers hanging over edge of skirt; traces of paint, particularly on necklace and counter-weight; inscribed on lap: *shd pr hd Tnti*, and across front of base: *shd rht pr hd Tnti*; h., 39 cm., b., 27 × 22 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 31.776.
- G 7911 U: Reg. No. 30-12-26: small male head broken from a statuette; paint well preserved; broad necklace; h., 9.2 cm. Fair workmanship enhanced by preservation of paint. Boston, M.F.A. No. 31.779.
- G 7130 X: Reg. No. 24-12-867+961: seated male figure, broken away above waist; right hand open, palm down, on thigh; inscribed on right side of seat: *rh nswt Mnw-chn*; fair workmanship; h., 27.2 cm., as preserved.
- G 7772:
- (1) Reg. No. 28-5-218: large, seated statuette of barbarous workmanship; the hands are open, but are placed along the sides of the thighs rather than on the lap; the feet slope down from heel to toe, and are cut in a rudimentary fashion; the long full wig has some rough incised lines to

indicate the strands of hair; the squared incisions of the base of the hair are carried around in front on the neck; the face is full with protruding jaw and prominent lips; the proportions of the whole figure are heavy and badly balanced; h., 47 cm., w., 18 cm.; Pl. 25.

- (2) Reg. No. 28-5-219: a very similar, but smaller, figure. The only difference is that the rudely drawn hands are placed open, palms down, on the thighs. The height is 26 cm. The base is 12 × 14 cm.; Pl. 25.

The small pieces of sculpture found by Selim Bey Hassan in the tombs built in the old quarry behind the Sphinx repeat the same types found in the Western and Eastern Cemeteries and show a similar quality of workmanship. Mention should be made, however, of a few new types which are found among these statuettes. The most interesting variation is that seen in the broken torso of a seated figure, perhaps a squatting scribe, which has the arms folded across the chest with the hands placed open, palm down, in the region of the shoulders. A group of three squatting figures shows them all in this same position, although the statuette is much broken. The attitude of hands crossed on the breast is a familiar one in minor figures in the reliefs, and is intended to show respect to the chief figure in the scene, but in sculpture in the round I know it only in Junker's dwarf Seneb (*cf.* p. 57). Another curious attitude is shown by a standing male pair of a man named Mersuw-ankh (*Excavations at Giza*, I, pl. LXXII), where each figure places his outer arm against his breast, while the inner hand hangs at the side. Somewhat similar in treatment is a triad where the same man stands in the centre, and two girls on each side place their outer hands on his hanging arms. The daughter on Mersuw-ankh's left apparently places her right hand on his shoulder, while the smaller girl on the right encircles his waist with her left arm (*l.c.*, pl. LXXIV). Both of these pieces belong to a class of statuettes rough in workmanship and clumsy in proportions. It is a fact in the history of Egyptian sculpture that unskilled workmen often attempt innovations which their better-trained fellows would instinctively avoid. From the tomb of Mersuw-ankh comes another variation of type (*l.c.* pl. LXX). This is a triad showing two seated men while a third man stands beside them on the left. It is what Professor Capart has called a 'pseudo-group' since all the figures represent the same man, a common usage in Old Kingdom statues. Something very similar to the arrangement is found in the Cairo Statuette No. 101, where there is a seated man and woman with a standing man beside them. Although the Mersuw-ankh statuettes present unskilled workmanship, another little figure is more like the clumsy style which we have found characteristic of some of the poor tombs in the Western Cemetery (G 1040, &c.). This is the crude, seated statuette of Nisuw-wesert (*l.c.*, II, pl. XIV). The body is squat, the eyes over-large, and a grinning expression is fortuitously lent by the rough carving of the mouth and cheeks. The attitude is unusual but can be paralleled by a seated male pair from Abydos in Cairo (No. 219). Both hands are clenched on the knees with the thumbs up. Mention might be made also of the seated statuette of Weteth-hetep (*l.c.*, II, pl. I) of good conventional quality, where a variation of the seated pose has been made by placing a handkerchief in the right hand (palm down).

#### v. *Saqqarah private Sculpture of the Second Half of Dynasty V*

Most of the small pieces of limestone sculpture of good quality from Saqqarah in the Cairo Museum have been dated by Borchardt to Dyn. V. Very few can be proved to have a Dyn. VI date. In general they show a great similarity in type and workmanship to the pieces from Giza, already mentioned. The average of good workmanship is, on the whole, a little higher at Saqqarah. There is also a slightly wider range of types. It would be more correct to state that the Giza sculpture resembles that of Saqqarah, since the latter was the royal cemetery of the period where the fashion was set for all sculpture



at other sites. There is as little large sculpture from the latter half of Dyn. V at Saqqarah as there is at Giza, and a similar paucity of extremely fine pieces. The statue of Thiy, the finest and almost the only large limestone figure, seems to me to show a decline in workmanship when compared with the earlier statues of Ranofer. The modelling is less detailed, and the finish not as smooth. The head, too, seems to have received a more conventional treatment. Another indication of the falling-off in technical excellence is that we no longer find the elaborate process of inlaying the eyes as in earlier statues. When the eye is inlaid now, usually only in wooden pieces, a simple combination of materials is employed. Instead of the quartzite pupil with some dark substance behind, a disk of black stone, usually obsidian, is set into an alabaster piece to represent the dark and white parts of the eye. In general it can be said that in the latter half of Dyn. V there is a flourishing group of minor sculptors at Saqqarah, capable of creating excellent small works for the private person who is now able to afford statues for his tomb, but never rising to the superlative craftsmanship of the great masters of an earlier time.

Dr. Reisner has noted in *Mycerinus*, p. 125, that thirty-six statuettes of seated men in the Cairo Museum of Dyn. V date after the attitude of the hands characteristic of the majority of the statues of Dyn. IV. The attitude is similar, the left hand is open, palm down, on the thigh and the right hand is clenched, but instead of holding the thumb up, the closed palm of the clenched hand is down and the back of the hand up. The old attitude is, however, equally common at Saqqarah in Dyn. V. Dr. Reisner suggests that a small group of sculptors, working at Memphis, invented the new variation which they used in their statues. It should be noted that the new variation was as common at Giza in Dyn. V as the old form. Eighteen of the statues of seated men listed above show the hand clenched, palm down, while fourteen show the traditional pose of the Chephren statues. There are some other variations, used infrequently. Thus, in the statuette from G 1109 the right hand is placed palm down and the left hand clenched, and the same seems to have been true of a broken piece from G 7130 X. In three roughly worked statues both hands are shown open on the thigh, two from G 7772, and a seated man from G 1903 (Reg. No. 26-1-133). Similar variations are found in sculpture from Saqqarah. Thus it does not seem that any clear distinction can be drawn between two schools, one centred at Giza and one at Saqqarah. There was one court school of sculpture, that of the capital, and this influenced all private work throughout the country, leaving little opportunity for individual peculiarities of local style. This certainly seems applicable when an examination is made of what little provincial sculpture has been recorded from Dyn. V. It is very possible that this rare provincial sculpture was made at Memphis and shipped to the smaller towns up country. This probably would have been less true of a great site like Giza, which must have had its cemetery workshops in the neighbourhood. The training of the workers in these shops must have been received in the royal workshops at Memphis, however.

It has been stated above that the Saqqarah statues present, on the whole, a richer variety of types than are found at Giza in the latter half of Dyn. V, and a higher average of technical excellence. This is, perhaps, partly due to accidents of preservation, but is to be expected in a cemetery where the royal tombs of the period are centred and where the majority of important people are buried. Of the forms not found at Giza, the most common new type is that where a seated man is combined with the figure of his wife squatting at his feet. The royal precedent for this has been noted in a fragmentary statue of Radedef and his Queen from Abu-Roash. The finest private example is the painted limestone group in Cairo of Akhy with his wife and daughter (No. 44), found by Mariette in mastaba B 14. The two little figures have tucked their feet under them at the side and each places an arm about the man's leg. The good modelling of the bodies and the liveliness of the women's faces makes this one of the most attractive of the smaller pieces from Saqqarah (h., 81 cm.). Other examples of this type, but with only one

squatting woman, are to be found in the Cairo statues Nos. 21 (where a small naked boy stands on the other side of the man's legs balancing the woman), 146, 190, 196, and a group in the Berlin Museum. The squatting wife occurs also with a standing man in a fine but badly broken painted limestone figure (Cairo, No. 37) of a man named Sankhw-ptah (note the peculiarity of a private man wearing the *šndyt* skirt). Another variation shows a standing man with a very small woman squatting at his feet on the left and a small naked boy with finger to his mouth on the man's right (Cairo, No. 62). This is to be compared with the type of standing man with child (G 1314 and G 1402) of which other examples occur (Cairo, No. 24 and No. 176, possibly from Saqqarah, the naked child is a girl). The pair statuette in Cairo, No. 150, belongs to this group of standing figures with children. It shows a man and a boy, but in this case the son is nearly grown and is shown, not naked, but dressed like his father. In this connexion might be mentioned the triad in Leiden of Merytyetes (twice repeated) and a naked boy standing on the left of the two female figures. The workmanship of this statuette is not particularly good, although the paint is well preserved, and there has never been any reason to assign it to the famous Queen Merytyetes, the wife of Sneferuw. The titles of the lady are: *rht nšwt*, *hqrt nšwt*, *hrp hb*, *imy-rš is šni*, hopelessly unsuitable for a queen. I should assign this group to Saqqarah (the tomb of Queen Merytyetes was at Giza) in the latter half of Dyn. V.

The seated pair statue is now enlivened by a new version in which the woman is seated while the man stands beside her (Cairo, No. 95). The wife places her right arm around the man's shoulder and her left hand on his breast. The reverse of this attitude is shown in No. 94 where the man is seated and the woman stands beside him with her right arm around his waist and her left hand on his arm. The pair statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris of Ma-nofer (probably from Mariette, D 37) is similar. In this case the man holds a *šhm* wand across his breast with his right hand, an attitude reminiscent of the archaic statues.<sup>1</sup> The type of seated man and standing wife has been found at Giza in the Hildesheim statuette discussed above in referring to the statuettes found by the German Expedition in the Western Cemetery.

Unusual attitudes in single figures appear in many of the Saqqarah pieces. Perhaps the most interesting is the kneeling male figure (Cairo, No. 119) of Ka-m-qed where the hands are held crossed in the lap.<sup>2</sup> The man is called the *kš*-priest of Wer-ir-n, in whose mastaba (D 20) the statuette was found. The tomb is dated by a mention of the Sun Temple of Neferirkara, very probably to the latter half of Dyn. V. The workmanship is excellent and the eyes are inlaid, although in the later method with a dark stone pupil. Unusual, too, is the seated figure, No. 171, who holds a scroll on his lap like a scribe. A standing grey-granite man (No. 172) shows a rare variation with the left hand hanging open at the side and the right hand placed closed on the breast. The standing man with a child (No. 176) mentioned above also holds his hand clenched on his breast, but in this case it is the left hand. A seated figure assumes this attitude also (No. 91), the right hand closed on the breast and the left lying open, palm down, on the thigh.

A certain number of statues might be singled out for special mention because of the excellence of workmanship which they display. One of the finest of these is a large, seated statuette (height, 92 cm.) of a man named Ankh-ir-s or Itety (Cairo, No. 45). It and a less interesting standing figure (No. 47) are probably to be assigned to Mariette's mastaba D 63 in the Ptah-hotep group of mastabas near Mariette's house. This would date it to the very end of Dyn. V or the beginning of Dyn. VI. If this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar Giza red granite fragment, 33-2-154, in Boston from G 2347 x = G 5562.

<sup>2</sup> A broken statuette of a kneeling figure with the hands lying on the knees is referred to by Borchardt, 'Die Diener-

statuen aus den Grabern des a. R.' *AZ.* vol. XXXV, p. 120. It is No. 320 in Cairo (Borchardt, *Statuen*) and belonged to a man named Nefer-irt-n-s.

attribution is correct, comparison could be made with the standing male figure carved in the inner niche of the false door from the tomb of Itety (D 63) and now in Cairo (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XIX). The sunk reliefs of this false door are neatly cut, and the statue in the niche of good conventional quality. It is interesting to find that in this tomb, perhaps as early as the end of Dyn. V, Mariette found a serdab containing decayed model boats, wooden figures, and models of funerary offerings (probably stone accessories of wooden figures). The seated statue (Cairo, No. 45) has some unusual qualities, chief among which is the use of the lappet wig, rare in the statues of women other than queens<sup>1</sup> and otherwise unknown in the case of men, as far as I can determine. The attitude is the ordinary one, but the modeling of the torso is particularly good and the face has more individual character than is usual in the small figures of this time. The body of the statue of Ptah-shepses (No. 93) has received an unusually plastic treatment. Particular attention has been paid to the structure of the knee, the bones and muscle being reproduced with great care. In the standing statuette of Itep (No. 7), a very fine finish has been given to the strong, muscular figure. Similar heavy bodies with pronounced muscles are found in the case of the seated figures No. 64 (which is said to come from Giza, however) and No. 87, which has a finely worked conventional face. A particularly lively face is found in the statue of Ity (No. 26), and marked characteristics are given to the face of another statue, a standing man (No. 96). The finest type of ideal head, showing at its best the conventional rendering of a young man, is that of the well proportioned little standing figure of Nofer (No. 145). Among the scribe statues, attention should be called to that of Ptah-shepses (No. 83), where the head is bent forward as though reading the scroll held in the lap of the squatting figure. The granite scribe (No. 57) with its unusually long legs and slender body has a character which distinguishes it from a number of more conventional renderings of this attitude of the squatting figure.

A few other figures represent the inferior type of workmanship which characterizes the poor tombs of the Giza Cemetery. This is to be seen in the clumsy little conventional figure of a standing woman (No. 50). A standing pair statue of man and wife with small naked boy shows a similar crude treatment (No. 105), as does another seated man (No. 211). It should be noted that this last piece belongs to the same Wer-ir-n in whose mastaba (D 20) was found the excellent little kneeling figure with crossed hands of Ka-m-qed (No. 119). The two extremes of good and bad work are thus found together even in the same tomb as well as at the same period, and this is a warning against dating a statue to a late period simply because of the degeneration in workmanship which is due to a poor craftsman and not necessarily to the progress of time.

There remains one point to be mentioned in connexion with the statues of Dyn. V from Saqqarah. This is the occasional use of decoration in relief on the sides of the block seat of a seated statue. This has been found used very sparingly in the inscriptions and heraldic plants of the Chephren statues, supplemented by Nile gods in one of them, and continued in an elaborate pattern containing the king's names on one of the thrones of Mycerinus. The custom does not seem to have been imitated in the large private statues of Dyn. IV and Early Dyn. V. Except in the archaic statues, where the name and titles are inscribed in relief, it seems to have been the general custom to apply incised inscriptions rather sparingly to statues and statuettes, and to reduce any other subsidiary decoration to a minimum. After the bent-wood supports of the archaic seats disappear their place is taken by a plain rectangular block, occasionally furnished with a back-rest. Only in the case of a few statues of Chephren is this block carved to represent a chair with lion legs. One Giza statuette, that of Itety (G 7391, Turin), imitated this royal precedent

<sup>1</sup> This type of wig is worn, though, for example, by the woman in a standing pair statue in Berlin. This group is unusual in that the husband and wife clasp each other's hanging hands; Fechheimer, *Plastik*, pls. 28, 29.

and showed chair legs carved on the sides of the block seat. A more elaborate scheme of decoration was employed, however, in three statues from Saqqarah, in the Cairo Museum. Here the block seat is decorated with reliefs showing human figures. The most elaborate of these is a pair statuette showing a seated man with his wife standing beside him. This is No. 376, belonging to a man named Ptah-ankh-ir. On the back of the seat, two servants slaughter a bull, while a third carries away the haunch of beef, and a fourth figure is partly destroyed. On the left side of the seat are shown two figures standing in a respectful attitude, each with right hand on the breast and the left arm hanging. The man is the son, Wer-ir-n-i, and the woman a daughter, Khent-kauw-s. On the right side of the seat, in a space unobstructed by the standing figure of the wife, is carved an offering-bearer holding a bird. Similar offering-bearers appear in low relief on the sides and back (two figures to each face) of the statuette of Nefer-irt-n-f (No. 21 from Mariette D 55). A third statuette in Cairo, No. 35205, shows a man in low relief on each side of the seat. The figure on the right holds up an incense burner, that on the left holds strips of linen. Figures in relief also appear on the sides of the seat of two statues from the collection of the New York Historical Society in the Brooklyn Museum.

As for provincial works of Dyn. V, the material is almost as limited as it was in Dyn. IV. Two little statuettes are in Cairo (Nos. 5, 6) which are said to have come from Sile in the Fayum.<sup>1</sup> One of these is a clumsy conventional male standing statuette, and the other is a similarly worked standing pair of man and wife. Mention has been made of the wooden statue from Akhmim (No. 153) which is indistinguishable from similar good work at Giza or Saqqarah. There remains but to mention the twelve limestone statues of Nen-kheft-ka and his son found by Petrie at Deshasheh (*Deshasheh*, pp. 12 ff.). The standing statues, particularly the one in the British Museum, show the conventional Dyn. V figure well worked (see also Cairo, No. 651). One pair statuette is in the Oriental Institute in Chicago, and another pair of standing man and wife is in Boston (M.F.A. No. 97.1092 a, b). The seated male figure in Cairo (No. 649) is more interesting in type, showing the left hand clenched on the breast, the right closed, palm down, on the knee. A small naked boy in front of the seat holds his father's left leg with his right hand. The modelling is fairly good but the chief figure has been given a disproportionately long neck. A headless seated figure of a man named Iwny (No. 175) is probably from Abydos and could be dated to late Dyn. V. There is nothing in any of these figures to suggest the slightest evidence of a local style.

<sup>1</sup> A particular interest is attached to these statuettes as they appear to be the only objects known from a site on the eastern edge of the Fayum where Borchardt many years ago investigated a stepped construction which is thought to be a pyramid of Dyn. III (Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, vol. IV, p. 103).

## THE SCULPTURE OF DYNASTY VI

THE examples of royal sculpture of Dyn. VI are very few in number. At the beginning of the Dynasty there is a small red granite standing statue of a king wearing the white crown, found by Quibell at Saqqarah and now thought to be a portrait of Tety. A headless seated figure from Kom el Ahmar (Heirakonpolis), also in the Cairo Museum, bears the name of Pepy, but which king of that name is represented remains obscure. The great pieces of the period are the two large copper statues of Pepy I found by Quibell at Hierakonpolis. In addition to these there is a small alabaster naked statuette of Pepy II in an unusual squatting position and a group of bound prisoners found in the pyramid temple of Pepy II by Jéquier. Finally, from its position when found, its elaborate composition, and the treatment of the inlaid eyes, I should assign the figure of the hawk from Hierakonpolis, the wonderful gold head of which is in the Cairo Museum, to the reign of Pepy I or perhaps a little earlier.

The small red granite statue of a king in Cairo was found by Quibell in a shaft numbered 276, cut intrusively in the filling of a large Old Kingdom mastaba underneath the massive Ptolemaic walls some distance east of the temple of the Tety Pyramid. The painted burial-chamber of shaft 276 is of the style of the Intermediate period or Early Middle Kingdom, and Quibell was of the opinion that the statue was a portrait of one of the kings who reigned between the Old and Middle Kingdom. The proximity of the Tety temple and the fact that no sculpture of a quality approaching this piece has been found from the Intermediate period strongly supports an attribution of the statue to Tety. The king stands in the usual attitude with hands clenched at the sides, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and *šndyt* skirt. The strong, simple modelling of the torso, and the indication of the muscles of the arm and the structure of the knee are admirably conceived. The ears are large, the features rather coarse, but this may have been a characteristic of the king himself rather than carelessness on the part of the sculptor who has given a fine polish to the surfaces (*Excavations at Saqqarah, 1906-1907, pl. XXXI*). The eyebrows are drawn in relief and the swelling line of the throat is well indicated. The cheeks are full, the nose and mouth large. The full cheeks and throat give the head in profile a certain resemblance to the faces of the Mycerinus triads. It is interesting to see how long this type of face persisted. There seems to have been no beard. At the back the figure melts imperceptibly into the support without sharp demarcation. The legs are missing below the knee.

The seated statuette of Pepy in Cairo (No. 43, 26 cm. high) is broken away above the waist and negligible in workmanship. It appears to have been in the usual position. The two copper statues of Pepy I from Hierakonpolis are, on the other hand, excellent in their workmanship and practically unique in their material (*Hierakonpolis II, Pls. L-LVI*). They are not quite the earliest copper statues known, for Petrie found some small figures of copper in the Dyn. I deposits of the Temple at Abydos (*Abydos, II, pl. V, the little figures numbered 34 and 35*), and Sethe long ago called attention to a passage in the Palermo stone which he believed refers to the making of a copper statue in the reign of Khasekhemuwy (*J.E.A., vol. I, p. 233*). There has never been complete agreement as to the identity of the smaller of the two Pepy figures, nor as to the technique in which both are executed. Various opinions have been expressed, but it would seem most probable that they were made by beating the copper over a wooden core, and that the head-dress of the large figure and the short skirts of both were composed of some other material laid down over the wood. Traces of rilled plaster were found which suggested that the cloth of the

skirt was imitated in plaster covered with gold leaf. The finger- and toe-nails seem to have been thus gilded. The small figure has been called both a youthful representation of Pepy I and a portrait of his son. The latter view is probably the correct one, as the statue would then correspond to the well-known type of private statue showing father and small son. The representation of two joined figures of the same man, a 'pseudo-group', indicating a difference in age is unknown so far as I can determine. In the reliefs such a practice appears in rare examples on different walls of the same chapel, and has been suggested as an explanation for the variances in appearance between two different statues of the same man. It must be admitted that the uraeus on the forehead of the boy might be considered as an obstacle to the identification of the figure as the son of Pepy I. It is now indicated by the hole for the insertion of the cobra head and by the body of the snake which appears in relief on the top of the head-dress.

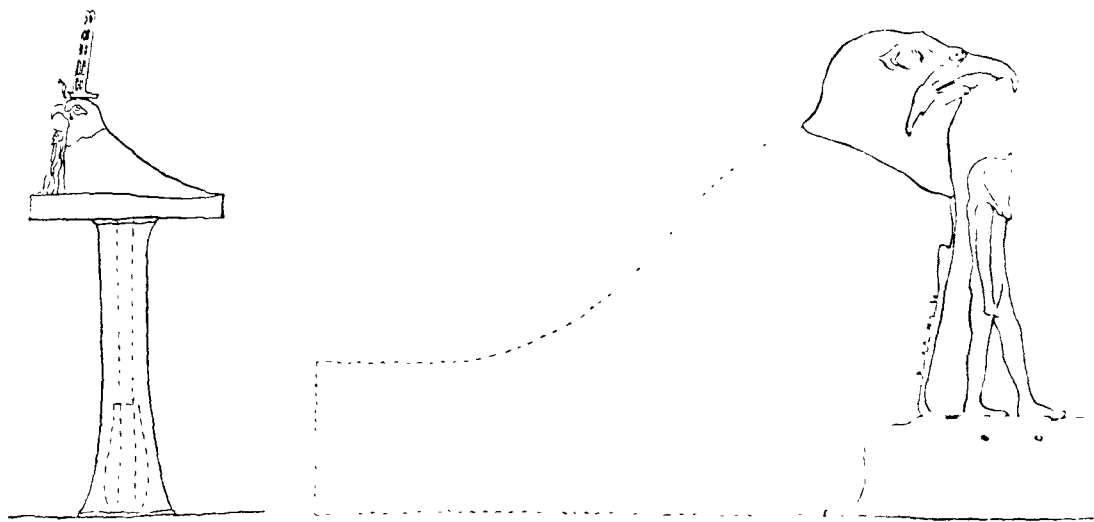


FIG. 16. Reconstruction of gold hawk's head, *Hierakonpolis II*, Pl. XLVII.

Apart from the admiration aroused by the technical difficulties overcome in the execution of a large piece of sculpture in a new medium, and the remarkable fact that such perishable material should have survived, the Pepy statues do not possess qualities of outstanding beauty. This is due partly to the corroding of the copper which has destroyed the smooth surface and delicate finishing touches which they may have possessed. They strike one as being, on the whole, conventional works, modelled in simple masses. A certain interest is lent to the faces by the inlaid eyes, but these are of the later type where the cornea is not imitated by transparent rock crystal, and the pupil is shown without the iris as a simple disk of dark stone let into the white of the eye.

One has grown so into the habit of considering the gold hawk's head in Cairo for itself alone, and not in conjunction with the rather clumsy and elaborate composition of which it originally formed a part, that it comes as something of a shock to have to imagine the original appearance of the piece (Fig. 16). The characteristic of the head is the admirable simplicity of treatment which allows for enjoyment of the beautiful gold surfaces without distraction from minor elements. By itself, the head has a monumentality and technical accomplishment in the best tradition of the old Dyn. IV work. But restored as an archaic falcon on a rectangular base, with a small figure of the king as an adjunct in front, all made of copper (presumably gilded) except for the head, the aspect becomes somewhat different. When we find the piece associated with another complicated copper work of Dyn. VI (the Pepy pair statue), it is reasonable to assume that the hawk is of the same date. It is impossible to be certain in the absence of any other examples of Old Kingdom temple furniture comparable in richness. The actual restoration of the copper parts has, unfortunately, never been undertaken, and one would like a more detailed description

of the fragments and of the stand for the figure, than that accompanying the restored drawing in *Hierakonpolis*, II (pl. XLVII). The head itself is beaten from a single piece of gold, with the exception, of course, of the crown and plumes. The eyes were formed by the polished ends of a rod of obsidian which ran through the head. Mr. Quibell has pointed out that the marking of the eyes differs considerably from that known on other representations of hawks.

A royal work of Dyn. VI which shows a very unusual form of representation is the little naked seated figure of Pepy II, found by M. Jéquier in the ante-chamber to the sanctuary of the pyramid temple of that king (*Annales*, XXVII, pl. V, p. 60). The figure is of alabaster and is rather roughly finished. Except for a tight-fitting head-cloth bearing the uraeus, the king is naked, and squats with both knees raised in front of him, rather wide apart. The arms are broken away, but the left one rested on his thigh. Professor Jéquier suggests that this little figure shows the king as a boy, associated with the God Harpocrates.

In the Pepy II temple at South Saqqarah, Jéquier also found a number of kneeling limestone figures about one-half life-size. These had their arms bound behind their backs in the traditional attitude of subject peoples. Two are preserved nearly complete and with two other heads are in the Cairo Museum. The faces plainly show different racial strains. One is certainly a negro and another has a curious bony face of unusual type. These prisoners obviously carry on the tradition commenced by the figurines of Dyn. I, which can be traced through the hard-stone heads of foreigners found in the Zoser temple, the bound captives of the Ne-user-ra temple, and the little wooden figures found in the burial-chamber of Senezem-ib Mehy.

Finally, there should be listed a small fragment from the upper part of a grey-green diorite seated female figure (Cairo, No. 255). The workmanship is rude, the face painfully worked with prominent mouth and eyebrows in relief. The fragment is said to have been found in a Dyn. VI grave at Abydos. The roughly worked vulture, which spreads its wings over the top of a clumsily carved lappet wig, seems to suggest that we have in this little piece the figure of a queen of Dyn. VI (height, 19 cm.).

There is little private stone sculpture from the neighbourhood of any Sixth Dynasty royal tomb. An exception is a fragment mentioned below from one of the tombs of the courtiers of Pepy II. An interesting small head resembling others of Dyn. VI type was found in the debris of the Tety temple by Quibell. Three small naked male figures (Cairo Nos. 47758-60) of fine-grained, coloured limestone were found by Firth in the tomb of Ikhekhy, near the Tety Pyramid (Capart, *Memphis*, Fig. 246, p. 263). The most important group of stone pieces of this period is therefore the series of statuettes from the Giza tomb of Nekhebuw (G 2381). This is one of the later additions to the great family complex of tombs begun by Senezem-ib Yenty at the end of Dyn. V. The tomb of Nekhebuw is probably to be dated to the reign of Pepy I. In the debris in the neighbourhood of the chapel and in the pits nearby were found the remains of at least seven seated statues (averaging about 37 cm. high), three of which were inscribed on the base with the titles and name of Nekhebuw. Six of these seem to have belonged to the same type of figure, showing a man seated in the usual attitude with the right hand clenched, thumb up, and the left hand open, palm down, on the other thigh. These have a wide face framed by a full wig, and a plump body, in which the modelling of subsidiary planes is simplified.

- (1) 12-12-14: complete statuette, seated in usual attitude; full wig; inscribed on base: *šmr wcty, mdh nšwt ikdw m prwy Nhbw*; from G 2382, hole 2; h., 0.46 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3161 a, b; pl. 26 a.
- (2) 12-11-26: similar complete statuette; inscribed down right side of base: *šmr wcty, mdh nšwt m ikdw m prwy Nhbw*; on left: *mdh nšwt m ikdw m prwy, imḥ ntr ʿ; Nhbw*; found partly in G 2382, hole 1, partly in G 2370 E; h., 0.22 m. Cairo.

- (3) 12-12-10: headless statuette with base also broken away; seated in same position; found in G 2382, hole 1; h., 0.33 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3150.
- (4) 12-12-2: two fragments forming lower torso, knees and seat of a similar statue; found in G 2382, hole 1; h., 0.25 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3151.
- (5) 12-12-15: head in full wig, possibly belongs to one of preceding two; found in G 2382, hole 2; h., 0.11 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3154; pl. 26 b  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- (6) 12-12-16: similar head, possibly belongs to either No. 3 or No. 4; found in G 2382, hole 2; h., 0.10 m. Cairo Museum; pl. 26 b  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- (7) 12-12-9: head and torso of a fifth figure; found in G 2382, hole 1; h., 0.24 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3156; pl. 26 b  $\frac{2}{3}$ .
- (8) 12-12-595: base of a statuette with same inscription as No. 1; 0.20 × 0.195 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3159.
- (9) . . . : similar head to Nos. 5 and 6; h., 0.09 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3155.

The piece 12-12-9 shows a pronounced, if schematic, rendering of the fat breast and abdomen. In all, the facial type is marked by large, staring almond-shaped eyes surmounted by eyebrows in relief, a nose broad at the base of the nostrils, and a big, carefully drawn mouth. The head of the fragment 12-12-9 shows all these characteristics but develops them by more subtle modelling than is found in the others. The profile shows hollows and lines in the face which make one think of the haggard, thin face of the statuette of Nekhebuw which conforms to a different type (12-11-58; Pl. 26 c). Perhaps in these heads the true features of Nekhebuw are represented, but I am inclined to see here a new conventional rendering of the face, characteristic of the period, and due in part to the inexpert technique of the artists of this time. Small statues with faces resembling the broad features and staring eyes of Nekhebuw, combined with a dry simplified modelling of the body are known from other places. For instance, Selim Bey Hassan found a very similar limestone head and bust in the Rawer complex (*Excavations at Giza I*, pl. XXXVIII, No. 3) which may well have come from one of the later tombs added to that family complex. Jéquier found a fragmentary seated figure in one of the private tombs near the pyramid of Pepy II (*Tombeaux des Particuliers*, pl. XIII) which shows strong analogies to the Nekhebuw group. I think it is also possible to see a stylistic resemblance, particularly in the schematic modelling of the breast and abdomen, in the statue of Iduw II (Petric, *Denderah*, pl. VII). Here, however, the facial type is different and a short wig is worn. One should compare with these also the head found by Quibell in the debris of the Tety pyramid (*Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1907-1908, pl. LVI) where the facial modelling is detailed, resembling more the head of No. 12-11-58 discussed below, but without its exaggerated quality. We have noted that the type of face characteristic of the Nekhebuw statues began to appear as early as the end of Dyn. V in the head of the seated statue of Akhet-mery-nesuwt, and there is a hint even earlier of a similarity in the faces of the standing figures of Pehen-ptah and Pen-meruw (still more striking in the torso modelling, Pl. 21 c).

Not unlike these heads, but following more closely the usual conventional rendering with less exaggeration of the eyes and nose, are the faces of two hard stone heads found in the neighbourhood of the Senezem-ib group and perhaps to be dated to Dyn. VI:

- G 2370: Found in debris between G 2372 and 2373: 12-11-27: black granite face with full wig and a rather sullen expression. The stone has not been cut away at the back between the base of the wig and shoulders. Probably unfinished, and possibly as early as the end of Dyn. V in date if it has been thrown out of the mastaba G 2370 itself. Height, 24 cm. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3139.



G 2450 B: 12-12-173: Diorite bust of a seated (?) statuette; face battered. The stiffness of the arms held rigidly against the body, and the straight stiff line formed by the base of the full wig and the shoulders, as well as the rather schematic rendering of the breast, are characteristic of Dyn. VI work. Height, 0.245 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3162.

Finally, it should be noted that this whole group of statues seems to form the basis for the more degenerate forms of limestone statues discussed below on p. 88. Of these the Edfu statue (Pl. 26 e) alone has some merit, an individual quality which may indeed be due to its Upper Egyptian source. The other pieces which bear a certain resemblance to it, several of which are from Saqqarah, can be explained as inferior off-shoots of the 'Nekhebuw style'.

Another statuette of Nekhebuw presents a different convention for the human body, and one which found imitation particularly in the wooden statuettes of Dyn. VI and the Intermediate period. The figure is slender, although in this particular case the fleshy parts of breast and abdomen have been given an unusually plastic treatment. The face presents the same prominent eyes, broad-based nose, and large mouth, but the bony structure shows through the skin, and the combination of the high cheek bones, the lines around the mouth and the hollows beneath the eyes, gives a gaunt appearance to the face, quite different from the broad full type of the other heads of Nekhebuw:

G 2381:

- (9) 12-11-58: Badly broken seated figure wearing full wig; arms and legs broken away; nose battered. Height, 0.32 m. Found partly in G 2381 S and partly in G 2381 X. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3149 a-c; pl. 26 c.

We shall have occasion to note this meagre treatment of the body in the case of many wooden statuettes, but these have lost the plastic quality that is found here, which makes this a small masterpiece of realism, and have become elongated sticks with little modelling to the limbs and torso and haggard faces. Two examples of this type of work in stone can be cited from the neighbourhood of the Senezem-ib complex. In listing these examples of poor workmanship it is impossible to state dogmatically that they are of a certain date, and these could be possibly as early as the end of Dyn. V, from the position of the tombs in which they were found.

12-12-216: Found in front of G 2501; legs and head of a small statuette; very slender legs and narrow face with almond-shaped eyes; meagre modelling; short wig rather large in proportion to face. Boston, M.F.A. Nos. 13.3152-3.

12-10-6: In debris of G 2320 = G 5280; head and feet of a similar standing figure; eyes rather better in cutting but sharp furrows beside mouth. Similar short wig; h., 0.095 m. Boston, M.F.A. No. 13.3157; Pl. 26 b  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

The preceding statuettes have shown a style and a definitely inferior technique which can be said to characterize much of the private work of Dyn. VI. This is not true of a fine painted limestone statue found by Junker south of the Great Pyramid (in the Cairo Museum). I should place it somewhat earlier in date than the pieces previously considered. The position of the little mastaba where the statue was found indicates that the piece cannot be earlier than the first half of Dyn. VI. It was a tomb subsidiary to another great family complex of tombs resembling that of Senezem-ib and roughly contemporaneous. The man's name is Ny-ankh-ra, and he was probably related to Seshem-nofer in whose family complex of tombs his mastaba forms a subsidiary unit. The position of the figure is entirely new and in size and workmanship this is by far the finest piece of private sculpture that is definitely dated to Dyn. VI

(*Vorbericht*, 1929, pls. IX, X).<sup>1</sup> The man is seated on the ground with his left knee drawn up. The right leg is bent with the foot placed beside the left foot. The left hand is open, palm down, on the knee, and the right hand lies open in the lap, the fingers hanging down over the edge of the skirt. The features, framed by a short wig, are of the ideal type of conventional male beauty, the modelling of the body good and the hands and feet well drawn. This type of seated figure is reflected in two similar male statuettes and a provincial example from Naga-ed-Dêr, but none of these attain the good workmanship of the original. One of them was found in a room in the Mycerinus Valley Temple, with unfinished statuettes of that king. The face (No. 43, *Mycerinus*, pl. 63) has all the characteristics typical of Dyn. VI, the modelling of the body is very simple, and the details of the full wig coarse. I do not believe that the piece can possibly be as early as Dyn. IV, and would suggest that it was added to the temple at the time of the alterations of Pepy II. The man bore the name Khnum-wer-kaw. The attitude is almost identical with the Junker piece except that the right leg lies flat along the ground, instead of being raised slightly, and the right hand rests on the thigh. Assigned by Borchardt to Dyn. VI is another statuette like the others but presenting a few variations in the position of the body. It is carved in hard stone (*dunkelgrauer metamorphischer Schiefer*) and reverses the position found in the other two pieces (Cairo, No. 120). Here the right knee is drawn up and the left foot tucked in behind the right one, the leg and knee resting on the ground. The man places his right hand open on his knee, and his left hand open on his thigh. He wears a full wig and short skirt like the other figures. I would see in the treatment of the face the characteristics which have been outlined as characterizing the Dyn. VI type. The man is called: *hsty-ꜥ* Thauw. The Naga-ed-Dêr figure is described below (p. 89).

Junker assigns to Dyn. VI a pair statuette from the small mastaba of Ithef south of the Great Pyramid (*Vorbericht*, 1928, pl. VIII). The man and wife are seated with an empty space left between them, and they are flanked on each side by a small standing naked child. There is nothing in the style and workmanship of this piece to distinguish it from many similar statues of Dyn. V. As I have said above, when there is no other evidence of date it is impossible to be sure that certain statuettes of conventional type listed as Dyn. V may not have continued on into Dyn. VI.

A few pieces of limestone sculpture are known from provincial sites. A seated figure of Yeduw II from Denderah (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. VII; Metropolitan Museum) has been mentioned above and is probably to be dated late in Dyn. VI. It resembles, in the modelling of the torso, the statues of the Nekhebuw group. The block seat and back support are carved to represent a high-backed chair (*cf.* Turin statue, p. 56). Two rather clumsy statuettes come from Edfu (*Annales*, XXXIII, pl. XIV, p. 132), one a conventional seated man and the other a pair statuette of man and wife. The wife sits on the man's left and places her arm around his shoulders, her left hand on his arm. The figures are squat and heavy, and the heads rest on the shoulders with only the barest indication of the neck. A pair statuette from Abydos showing two seated men is marked chiefly by its bad workmanship (Cairo, No. 219, belonging to a man named Nezem-ib). Again the wigs are large and bushy, making it look as though the heads rested directly on the shoulders. The attitude is odd in this case, as both men have the right and left hands clenched, thumb up, on their thighs. More interesting than these and possessing something that might be termed a real individuality of style is a statuette, also from Edfu, from the mastaba of a man named Mery-ra-nefer = Qar, in the Cairo Museum (No. 43776). A second statuette from this tomb, set in a shrine, is too incomplete to be of any service for comparison (broken away above

<sup>1</sup> I should like to emphasize the fact that while it is possible to point out certain characteristics of Dyn. VI sculpture it is difficult to recognize any difference when statues continued to be made in the style of Dyn. V. Thus statues of Dynasty VI

may pass unrecognized among a mass of similar material of the Fifth Dynasty unless there is some other means of dating the tombs from which they came.

the waist). The shrine itself is interesting, though, having the peculiar curve to the roof characteristic of the Egyptian *naos*, and on the outside, a papyrus column sculptured in high relief at the four corners. One is reminded of the treatment of the corners of the room in one of the earliest of the Middle Kingdom tombs at Bersheh (No. 5, *Bersheh*, II, pl. XVII). The reliefs of the false-door of the mastaba are in a particularly debased style, the poorest possible quality of sunk relief. The reliefs are poor enough for Intermediate Period work, but the inscriptions state that Qar was a youth under Tety and sent to Edfu by Mernera. The seated statuette, however, has a quality of its own, lent to it by a certain crispness in the carving, particularly apparent in the slender fingers and the upward quirk of the curved lines at the end of the wig and beard. The full wig is covered with finely-drawn parallel lines indicating the strands of hair, and the beard has rippled lines and cross incisions. The eyes, nose, and mouth are sharply drawn. The forms of the body are indicated by simple planes with abrupt transitions as in the razor-line of the shins. Particularly remarkable is the drawing of the clenched right hand. The object held in the hand is by no means clear, but the wavy line of the long curved fingers is very unusual (Pl. 26 e).

Somewhat less pronounced but similar characteristics appear in a yellow limestone seated statuette from Saqqarah in the Boston Museum (M.F.A. No. 24.605; h., 0.395 m.) of a man with titles and name: *šdꜣwty bity šmr wꜣty Ttti*. The curve of the fingers and the crisp drawing appear again in this figure combined with a simplified, rather crude modelling of the face. The curving line of the wig occurs again in a broken statuette found at South Saqqarah (Jéquier, *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, pl. XV). The style of these limestone statuettes is reflected in a small seated figure in the Metropolitan Museum, said to have come from Luxor, and by two seated statuettes in University College, the provenance of which is unknown. It should be noted that this type of figure seems to be closely related to the Nekhebuw group, representing a further simplification of the surfaces. Two other statuettes of similar type are those in Cairo, Nos. 72 and 75 from Saqqarah.

With the limestone statuette of Thetety were found three small wooden figures equally characteristic of late Dyn. VI, now in Boston. One of these (M.F.A. No. 24.607) is in the usual striding attitude with hands clenched at sides, short wig and short skirt. The slender form and the thin, lined face are typical of the time. The other two wear long skirts. One has a short wig and plain projecting pleat which he holds out in his right hand (M.F.A. No. 24.608). The other has a shaven head and the curious projecting piece at the side of his skirt pleat, which partly hides his right hanging hand (h., 0.405 m.; M.F.A. No. 24.606).

Three stone statuettes from Naga-ed-Dêr are of Old Kingdom type and probably can be dated to Dyn. VI, although their style is that of the preceding period. A painted limestone scribe was found in place in a rock-cut recess in the chapel of N 3777. The figure is in the characteristic attitude and fairly well cut, although the proportions are clumsy and the modelling very simple (University of California, Lutz, *Egyptian Statues*, pls. 24 b, 25 a). The left hand is placed under the scroll in his lap and the right hand as though holding a writing implement. The right foot is placed in front of the left calf, instead of being drawn under the other leg, and is rudimentary in form as though the top and not the side of the foot were shown. With this (in N 3777) was found a small wooden statuette, a male figure standing in the usual attitude with short wig and short skirt, well carved. This had fallen from a low bench which ran along the wall beside the niche in which the squatting scribe was found. The style of the figure with its moderately good modelling is quite different from that of the other wooden statuettes found at Naga-ed-Dêr which show the slender, meagre figures and badly-proportioned features with big eyes that have been found to characterize the work of the late Dyn. VI wooden figures from Memphis.

A seated statuette from the rock-cut tomb N 3604 is similar in workmanship (California, No. 6-19810).

The attitude is one of the variations of the seated figure found at Saqqarah; the right hand is open, palm down, on the thigh, and the left hand is closed, thumb up (Reisner, *Annales*, V, p. 108, fig. 1). Also showing a conventional figure of fair workmanship is a small standing statuette of limestone thrown down beside the seated figure in the chamber of N 3604. The stone figures were also accompanied by some wooden statuettes but these were too badly decayed to be recorded. The attitude of the standing figure is unusual in that the feet are placed together. The hands are clenched at the sides. Short wig and short skirt are worn and the paint is well preserved (University of California No. 6-11471, Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 23 b).

None of the relief or painted work at Naga-ed-Dêr, either in Dyn VI or the Intermediate Period, equals these statues in quality. Somewhat mediocre in technique as they are, they show a continuation of the old craftsmanship of the court. It is very probable that the statuettes were imported from Memphis, as I believe to have been the case with the Nen-kheft-ka statues at Deshasheh, while the decoration of the chapels and stelae was executed by local workmen. It is a pity that no reliefs, paintings, or stelae have been preserved for comparison in either N 3777 or N 3604.

Another stone figure from Naga-ed-Dêr shows an altered style more akin to the late Dyn. VI forms at Saqqarah, Dendera, and Edfu than to the conventional Fifth Dynasty sculpture. It was found in the debris apparently near N 89. The statuette is badly broken but shows the rare pose of the squatting man with one knee drawn up and the other leg and foot resting on the ground. The hands appear to have been placed on the knee and thigh. Two similar figures from Giza and one of uncertain provenance have already been noted. These might suggest a Dyn. VI date for this piece. The cutting is crude and the surfaces are less well finished than in the case of the statuettes from N 3777 and N 3604. In the same dry, rather brittle, sharp-planed style is a fragment of a standing figure also found in the debris nearby (University of California, Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 24 a). The face is coarsely modelled, although with painstaking care, the eyebrows being in relief. The man wears a full wig and short skirt. Down the support at the back is written: *t w r* (sign for Abydos Nome?) *šmr w r t y*, *h r y h b*, *i m y r h n t y š p r c*. Both the treatment of the figure and the forms of the hieroglyphs suggest that we have in this last statuette a style and technique like that of the reliefs of the Intermediate Period. Stone sculpture in the round of this troubled time is very little known and cannot have been common. The form which it may have followed can be imagined by examining the vigorous little seated alabaster figure of Mesehet (Cairo Museum, *Statuen*, No. 235), of late Intermediate Period date from Assiut, found in the same tomb with the famous wooden soldier groups. Something of the rude strength of the Gebelein paintings (in Turin) and the early beginnings of Theban art can be felt in this little figure, a vitality which is absent from the dry carving of the numerous little wooden statuettes of late Dyn. VI and Heracleopolitan times.

It is probably useless to compare the two statues found in the debris near the chapel of Hagy (N 89) with the paintings in that tomb, as the figures may well have been thrown out from some neighbouring tomb. The tomb of Hagy itself presents contradictions in style. The inscriptions in the chapel are badly painted and belong to the second group of chapels at Naga-ed-Dêr, where the careful old-fashioned work has given way to paintings resembling the crude stelae of the Intermediate period. The burial-chamber of Hagy, on the other hand, is decorated in the traditional Memphite manner with carefully drawn lists and pictures of offerings. A small wooden servant figure also contrasts strongly in its good workmanship with the rough inscriptions of the offering-room. This little statuette of a woman straining beer into a large basin is more skilfully made than most of the wooden servant figures found at this site.

In fact there is a puzzling lack of correspondence in style between the chapel decorations at Naga-ed-Dêr and the statuettes that accompany them in the few cases where both are preserved together. The

very crude paintings of the chapel of Meruw (N 3737), thoroughly representative as they are of what has come to be considered the style of the Intermediate period, are accompanied by a well-worked ivory statuette inscribed with the owner's name. In the burial-chamber were found six servant figures, while fragments of a boat and its crew were scattered in the debris of the shaft. At first glance the ivory statuette looks like work of the Middle Kingdom, although the long striped skirt which partly produces this impression is found already on the tablet of Prince Mena at Dendera in Dyn. VI (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. II). Apparently in this tomb we have a style transitional between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In the tomb of Themerery (N 248) there is a mingling of elements both new and old. The paintings are of the careful, traditional Old Kingdom type with here and there a few details suggestive of the Intermediate Period. On the other hand a broken wooden head was found with pearl-shaped curls that are unlike anything of the Old Kingdom and very reminiscent of Middle Kingdom work. A striding wooden statuette of a woman with open hanging hands and a short wig like a man again strikes an unfamiliar note. It seems improbable that both these pieces can have been intrusive. Not altogether helpful in determining the date of this tomb is a beautiful fragment of an alabaster vase decorated in incised line with what apparently is the broken *nbty* title of a king above a papyrus plant. One is reminded in general of Old Kingdom decorated vessels and in particular of a Dyn. IV piece with a somewhat similar design (Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 110). Whatever the date of this vase, it must have been a royal gift, a fact which need not surprise us when we remember that Themerery was Chieftain of the Thinite Nome. The balance of evidence in this tomb seems to swing in favour of an Old Kingdom date.

The most characteristic productions of Dyn. VI are the small wooden statuettes of rather mediocre quality which are known from the tombs along the eastern edge of the Western Cemetery at Giza, from Saqqarah, from the neighbourhood of the Pepy II temple and from provincial sites. These statuettes are found usually not in the superstructure of the mastaba, but in the burial-chamber, and follow a growing tendency to simplify the decoration of the part of the mastaba above ground and concentrate in the burial-chamber the sculptured equipment for the after-life of the owner. With these statuettes of the owner of the tomb and his family are found wooden imitations of the servant figures known in Dyn. V carved in limestone. The making of large wooden statues of fine quality had not been discontinued, at least in the first half of the Dynasty, as is shown by the figures found in the mastaba of Ka-m-sennuw in the Tety Pyramid Cemetery and the Mitri statues from south of the Step Pyramid already mentioned on p. 60 which may be as late as Dyn. VI. Three large statues were found in the southern end of the chapel of Ka-m-sennuw (Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 18). These seem to have been displaced from a serdab in which a burial was later made. A seated statue of good quality and conventional pose was in a bad state of preservation, as was one of the standing figures. The other standing figure was better preserved and shows a well-modelled male figure in short wig and skirt with a face of good quality resembling the 'ideal' type of head of Dyn. V (Metropolitan Museum). The style of this statue suggests that some of the statues of uncertain provenance listed in the preceding chapter, especially the provincial piece from Akhmim, may be of Dyn. VI.

The custom of placing wooden statuettes in the burial-chamber had begun already in the latter half of Dyn. V, as we have seen in the case of the fine figure of a naked boy found in the chamber of G 1152. It is possible that the Mehy statues (G 2378) also stood in the burial-room, and the wooden figures of prisoners were certainly found there. Professor Junker found a small wooden male figure in the chamber of the subsidiary mastaba of Mer-ib and part of a life-size figure near the coffin of Khufuw-seneb (*Vorbericht*, 1914, p. 14) while that of Thena had a statue in a niche half-way down the shaft (*l.c.*, p. 14). Fragments of a wooden statue were also found in the shaft of Ra-wer II which had probably been

thrown out of the chamber (*l.c.*, p. 14). At Saqqarah, in the area south of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid recently excavated by Selim Bey Hassan, the mastaba of Ra-khuwf had two statues enclosed by a small wall placed on the filling part way up the shaft, while in the rock-cut tomb of



FIG. 17. Man making cakes, Borchardt, *Statuen*, Pl. 24, No. 109.

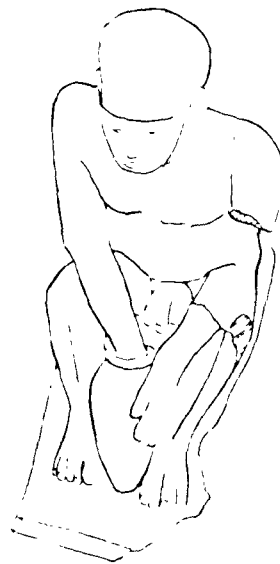


FIG. 18 *a*. Man cleaning a jar, G 2420 D.

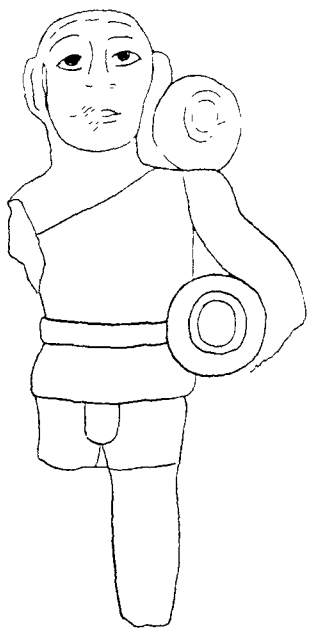


FIG. 18 *b*. Man carrying jars; two figures on same base, one sifting and one pounding with a pestle; G 2088.

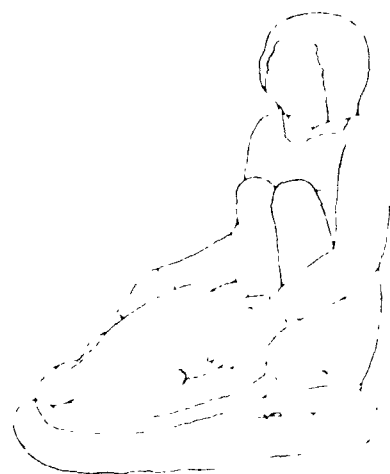


FIG. 18 *c*. Man cutting up a goose G 2088.

Ny-ankh-pepy, and in another tomb, statues were placed in niches cut in the wall of the shaft. In the Harvard-Boston excavations a number of wooden statuettes were found in burial chambers of Dyn. VI type:

G 2347 a C = G 5564 A:

- (1) 35-11-13: standing man in short skirt with arms clenched at sides: not very well preserved. short wig; h., 17.5 cm. Boston.
- (2) 35-11-14: similar figure without wig in long skirt; h., 18.9 cm. Boston.

G 2347 a E = G 5564 C:

- (1) Wigless head from a large statuette, perhaps female, 35-11-16: good work but badly preserved; h., 9.4 cm. Boston.
- (2) The preceding was accompanied by several servant figures and stone appurtenances. All these were displaced in this pit and may have come from G 5564 A; Reg. Nos. 35-11-17, 20 to 32. See Figs. 20, 24.

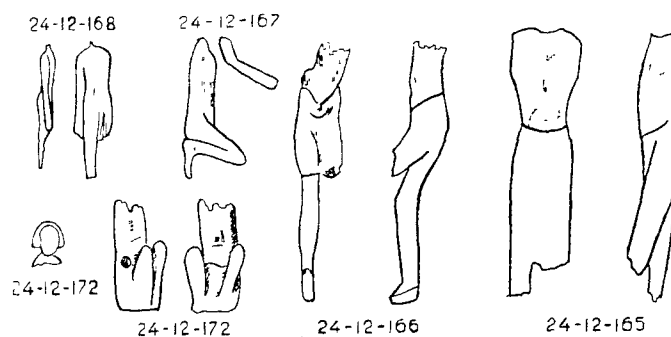


FIG. 19. Fragmentary wooden figures, G 7101 K.

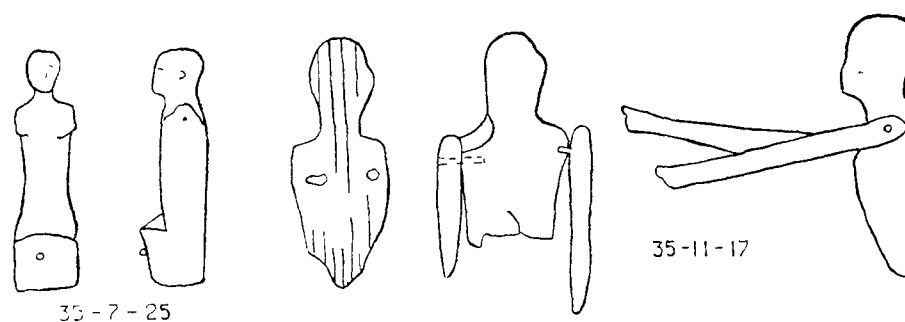


FIG. 20. Fragments of wooden servant figures, G 2357 X and G 2347 a.

G 2357 X = G 5561: Found beside inscribed wooden coffin:

- (1) 35-7-27, 36: head and torso of standing male statuette in long skirt; h., 19.5 cm.
- (2) 35-7-28: upper part of body and arm of a similar figure; h., 13.6 cm.
- (3) 25-7-29: skirt and part of legs of a similar figure; h., 20 cm.
- (4) 35-7-30: lower part of a similar figure in long skirt; h., 24.8 cm.
- (5)-(6) 35-7-31, 32: bases of two figures, perhaps belonging to preceding.
- (7) 35-7-35: plaster feet of a larger statuette than the preceding; size, 2.9 x 1.7 cm.
- (8) 35-7-25: armless seated figure without legs which resembles rowers from boat models; h., 16 cm. Fig. 20.
- (9) 35-7-26: bust and head of small female figure, perhaps a servant; h., 8 cm.

G 6012 A: 25-11-95: In burial-chamber. Badly preserved wooden female (?) figure; arms made separate.

Finally, a small naked wooden female figure was found in G 7420 B. This must certainly have been an intrusive piece of Dyn. VI, although the pit and chamber are, of course, of Dyn. IV.

The wooden servant figures had also begun in Dyn. V and were not always confined to the burial-chamber, as is shown by the discovery made by Mariette of a rock-cut serdab in the mastaba of Itety (D 63, *Mastabas*, p. 358), in the Ptah-hotep group at Saqqarah, dating to the end of Dyn. V. The figures were in this case too badly decayed to be removed, but the serdab contained boats with their equipage, tablets containing models of food, wooden statuettes and limestone models of funerary gifts, among

which there were geese prepared for the table. One wonders if these last may possibly be the same as the stone adjuncts to wooden servant figures now in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 260-262, Fig. 22). The serdab, G 2385, built probably in the first half of Dyn. VI, contained a similar group of figures as testified by the following fragments:

12-12-192: six copper eye-frames and one eyebrow; the white of the eye was made of alabaster and the pupil obsidian. These indicate the existence of at least three large wooden statuettes of the owner.

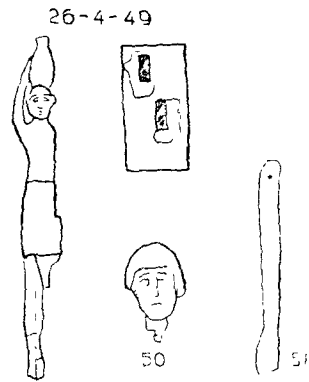


FIG. 21. Fragmentary wooden figures: G 2381 Y.

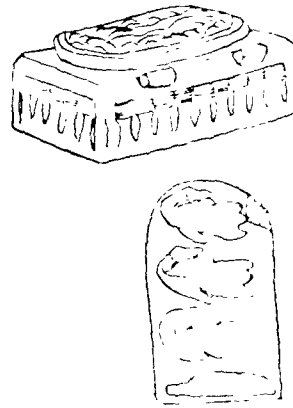


FIG. 22. Limestone accessories to wooden servant figures, Borchardt, *Statuen*, Pl. 56, Nos. 260, 262.



FIG. 23. Limestone accessories to wooden servant figures, G 2385; Reg. Nos. 12-12-201, etc.

12-12-194 to 200: various stone appendages to servant figures of wood; painted limestone; basins, sieves, and baskets. Fig. 23.

12-12-201 to 204: models of food; a calf's head, two cuts of meat, and some sort of vegetable. Fig. 23.

The appearance of model boats with their crews in the Saqqarah mastaba of Itety is paralleled at Giza in Dyn. VI in the mastaba G 7101 (Qar), where in pit K were found some badly preserved little wooden figures representing a kneeling sailor, a squatting helmsman, and other figures less easy to distinguish (Reg. Nos. 24-12-165 to 176, Fig. 19). In G 2357 X, mentioned above, there was also a squatting figure, probably a rower, which suggests that there was also a boat model here. In Junker's serdab of Yeduw II two complete boats with cabins were found (Hildesheim). On the whole, however, the model funerary figures of Dyn. VI continued the simple forms of Dyn. V, and consisted each of only one figure engaged in a particular task, usually concerned with cooking. Characteristic of the wooden servant figures of Dyn. VI are the painted limestone and plaster accessories, fires, piles of cakes, vessels, &c., which are sometimes the only evidence remaining of the whole statuette. The



preservation of such a stone pile of cakes on a fire in the serdab of G 2004 suggests that wooden statuettes sometimes occurred before the end of Dyn. V.

We have noted above several occurrences of these stone appurtenances: in G 2347 a E, in the serdab of G 2385, as well as in the mastaba of Itety at Saqqarah. Other examples were found by Junker in a serdab in the group of mastabas south of Mastaba IV, on the south side of the Great Pyramid (*Vorbericht*, 1928, pp. 184-5). Jéquier, in *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, p. 62, fig. 70, mentions a similar group of painted limestone adjuncts of wooden statuettes found with part of a large wooden statuette of the owner in one of the tombs adjoining the Pyramid of Pepy II. A few other examples of servant figures themselves may be mentioned to complete the list. In shaft 684 in the Western Cemetery, Junker found wooden statuettes of peasant women with baskets on their heads (*l.c.*, 1914, p. 41), while in the serdab of Yeduw II (*l.c.*, p. 40), in addition to the figure of the owner and the boats, were a brewer and a figure grinding grain. Junker noted the occurrence of stone accessories accompanying destroyed wooden models (*l.c.*, p. 41). In G 2381 Y = 5561 in the Western Cemetery was found a small wooden figure carrying a jar on his head (Reg. No. 26-4-49, Fig. 21). This was covered with painted plaster and the feet were modelled in plaster at the point where the legs fitted into the base. This figure was about 24 cm. high. The head and arm of another figure were also found (Nos. 50, 51).

The placing in the burial-chamber of wooden figures of the owner, usually accompanied by servant figures, is characteristic of all the well-preserved tombs of the late Old Kingdom and was continued throughout the Heracleopolitan period and on into the Middle Kingdom. The sequence in type seems to have been first the use of a great number of figures of the owner accompanied by his family and a few servant statuettes of wood each with only a single figure, such as we find in the tomb of Se-ankh-wati at Dahshur (over thirty figures of owner; De Morgan, *Dahchour*, II, p. 18, pls. III, IV), the Naga-ed-Dêr tomb N 43 (ten figures of owner and six of wife; see Reisner, *Annales*, V, pp. 105 ff., pl. V), and the Sedment tomb of Mery-ra-ha-shatef (three of owner and one of wife; *Sedment* I, pls. VII-XI); then a group in which the servant figures, still almost all represented singly, although there are a few in simple groups, appear in larger numbers than the statues of the owner, as exemplified by the tomb of Ny-ankh-pepy = Kemat Meir (standing owner, dancing girl with pig-tail, many servants, and seven boats); and finally, the typical Heracleopolitan group where the servant figures, now shown arranged together in model groups representing occupations usually concerned with the preparation of food, outnumber the statuettes of the owner. This last type is found in many graves of the Intermediate period at Saqqarah, Abusir, Sedment, Naga-ed-Dêr, and Assiut, as well as Dyn. XI and Dyn. XII graves at Beni Hasan, Bersheh, Luxor, and Gebelein. The figures of the owner continue the Dyn. VI type, showing a man either with his hands open or closed at his sides or holding a staff, dressed in a long or short skirt and with a short wig or no wig at all. The naked figure with staff also appears, as do the naked woman and the figure in the long tunic. A type of long skirt is found first at South Saqqarah in a figure from one of the tombs in the Pepy II group (now in Cairo) and is later echoed at Naga-ed-Dêr (N 202, University of California, Lutz, *l.c.*, pl. 38 b) and at Sheikh Farag (SF 5202), where the projecting stiff triangle of cloth has a wide fold at the side which the hanging hand of the figure seems to draw away from the body. This stylistic touch is to be seen also in the little wooden figure of Ny-ankh-pepy = Kem from Meir (Cairo, No. 236), and appears in two forms in the Dahshur and Saqqarah statuettes. In one form (M.F.A. No. 24.606) the hand is hidden in the fold of the garment; in the other (M.F.A. No. 24.608, Jéquier, *Tombeaux des Particuliers*, pl. I and the limestone statue of Mereruwka in the niche of the great pillared hall of his tomb at Saqqarah) the hand grasps one side of the simple projecting triangle of cloth. The long skirt with vertical (and sometimes horizontal) pleats,

characteristic of the Middle Kingdom, appears at Naga-ed-Dêr (N 3737) in an ivory figure. Similar lines are drawn in paint on the Meir figure mentioned above and are shown on the Dyn. VI tablet of Prince Mena (*Denderah*, pl. II).

All these little figures show a preference for slender forms, sometimes accentuated to thin, emaciated types with faces which have a drawn look, due to the use of deeply incised lines at each side of the mouth. The eyes are unusually large and almond-shaped. The short wigs are covered with little curls and are bushy, standing more away from the head than is usual in the earlier Old Kingdom where they fit like close caps. Good examples of these figures are to be found in the plates of De Morgan's *Dahchour*, vol. II (see p. 18). The figures here illustrated from the tomb of Se-ankh-wati included also seated statuettes of the owner and show the peculiarity of placing several figures of Se-ankh-wati, procession wise, on the same board (one had originally six, the other five, figures). These are probably of late Dyn. VI, as is the little naked figure found by Jéquier in a tomb near the pyramid of Pepy II (*Annales*, XXXV, p. 142, fig. 9). This statuette stands with its feet together and the hands closed at the sides. Other figures of the type under discussion are illustrated in *Tombeaux des Particuliers* (pl. I, figure in long skirt, pl. VIII, a naked man and one in a long skirt, and pl. XIII, three figures in short wig and short skirt, and one in long skirt). The Naga-ed-Dêr figures from N 43 and the Sedment group present these same types, as do several statuettes found by Firth in the later tombs of the Tety Pyramid Cemetery, such as the statue of Khenuw in a long skirt with one hand open at his side and the right grasping the edge of his skirt (*l.c.*, pl. 17 (VI-IX Dyn.)). Firth's Pl. 19 shows a slender figure in a bushy wig, a short skirt, and with the hands closed at his sides with the forefinger pointing downwards, a similar figure from Grave 213, and a very curious female head. The last is by far the most interesting piece of all this group of figures. The haggard face has an unusual hint of convincing portraiture, and the marked outward curve of the simple head-dress (wig or natural hair) emphasizes the sharpness of the thin face.

At Naga-ed-Dêr there were found a few other small wooden statuettes in addition to those in N 43 and the group in N 202 (Reisner, *Annales*, V, pp. 105 ff., pl. IV). These appear to range in date from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom. In N 92 was found a standing male statuette in a short skirt, while a similar figure comes from the debris of N 90. A naked female figure with her left leg forward and a large head of a male figure with drop-shaped curls have been already mentioned as coming from N 248 (p. 90). Another naked female figure standing with feet together and wearing a short curled wig like that of a man was found in N 241. It was inscribed on the base: *imshw hr ntr c, hkr nswt wt.t Spstt*. In the debris was found a dancing girl with a long pig-tail ending in a large disk and wearing a long skirt (Cairo Museum). From the neighbouring cemetery of Sheikh Farag came a little pottery head of a dancing girl now in the Boston Museum (M.F.A., No. 24.978, from SF 5203). The head is shaved, leaving three little curls on the forehead.

In order to understand the development of the servant statuettes from the single figures cut in stone in late Dyn. IV and Dyn. V, through the wooden figures of Dyn. VI, to the elaborate groups of the Heracleopolitan period, it seems useful first to list the single figures and to discuss the types of occupation which they represent. The foundation for any such study is Borchardt's article: 'Die Dienerstatuen aus den Gräbern des Alten Reiches', *J.Z.*, vol. XXXV, 1897, pp. 119 ff. In the following list, for the sake of simplicity and because in most cases I am unable to distinguish more closely, I have grouped all the limestone figures under Dyn. IV-V, and all the wooden figures (with the exception of the large Athens piece) under Dyn. VI. While this properly represents the sequence and proportional occurrence of the two materials, the classification cannot be rigidly maintained. It is probable that some of the stone figures continued on into Dyn. VI, just as the wooden figures began before the end of Dyn. V

and certainly overlapped into the Intermediate period. The two most common types in stone are the woman grinding grain and the man or woman straining the sodden mass in preparing beer:

- (a) Woman kneeling grinding grain with a roller upon a stone which slopes up at each end and is sometimes provided with a receptacle at the end to receive the grain. Sometimes the knees are drawn up under the body; more frequently the body is stretched out with the knees on the ground. It is to be noted that in some of the later groups a standing figure at a high stand is introduced. The early type of figure is well known in the cooking scenes of the reliefs. See Fig. 15.

Dyn. V: Limestone:

- (1) Cairo, No. 110: Mariette D 20; inscribed: *imy r; pr ḥd Wr-ir-n dt Iti-wr.*
- (2) Cairo, No. 114: Mariette D 20; inscribed: *imy r; pr ḥd Wr-ir-n dt Itct.*
- (3) Cairo, No. 115: Mariette C 27.
- (4) G 2422 C: Reg. No. 36-6-52; Cairo; h., 25.5, l., 30 cm.; Fig. 15.
- (5) G 4522: Reg. No. 14-3-62: fragments of a similar figure.
- (6) Ptah-shepses (Junker): similar figure.
- (7-8) G 1213: two examples; Fig. 15.
- (9) G 2415: similar to 1213; h., 27.5 cm.
- (10) G 2385: broken base of similar figure.
- (11) Florence: Breasted, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, 2nd edition, pl. 76.
- (12) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10622: kneeling figure of woman inscribed: *sst.f Nbt-m-pt* (Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217).
- (13) Same provenance, No. 10638: kneeling figure of woman, unusual in placing left foot over right heel: *l.c.*
- (14) Same provenance, No. 10637: very unusual variation of the ordinary figure; woman squats pouring grain from a little pot on the stone before grinding. See Pl. 28.
- (15) G 2088: Reg. No. 38-4-4: fragmentary woman kneeling grinding grain; elaborate painted collar and necklace; height as preserved, 25.5; length, 20.6 cm.

Dyn. V-VI: Wood:

- (16) Athens: very large wooden figure; l., 90 cm., h., 50 cm. (Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, pl. LIII). Probably Dyn. V.
- (17) Meir: two men facing each other on same base, grinding grain. Cairo, No. 237.
- (18) Dahshur: wooden man grinding grain (De Morgan, *Dahchour*, II, p. 18).
- (19) G 2347a = G 5564: evidence for three such figures from the stone mill stones found.
- (20) Meir: in group with beer-straining and man tending cakes. Cairo, No. 243.
- (21) Naga-ed-Dêr N 43: kneeling man grinding grain.
- (22) Sedment 604: Oxford: woman squatting with feet drawn back beside body (*Sedment*, I, pl. XVII).

- (b) Standing man or woman leaning over to strain mass of sodden material in the course of beer-making. A sieve is placed on top of a large basin which itself rests usually on a wicker base. The man places both hands in the sieve. The knees are slightly bent.

Dyn. IV-V: Limestone:

- (1) G 7530+40, Meresankh III: Reg. No. 27-5-6: woman. Boston. h., 25.5 cm.; Fig. 14.
- (2) Cairo, No. 117: man, good work.

- (3) Cairo, No. 118: Mariette D 20: inscribed: *imy r: pr hđ Wr-ir-n dt Wħm-nfrt.*
- (4) G 1213: man, University of California. Fig. 15.
- (5) Mersuw-ankh (*Excavations at Giza*, I, pl. LXXI): woman; curious, rather barbarous style like the rest of the figures from this tomb.
- (6) Florence: woman. Breasted, *l.c.*, pl. 75.
- (7) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10635: unusual variation where standing woman leans over basin and dips up liquid in a small receptacle; the basin is supported by four objects (mud supports or stones) which resemble the cauldron supports in a relief in the chapel of Sheduw at Deshasheh. See Pl. 28, Fig. 207.

## Dyn. VI or later: Wood:

- (8) Naga-ed-Dêr N 89: man.
- (9) Meir: two basins. Cairo, No. 239.
- (10) Meir: similar. Cairo, No. 246.
- (11) Meir: same as others, but two figures facing each other on same board. Cairo, No. 253.
- (12) G 2347a = G 5564: two stone accessories from two wooden figures; sieves on basins standing on wicker bases.
- (13) Meir: man straining beer and another cleaning jars; on same board. Cairo, No. 244.
- (14) Meir: basin and sieve without figure; in group with grain grinding and man tending fire. Cairo, No. 243.
- (15) Sedment 604: Oxford: woman (*Sedment*, I, p. 4).

- (c) Man seated with his knees up. He places his hand inside a jar which he steadies with the other hand.

## Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Cairo, No. 112: in front of the man were four other jars which are now broken away.
- (2) Cairo, No. 113: similar, but without extra jars; a garment is worn which is caught on the shoulder with a knot. Mariette D 56?
- (3) Cairo, No. 116: Mariette D 20: plain figure without extra pieces.
- (4) Giza serdab of Zasha: Leipzig: similar figure, but with additional jars.
- (5) G 2420: similar figure, but naked; h., 31 cm.: Reg. No. 36-5-30. Cairo, No. 67570. Fig. 18 a.
- (6) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10630: man in this case is sealing a jar with his hand placed on sealed top (*Capart, Memphis*, fig. 217).

## Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (7) Meir: man cleaning jars and another straining beer. Perhaps the man in this case is sealing jars after they have been filled with beer. Cairo, No. 244.
- (8) Meir: in this case the man is accompanied by a basin and a large number of sealed jars, as though he had just completed sealing them. Cairo, No. 251.
- (9) G 2347a = 5564: two stone accessories represent a row of sealed jars which would seem to come from a similar group. Fig. 24.

- (d) Man or woman squatting on the ground with the knees up, usually with a stick in one hand and the other raised to shield face. The figure is tending an open charcoal fire or a simple oven, or even in some cases bread jars which are being heated on the fire for baking.

## Dyn. V: Limestone:

- (1) Cairo, No. 108: Mariette D 4: no fire or stick remaining.
- (2) Giza serdab of Zasha: Cairo, No. 37822: woman; objects on fire in shape of bread pots.
- (3) Ptah-shepses (Junker).
- (4) G 2415: woman; hand raised to ward off heat; h., 23 cm. Fig. 15.
- (5) Serdab near shaft S 165, south of Cheops Pyramid (Junker; *Vorbericht*, 1928, pp. 184-185).
- (6) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10634: man tending cakes piled around fire (Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217).

## Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (7) Meir: stirring fire and shielding face; incongruously large cakes compose the 'fire'. Cairo, No. 238.
  - (8) Meir: similar figure, one hand hangs on ground. Cairo, No. 247.
  - (9) G 2347a = G 5564: pile of cakes (stone accessory to similar figure): Reg. No. 35-11-24. Fig. 24.
  - (10) G 2347a: similar stone accessory: Reg. No. 35-11-23. Fig. 24.
  - (11) G 2347a: three more piles of cakes or jars on fire. Fig. 24.
  - (12) G 2004: ordinary stone fire from such a figure. Probably Dyn. V.
  - (13) At least four other model fires in Cairo indicate other figures.
  - (14) Meir: similar figure in group where others grind grain and use basin and sieve. Cairo, No. 243.
- (e) Squatting woman holding on lap or in front of her a large flat basket or tray into which she strains something from a wicker sieve.

## Dyn. IV-V: Stone:

- (1) G 7530 + 40, Meresankh III: Reg. No. 27-5-4: woman with feet drawn up at her side, basket held on lap; h., 24 cm. Dyn. IV. Boston, M.F.A., No. 30.1458. Fig. 14.
  - (2) Cairo, No. 35313: very similar, but woman has her knees drawn up and the basket in front of her; she stretches her arms around her legs. From Saqqarah, 1901.
  - (3) Giza serdab of Zasha: Leipzig: squatting woman with her knees up.
  - (4) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10623: knees up, apparently a woman, unusual skull cap; inscribed on base: *dt Smrt* (Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217).
  - (5) Same provenance: No. 10633: similar figure squatting with knees up and sifting from a rectangular frame instead of a round basket tray. (Capart, *l.c.*)
  - (6) G 2088: Reg. No. 28-4-2: group: woman squatting on ground with knees up, sifting with shallow basket-sieve; inscribed on base: *Nfrit-int*. A standing woman (broken away above the waist) pounds with a pestle; inscribed on base: *cnh-mc-s*. See Fig. 18b.
- (f) Man seated on a very low platform with his hands outstretched to several little round and rectangular flat objects. Making cakes from dough (?); evidently the same as less elaborate dough-rolling figures of wood.

## Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Cairo, No. 109: see Fig. 17.
- (2) Cairo, No. 329: head broken away.
- (3) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10624: man squatting with feet drawn back under body (toes turned in) moulding cakes or loaves; inscribed: *s-f Mnw-hcf*. (Capart, *l.c.*)

## Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (4) Meir: rolling dough on a board; finished cakes lie beside man; oven for baking cakes adjoins. Cairo, No. 240.
- (5) Meir: similar figure. Cairo, No. 252.
- (g) Man squatting on ground cooking a goose spitted on a long stick held over a low basin of coals, or cutting up and cleaning a goose. Often the man holds a fibre fan in the other hand.

## Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Giza serdab of Zasha: Cairo, No. 37824: figure headless with knees up. Goose placed on brazier or possibly still in the process of being plucked.
- (2) G 2088: Reg. No. 38-4-3: squatting man cutting up a goose. Inscribed illegibly on top of base; h., 24.2 cm. See Fig. 18c.



FIG. 24. Limestone accessories to wooden servant figures, G 2347 a.

## Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (3) Meir: Cairo, No. 245.
- (4) Meir: Cairo, No. 242: other hand hangs to ground.
- (5) G 2347a = G 5564: round open brazier of coals, possibly for cooking goose; limestone accessory for a wooden figure. Fig. 24.
- (6) Cairo, No. 261: similar limestone accessory.
- (7) Cairo, No. . . . . : similar.
- (8) Cairo, No. 260: more elaborate limestone accessory in the form of a rectangular brazier decorated with *dd* patterns, like that used by the men cooking geese in the chapel reliefs of Yasen (G 2196) and Iy-mery (G 6020). See Fig. 22.
- (9) Cairo, No. . . . . : similar piece.
- (10) Cairo, No. 262: limestone element not unlike the goose in the Zasha figure (above, No. 1). Here three geese are laid out on a board and probably belonged to a group where a man plucked geese. It is possible, though, that these were used like the models of cooked meats and fowls and limestone cases for such food that were placed in the burial-chamber G 2385 A. Fig. 22.
- (11) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10644: goose with head cut off lying on a block. Limestone accessory to a wooden figure (?). (Capart, *l.c.*)

- (12) Naga-ed-Dêr N 202: squatting man with a fan cooking a goose.
- (13) Naga-ed-Dêr N 43: squatting man with brazier, goose probably broken away.
- (14) Sedment 604: Oxford: *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII.

(h) Man cooking food in a basin set over a charcoal fire.

Dyn. V.: Stone:

- (1) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10629: man squatting with knees up, fingering two cuts of meat in a cauldron with his right hand, and holding down a fan beside the fire with his left; inscribed: *ss(-f) Hnw* (Capart, *Memphis*, Fig. 217).
- (2) Giza serdab of Zasha: Leipzig: similar figure, holds fan in left hand and places right hand on object in cauldron.

(i) Man engaged in slaughtering an animal.

Dyn. IV-V: Stone:

- (1) G 7530+40, Meresankh III: Reg. No. 27-5-8: squatting man cutting up a calf. The calf is carved in high relief on the top surface of a low block in front of the man's raised leg. Boston (M.F.A., No. 30.1462). Height, 19.5 cm. Dyn. IV. Fig. 14 b.
- (2) Giza serdab of Zasha: Cairo, No. 37823: standing man leaning over to slaughter tied bull.
- (3) Ne-Inpw-kauw, Oriental Institute, No. 10626: similar figure cutting the throat of an ox. See Pl. 28.
- (4) Same provenance, No. 10625: man slaughtering a calf (Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217).

(j) Figures engaged in different crafts.

Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10628: squatting male figure turning a bowl on a potter's wheel; unusual indication of bony structure, ribs and backbone. See Pl. 28.
- (2) Same provenance, No. 10631: squatting man applying a blow-pipe beneath a brazier placed on coals. See Pl. 28.

(k) Servants carrying objects. The limestone figures are the first in a long line of servant figures or personified estates, which appear first singly and later in groups.

Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Cairo, No. 1111: Mariette D 54: naked man carrying a bag over his shoulder and sandals in his hand.
- (2) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10627: naked dwarf carrying a bag over his shoulder (Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217).
- (3) G 7715: tiny figure of naked dwarf (h., 4.7 cm.) carrying a pot on his left shoulder and under his arm, while he steadies a third pot on the ground with his right hand. See Pl. 28.
- (4) G 2088: Reg. No. 38-4-5: man wearing a short tunic and carrying a jar on his left shoulder and under his left arm; right arm broken away. See Fig. 18 b.

Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (5) G 2381 Y = G 5561: Reg. No. 26-4-49: male figure carrying jar on head; h., 24 cm. Fig. 21.
- (6) Junker Shaft 684: peasant women with baskets on heads.
- (7) Meir: Cairo, No. 241: man carrying box with checkered decoration in hands and case strapped on back.

- (8) Meir: Cairo, No. 250: three women in a row with baskets on their heads.
- (9) Dahshur: *l.c.*, p. 20: woman with basket on her head.
- (10) Naga-ed-Dêr N 43: naked man carrying jar on shoulder.

## (l) Musicians:

Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10642: squatting female figure playing harp. See Pl. 27.
- (2) Same provenance, No. 10640: small figure of man playing a harp. Pl. 27.
- (3) Same provenance, No. 10641: dwarf playing a harp. Pl. 27.
- (4) Same provenance, No. 10636: standing male figure leaning over and apparently beating a drum. Pl. 27. Compare *Re Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-re*, vol. III, p. 20. Kees identifies in the fragment No. 118, a man playing a round drum, and refers to the example shown in the Hemamieh relief (*Provinzialkunst*, p. 21, pl. 4).

## (m) Unusual figures.

Dyn. V: Stone:

- (1) Ne-Inpw-kauw: Oriental Institute, No. 10639: two figures, a boy and a girl, apparently playing leap-frog. See Pl. 27.
- (2) Metropolitan Museum, Carnarvon Collection: squatting woman nursing two children; she holds a girl on her lap while a little boy squats at her side and pulls down the woman's right breast to his mouth. This figure was originally a part of the group of servant figures now in the Oriental Institute. See Pl. 27.
- (3) G 7715: squatting male figure apparently feeding a dog from his mouth; h., 8.5 cm., l., 10 cm. See Pl. 28. Compare the man feeding a puppy in the reliefs of Kagemni (Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 52). A very similar piece of sculpture was found in one of the subsidiary tombs at Beni Hasan (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 146, fig. 144), Cairo, No. 43308. A green faience piece in Cairo (No. 342053), though the animal is now broken away, appears to have been almost identical with the Giza piece.
- (4) G 2088: Reg. No. 38-4-17: rectangular flat-topped table with horizontal bars; hand of destroyed figure grasping edge of top; inscribed on base: *ks wts*; h., 14.5 cm., l., 20 cm.

Dyn. VI: Wood:

- (5) Meir: Cairo, No. 249: striding man with hoe.
- (6) Meir: Cairo, No. 254: spotted ox with packs on back; figure of man driving ox is decayed.

If we glance over the above list of figures we shall find that in the main the Dyn. V stone statuettes provide the material, if grouped together, for only one type of model of the various occupations that occur in the Heracleopolitan period—the cooking scene. Thus, if we take one of the larger groups, say that of Mariette D 20, we have a woman grinding grain, a man straining beer, and a man cleaning a jar. In the case of Zasha there were figures sifting grain, cooking, cleaning a goose, slaughtering an ox, and preparing beer jars. Already, in G 2088, we have two figures grouped together, one sifting and one pounding with a pestle. Other figures from this tomb show a man cutting up a goose, a man carrying jars, a woman grinding grain, and a person standing at a rectangular flat-topped table. The stone accessories from G 2347 a, show that similar actions were performed by the wooden figures in this Dyn. VI tomb. Thus there are provided all the usual elements combined later on a wooden basis or in a model of the courtyard of a house to form the typical cooking scene. In the later models another figure



familiar in the reliefs, the man or woman standing in a big jar, is added to the beer-making, and usually a slaughter scene accompanies the whole.

But some of the limestone figures suggest a widening of the subject-matter. Particularly important are the two Chicago figures (Pl. 28) showing a man with a blow-pipe and a craftsman manipulating a potter's wheel which suggest elements of the Heracleopolitan craftwork scenes. The little naked man carrying a bag and sandals and the dwarfs bearing jars (from G 7715 and G 2088) forecast a variety of similar figures found later. The wooden figures of the tomb of Ny-anh-pepy=Kem at Meir have, in addition to people preparing food, a servant carrying equipment and the personification of an estate bearing offerings, a man driving a pack animal, and a man hoeing. Here, too, we find a simple grouping of figures. Junker found peasant women carrying produce on their heads, and a similar personification of an estate was found at Dahshur. At Giza was also found a man carrying a jar on his head, while wooden boats with their crews appear as early as the end of Dyn. V. It is interesting to see that even in the early limestone figures the craftsman has not stopped at portraying the necessities of life, but as in the reliefs and paintings has made some provision for the entertainment of the dead man. Thus the little musicians of Ne-Inpw-kauw anticipate the elaborate Heracleopolitan model where Ka-renen enjoys the music of his women folk. Far more surprising are the queer little statuettes which seem almost humorous in intention, reflecting genre subject-matter that is rare even in the more inviting medium of the draughtsman. The little figures playing leap-frog, the man feeding a dog, or the woman nursing her children are a remarkable commentary upon what the ancient Egyptian thought suitable to place in the tomb for the well-being of the dead man.

In another sense these figures are remarkable. While most of the servant statuettes, although they are engaged in activities of various sorts, retain the static qualities of conventional Egyptian work, the child leaping over the back of its playmate (Pl. 28) is an unusual portrayal of movement and at the same time violates to a certain extent the principle of frontality. Even so, one is conscious of the rectangular block from which the figures were carved. They are placed at right-angles to one another, although the crouching figure turns its head to one side. A direct frontality is nearly always maintained in the other figures, the potter at his wheel, the man cutting up an animal, the harpists, the man feeding a dog, &c., or an arrangement at right angles as in the case of the child sitting on its mother's lap or held on her hip (Pl. 27). Only in the group with the squatting mother nursing her babies, the little child lying in her lap is placed askew, while the boy kneeling behind her turns his head to reach up to her breast. The chapel reliefs must have exerted a dominant influence in the creation of the various types of servant figures, providing a precedent particularly for the realistic little groups from daily life. Just as it is in the minor figures in the big wall decorations that we find experimentation in drawing so it is in these relatively unimportant pieces of sculpture that a certain relaxation of the conventions governing Egyptian statues makes itself felt.

In the Heracleopolitan models, the two basic elements are the cooking scene and the various representations of boats. Good examples of the cooking scene have been found in the tombs of Ka-renen (*Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1906-1907, pl. XIX) and Gemni (Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 28) at Saqqarah. The latter shows beer-making in the court of a house with meat drying in the veranda above, while another model has three sections with a slaughter and two cooking scenes divided from each other by low walls. A similar cooking scene was found in the tomb of another man named Gemni in the same neighbourhood by Lepsius and is now in Berlin, and fragments of a similar scene appeared in the nearby tomb of Gemni-weser. An elaborate group, now in Berlin, was found in the tomb of Hery-she-f-hetep at Abusir (*Priestergräber am Totentempel des Ne-user-rê*, pp. 63 ff.). As in the Cairo model found by

Quibell, the women stand at a high table pounding grain, instead of kneeling as in the old models. The figure wielding the pestle, familiar from the reliefs, appears, but the man standing inside the jar found in the Quibell model is absent here. The other figures are similar to the rest of the groups of this type. A more simple group was found in Naga-ed-Dér 202 and another, not very well preserved, in which the exact actions of the figures are not very certain. In the Middle Kingdom tombs the same groups are found at Bersheh, No. 10 A (Harvard-Boston Excavations) and at Beni Hasan where the cooking scene occurs several times (*Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 56 ff.), while elaborate models of brewing and slaughtering appear among the well-made figures of Meketra (Dyn. XI, Luxor, *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, The Egyptian Expedition*, 1918-20). The Bersheh and Beni Hasan models show very rudely carved little figures, in striking contrast to the careful workmanship of the Meketra tomb.

As common as the cooking scenes are the representations of model granaries, with men pouring grain into the receptacles and scribes registering the amounts. In addition to these the Ka-renen tomb has three models of a potter's workshop and a scene of carpentry (*l.c.*, pls. XVII, XVIII, XIX). A more elaborate carpenter's shop is found in the tomb of Gemni (Firth, *l.c.*, pl. 29), and we find it repeated again at Luxor in Meketra's tomb. A separate element sometimes accompanying these groups is the woman with the basket on her head and live birds in her hand. She is identical with the personification of an estate which appears on the chapel walls. Her male equivalent is a man carrying food offerings or personal equipment, and sometimes long processions of these figures are combined on a single base, as in the Quibell model in Cairo (Ka-renen) or another similar group in that Museum. The female figures occasionally assume some artistic merit, as in the case of the charming statuette in the Louvre (Breasted, *l.c.*, pl. 79), or in the more conventional but carefully finished and painted figures from the Meketra tomb in New York and Cairo (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1918-20, p. 19). At Bersheh (10 A) three women are led in procession by a steward (Boston), while cruder figures, such as have already been noted as coming from Meir, are found in Naga-ed-Dér 3737 and at other sites. Among the figures with personal equipment, Firth has noted two which he thought represented a barber and his assistant. Perhaps the most individual of all the groups is the attractive scene found by Quibell in the burial-chamber of Ka-renen, which shows the owner and his wife seated in a roomy carrying-chair which has been placed on the ground. Two harpists play beside the chair and three women sitting in a circle in front sing for them. One is reminded of the very similar scene in the wall reliefs of Yeduw (G 7102) at Giza, where the master is seated in just such a carrying-chair watching dancing, games, and the preparation of food.

All of the groups which have been noted so far are thoroughly Old Kingdom in their origin and treatment. Every figure can find its parallel in the wall reliefs. Note, for example, the position of the arms of the men carrying a chest in the Ka-renen procession or that of the man with jars on a yoke at Beni Hasan, which is the same as the drawing of the arms of a similar figure in the reliefs. Such a resemblance to the reliefs as we find in the *dd* patterns of the cooking stands, the man standing in a jar, and the woman with the pestle have been noted above, but all the attitudes are similar to those found in Old Kingdom scenes, and the scenes themselves are the same. This is true also of the ploughing scenes found at Beni Hasan and Bersheh and the groups showing cattle being fed from these two sites. Even the men fishing with a net from the two little skiffs in the Meketra tomb are reminiscent of the Old Kingdom. But just as we shall find in the reliefs, new elements begin to appear in the groups of the Intermediate period, and these new elements are the same as those which characterize the altered subject-matter of the reliefs and paintings. Most common of the new elements is the weaving scene which we find in the models from Saqqarah (Gemni), Beni Hasan, and Meketra. The representation of the funeral

bark becomes common among the boat models, too, as we see in the one from N 202. This is known in the late Old Kingdom wall scenes, but is a new element that does not appear before Dyn. VI. Two remarkable models in Oxford from the MacGregor Collection and apparently found at Bersheh show a different stage in the funeral. The coffin (in the better-preserved example there are two coffins), accompanied by tall jars, is set under a canopy. Wailing women and funerary priests are in attendance. In one corner of the wall which encloses the group, three men cut up meat pieces to place in a caldron while in another a man tends an oven, evidently in preparation of the funeral meal. In the more complete model a man is in the act of rolling up a large jar to place it under the canopy. I suspect that in this group we may have the same shelter for the grave equipment during the funeral which is so cryptically represented by the structure called *ibw* in the reliefs of Qar (Fig. 84 a), Yeduw (Fig. 84 b), Mereruwka (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, II, pl. 130), and in an unpublished tomb at Meir.

The boats now commence to be supplied with more elaborate cabins and some of them with war-like equipment in the shape of shields and spear cases (Bersheh 10 A; Oxford boat, *Art in Egypt through the Ages*, p. 140; Quibell, *l.c.*, pl. XXVI). This war-like note is further exemplified in the models of soldiers. The finest of these are the two groups from the tomb of Mesehet at Assiut now in the Cairo Museum (Borchardt, Nos. 257, 258), but another group, less fine in execution and with a smaller number of men, was found at Bersheh and is now in Boston. The appearance of a foreign woman carrying a child on her back (*Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, fig. 138) is equally characteristic of the troublesome times reflected in paintings and models.

Finally, another element, which we shall find to be characteristic of the Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tomb paintings and reliefs, appears also in the models. This was the emphasis laid upon the herds belonging to the owner of the tomb. Thus in the tomb of Meketra there is a large and delightful group of figures, showing Meketra sitting in a columned shelter surrounded by his stewards and scribes while before him files past a long procession of cattle. In the same tomb is another model showing cattle being fattened in their stalls, and there are numerous examples of smaller groups showing a man feeding kine or leading a bull on a halter. A model in the Cairo Museum shows a farm-yard scene containing seven animals (four donkeys, and three head of cattle). Among these is a well-cut figure of a calf nursing, which is again reminiscent of the reliefs (No. 3213). No. 32832 in the same Museum shows some extraordinary cattle, two being driven and two lying down to be fed. These are white, covered with red and black spots. Their crude carving and bright harsh colour are very similar to figures in the paintings and reliefs of the Intermediate period. Even more closely resembling such paintings as those from Gebelein in Turin, is another model in Cairo showing two men driving donkeys loaded with heavy packs. The angular outlines and colouring are strikingly similar. These figures are set on a rough piece of wood, hardly more than a log flattened on one side. A well-carved little hound in Cairo is another element characteristic of Intermediate and Middle Kingdom wall decorations. It might even be said with justice that the grouping itself of the models, with the accompanying employment of scenic accessories follows a similar trend of development as that to be found in the paintings where an increased use of backgrounds is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. Such attractive little pieces as the two houses with their gardens (in Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum) from the tomb of Meketra, bear a stylistic resemblance to the architectural details and plant forms in paintings like those at Beni Hasan.

## VI

### THE TECHNIQUE OF THE STATUARY

TWO important investigations of the technical methods employed in Egyptian sculpture have cleared away most of the difficulty in understanding these processes: the study of the statues from the Mycerinus temples made by Dr. Reisner in *Mycerinus*, pp. 115-119, and an examination of Egyptian sculpture in general made by Lucas in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, pp. 63 ff. Although both are concentrated upon the more difficult processes concerned with the carving of hard-stone statues, the different stages detected in the working of the hard-stone pieces and the tools used are similar to those employed for the softer stones and for wood. The principal difference would seem to be that copper chisels could be employed upon soft stones and wood where they would be useless on the more intractable materials, and that the heavy bruising and pounding processes could not be applied to wood in the same way that was required for hard stones. Mr. Lucas has made full use of Dr. Reisner's discussion, and his chief additional contribution is the very strong evidence which he puts forward for the use of quartz sand as a more probable abrasive medium than any other. The canon of proportions used for statues and the question of the application of colour to hard-stone statues have both been discussed by Dr. Reisner, and Mr. Lucas has apparently settled the point that the copper tools received their necessary hardening by beating when the metal was hot. Without recapitulating the detailed evidence so ably presented in these two studies, I shall limit myself to a brief summary of the conclusions reached.

Dr. Reisner emphasizes the important point that 'the technical processes used in the carving of hard-stone statues were of the simplest sort, as must be the case when steel is not available', and Lucas amplifies this by adding, 'In all discussions respecting the manner of cutting hard stones in ancient Egypt it should be remembered that the large number of workmen; the long hours worked in the day; the time occupied in the work and particularly the skill, practice, and infinite patience of the workmen are all important factors that should be taken into account'. Naturally these remarks concerning work in hard materials are applicable in lesser degree to the creation of sculpture in a softer medium. Dr. Reisner outlines the chief operations as follows:

- (1) Pounding with a stone.
- (2) Rubbing with stones of various sizes held in the hand, probably accompanied by the use of an abrasive paste. Also employed for final polishing.
- (3) Sawing by means of a copper blade, fixed in a wooden handle, and employed with an abrasive paste.
- (4) Boring by means of a hollow tube of copper turned by rolling between the hands or with a crank, used again with abrasive paste.
- (5) Drilling with a copper or stone point, again with an abrasive.
- (6) Rubbing with a weighted copper (?) point with grinding paste.

Representations of most of the processes can be found in the scenes of sculptors at work in the chapel reliefs. The workshop scene in the tomb of Thiy (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 35) shows a pair of men pounding, apparently with a stone fixed between two sticks, and Dr. Reisner believed that a second representation of this implement appears in the tomb of Iby (Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, I, pl. XVI). Polishing with stone implements is apparently shown both in the case of the two men kneeling on each

side of a statue in the Thiy scene and the three men working on a seated statue (painted pink with black spots to represent red granite) in the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir. A later picture of the polishing process is found in the men working on the statue of a sphinx in the New Kingdom scene of Rekhmira. Several types of drills are shown in the Old Kingdom reliefs. The most common is a kind of centre bit, the weighted borer, which was commonly used for stone vessels (*Atlas*, III, pl. 33). Both a bow-drill used on wood and a hand-drill for boring a seal are in use in the scene in the tomb of Thiy. Lucas finds the evidence doubtful for process No. 6 above which rests on the Dyn. XVIII representation in the tomb of Rekhmira (Newberry, *Rekhmira*, pl. XX). A small stone (?) implement is held in the hand of the man working on a seated statue in the chapel of Wepemnofret (Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, II, fig. 219) and is used by the two men working on a standing statue in the Cairo relief of Ka-m-remeth (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 402). The attitude of the hands suggests that this is the application of final details with a sharp pointed stone, but it may be a different version of the polishing process shown in the chapels of Thiy and Ptah-shepses. The action of the sculptor in the chapel of Meresankh III is difficult to determine as the drawing of the arm has been altered (Fig. 232). He would appear to be using a long, pointed tool, but he may originally have been tapping a chisel with a mallet before the alteration in the figure was made. The use of the adze with wooden handle and copper blade, and the copper chisel used with a wooden mallet are shown in a number of cases (Thiy, *Deir-el-Gebrawi*, I, pl. XIV, Ptah-shepses, Wepemnofret, Ka-m-remeth) where the statues are evidently wood, or perhaps, in some cases, limestone. The painting of the statue is distinctly shown on the east and south walls of the chapel of Meresankh III (Figs. 231, 232), and on the south wall of the anteroom of G 6020. The painter is also shown at work in the chapel of Ankh-ma-hor (*Atlas*, III, pl. 34). In the New Kingdom scene of Rekhmira a scaffolding is in use for a tall standing figure, and various stages in the completion of the piece are indicated, including the painting (*Atlas*, I, pl. 5).

Evidence for the use of the saw with a copper blade was found in the alabaster statues of Mycerinus, on the back of one of the slate triads of Mycerinus, on the basalt blocks of the pavement of the Cheops temple, and on the hard-stone coffins of Cheops, Chephren, and Prince Hordedef (Lucas, *l.c.*, pp. 65-66). The use of the tubular drill is evidenced by the alabaster statue of Mycerinus, the famous diorite statue of Chephren, as well as in a number of cases where sockets for door-posts and holes for bolts were cut in granite or some other hard stone. The large alabaster statue of Mycerinus showed that a small drill had been used on the nostrils, ears, and holes at the corners of the mouth. Lucas mentions two inscribed vases from the Step Pyramid which show similar drill holes.

The unfinished statuettes from the Mycerinus temple provide us with eight separate stages in the completion of a statue. The first four stages, where the figure was still roughly blocked out, show the use of red lines applied in paint by the master craftsman to indicate to the apprentices the parts of the stone which were to be carved away to leave the form of the figure. Stages V to VII no longer show these guiding lines and were perhaps the work of the master himself. Stage VII represents the final polishing of the statue and the perfection of the finished piece is dependent upon the amount of work that was expended in this final polishing process. Stages VI and VII show the application of the small details of the features and modelling of the forms. Stage VIII is that in which the inscriptions were applied to the statue.

The difference in quality in the private statues of the Old Kingdom is dependent upon the amount of care that was expended upon the final finishing processes described above, the detail that was added in stages VI and VII, and the quality of the polish given in stage VII. The application of stage VIII controls the presence or absence of inscriptions. Among the rarely preserved unfinished private statues

there are no such clear-cut examples as those provided by the Mycerinus group. The same is true of the other royal sculpture of the Old Kingdom. The quality of work is naturally affected by the skill of the sculptors who worked in any of the stages involved in the carving of a statue, and always depends upon the ability shown in marking out the red lines or in cutting away the first superfluous masses from the block. The result attained is partially dependent upon the hardness of the material in which the work was executed, the more intractable stones often showing less expert handling in private statues than the softer materials. The quality of private workmanship is found at a consistently high level in wooden statues which were relatively easy to work and where it was possible to correct mistakes made in the planning of the masses which were to be cut away.

The proportions of sculpture in the round are found to correspond fairly closely with those found in the reliefs. The wall scenes have preserved a number of examples of guiding lines which marked out the unit of measure and indicated the position of the different parts of the figure. A canon of proportions was certainly followed in the statues but, as in the case of the reliefs, there was always a certain deviation from the norm. The occurrence of guiding lines and dots marked out on the surface of the wall to aid the draughtsman who was laying out the scenes, will be described in detail in the following section dealing with the reliefs. The height of the human figure was usually six units from the sole of the foot to the base of hair or wig. The seated figure was divided into five units. The length of the advanced foot was more than one unit, that of the other was about one unit (*Mycerinus*, p. 118). Dr. Reisner says in discussing the relation of statue proportions to those of the reliefs: 'The measurements of the Mycerinus statues show as close an approximation to the canon of the Old Kingdom reliefs as can be expected. The large size of the feet is not out of harmony with the earlier reliefs. The small size of the head in proportion to the massive shoulders is shown by all the [Mycerinus] statues, including the small diorite statuette found at Saqqarah. The same relation between head and shoulders is seen in the statue of Rahotep from Medûm (Cairo); and the workmanship of that statue, as well as of the Mycerinus statues, is so fine that the form given must be assumed to have been intentional. In all probability Mycerinus and Rahotep were actually distinguished by unusually heavy shoulders. Rahotep was a member of the royal family of Dynasty IV.' In general we find that the bodies of the figures of Dyn. IV and V, especially in the case of seated figures, are given rather heavy proportions. The same tendency toward more slender figures that we find entering into the reliefs at the end of the Old Kingdom, appears also in the statuettes of Dyn. VI.

That the final stage of the completion of all statues and statuettes, no matter what their material, was the painting of all the surfaces, is a fact not to be forgotten, as in the case of the reliefs. That this must have necessitated at least a thin coating of plaster white-wash to receive the paint on the highly-polished surfaces of hard-stone statues must, I think, also be accepted. As in the case of the very fine low reliefs, the coat of paint itself, not to mention a coating of white-wash, tended to blur the fine gradations of surface and must have diminished the beauty of the whole. In the case of the reliefs, the delicate quality of the drawing in much of the painted work, and the gaiety of pure colour, sometimes very beautiful in itself, tends to console the modern observer for the obscuring of some of the fine workmanship of the carving. The not too well co-ordinated efforts of sculptor and painter, usually working separately, can never fail to be evident. The modern critic can hardly approve the laying down of broad, flat washes of crude colour upon the finely modelled surfaces of sculpture. Still less can he be satisfied when the surfaces obscured are those having already the beautiful colouring of certain of the hard stones such as translucent diorite. It must be remembered that the painting of statuary did not arise from a desire in the ancient artist for aesthetic effect, but from the necessity to make his statue into

as life-like as possible a replica of the man whom he was engaged in portraying. Without the colours of life (conceived conventionally according to Egyptian standards) the statue was incomplete. The hard stones, moreover, were chosen more for their durability than for their beauty of colour. It must be said in the Egyptian's favour that it is difficult to surpass the amazingly life-like effect which he obtained as a result of the combination of skilful modelling, painted surfaces imitating the colour of flesh and hair, dress and ornaments, and the insertion of artificial eyes made from various stones. In such superb pieces as the statues of Rahotep and Nofret or the Louvre scribe we can see perfectly preserved the ideal of the Old Kingdom sculptor, and it must be admitted that the result is as pleasing to the modern eye as a work of art as it was convincing to the ancient eye as an imitation of life. In lesser works we are more disturbed by the conventions employed by the craftsman. In these his skill transcends his conventions.

So numerous are the examples of painted statues in limestone and wood that there has never been any doubt but that these were always painted. In the case of the hard stones, aesthetic considerations have occasioned doubt but here again the evidence, although not so strikingly preserved, is none the less conclusive. The face of the great seated alabaster statue of Mycerinus in Boston showed traces of black on eye-brows, moustache, and chin-strings, while the hieroglyphs in the inscriptions of the smaller seated statue of the same king in Boston were filled in with blue paint. The slate pair and the triads, particularly that of the Hare-Nome in Boston, showed plentiful evidence of having been painted. The Hare-Nome statue had traces of red on the king's face, yellow on the women's faces, black on the hair parts, green and yellow on the necklaces, and black and green on the king's belt. Similar to this covering of the fine slate surfaces was the painting of the beautiful red quartzite of the Radedef statues and statuettes. Chassinat notes (*Monuments Piot*, XXV, pp. 60-62) that the skin of the king was painted red, that of the queen yellow. The details of the eye, including the strip of eye-paint and the line which indicated the attachment of the beard, were painted black, as well as the details of the breast nipple. The belt and collar (on small statues) were coloured green, the seat and base of the statuette were painted black, the hieroglyphs being filled in with blue or green (perhaps traces of red to be detected in some signs on the base of a large statue). On the large statues the woman has the skin yellow and the dress painted white, while details of eyes and hair are added in black.

These royal examples, supported by numerous private pieces (especially the hard-stone figures of scribes, frequently made of black granite and often preserved with the paint nearly intact), are sufficient to convince us that the alabaster and diorite statues were in all probability always painted. The white limestone reserve heads found in the burial-chambers of Dyn. IV seem to present a single exception to the general rule. None of them shows any evidence of having been painted. It should be pointed out, in defence of the craftsman, that he was following an unbreakable tradition in painting his statues and was working to satisfy a practical, not an artistic demand. That he was eminently capable of appreciating the beauty of the various hard stones with which he worked, is shown by the combinations of colour, sometimes delicately blended and at other times startlingly bold, that he evolved from the different strata of stone in fashioning the stone vessels of the early period. The colouring of the vases from the Step Pyramid can leave no doubt that the workman was fully aware of the beautiful effects inherent in his medium. I do not think that we can deny that the sculptor may have gained something of the same pleasure that we feel in the beautiful colouring of the stone in such statues as the diorite Chephren, however much he may have felt the necessity for covering it with paint to look like the living king. Similarly the carver of reliefs must have felt the same satisfaction in his delicately-sculptured surfaces that we do now, although he realized that the effect would have to be spoiled by the application of a

coat of plaster, or at least a thick covering of paint. The same aesthetic qualities that arouse our admiration must have spurred the workman on in the execution of his task, even though that task was merely an adjunct to the preparation of funerary equipment whose significance in itself had more importance to the patron for whom it was prepared than had its artistic value. Thus, we may perhaps assume that the sculptor himself had something of our own appreciation of his work even if it were made to be hidden away in a *serdab*, and even though a conscious formulation of the aesthetic qualities of a work of art had as yet to be evolved.



## VII

# THE RELIEFS AND PAINTINGS OF THE PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS

### a. Early Sculpture in Relief

WE have seen that in Prehistoric Egypt sculpture had made its appearance in the form of figurines of men and animals roughly modelled in mud or clay, or carved from ivory and bone. The craftsmen had also begun to gouge simple designs on wooden and ivory objects such as knife-handles and combs, usually only zigzag patterns, but sometimes including animal figures. Birds, animals, and even human figures are carved out in silhouette along the top of some of these objects. At the same time the potters were painting elaborate patterns on their vases, built up not only of geometrical elements but copying natural forms, sometimes even composing rude scenes in which human figures, trees, boats, birds, animals, and fish play a part. The various forms of the slate palettes show us that the prehistoric Egyptian was even able later to translate these simple forms into stone. In fact the good shapes of the vessels which he was learning to fashion from a variety of hard stones testify that he was beginning to command a considerable mastery over intractable materials. The beginnings of relief sculpture in stone can be seen in the rudely scratched figures of animals found on some of the Predynastic palettes (cf. selection of examples given by Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 91 ff.). Of a more elaborate character is the representation on a palette in Manchester, bird-shaped in outline, where a man with a curiously un-human head pursues three ostriches (*J.E.A.*, vol. V, pl. VII). Here the figures are raised in relief against the background, the outlines being tentative and uncertain and the surface of the relief flat, save for the inequalities in cutting. Of a very much higher quality is the incised drawing of a bubalis on a palette in the Cairo Museum, as yet unpublished. Here the salient forms of the animal are captured with surprising accuracy and a crisp, pleasing quality of line.

At about the time when the makers of the Hierakonpolis ivories were beginning to show a tremendous advance in the carving of the human figure in the round, that is, in the transition years (referred to as Dyn. 0) just before the beginning of the Dynastic period, there appear the first important examples of sculpture in relief. These are exemplified in a series of wonderful carvings on slate palettes which continued on into Dyn. I. At the same time a large number of carvings are found in softer materials which show affinities in style to the representations on the slate palettes. I list first the most important of the stone reliefs:

- (1) Cairo Museum: small fragment of a palette showing a boat, above which are two signs, one rectangular and the other perhaps a crude representation of the *rhyt* bird. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 229.
- (2) A palette fitted together from a piece in the Louvre and two others in the British Museum. One side shows a hunting scene. Men with standards, bows and arrows, etc., wear feathers in their hair and a pendent tail at the back of their kilts. The animals shown are: lion, ostrich, deer, gazelle, bubalis, wolf (? perhaps intended for a hunting dog), rabbit. One man is throwing a lasso around the horns of an animal. At the top of the palette are two ideographic signs, one showing a shrine, and the second the front parts of two bulls attached together. Capart, *l.c.*, p. 231. See Fig. 25.

- (3) Two sides of a palette from Hierakonpolis, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. At the top of the palette are two jackals (?) with their front paws joined, forming a frame. One side of the palette has the receptacle for grinding the paint framed by two long-necked animals (in this case the necks are not intertwined). In the interstices and below these animals is a confused group of

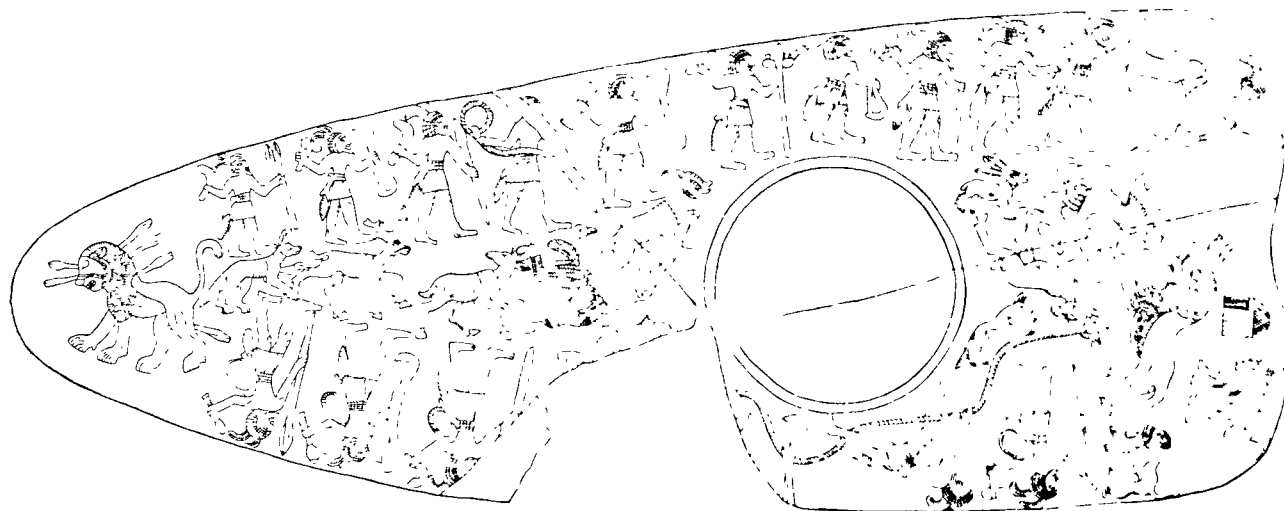


FIG. 25. The Louvre-British Museum hunting palette, drawn from photographs.

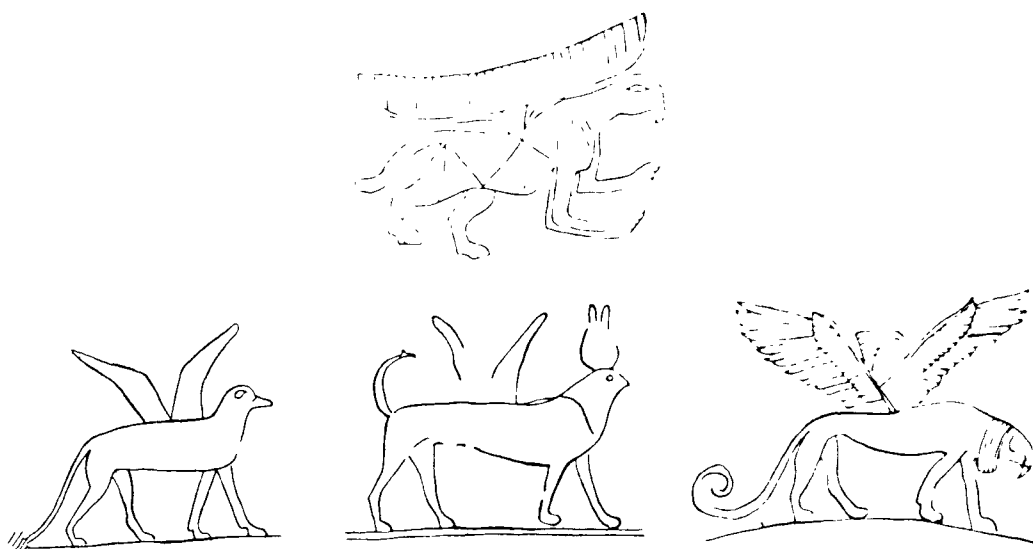


FIG. 26. Examples of griffons: (1) Hierakonpolis palette, Capart, *l.c.*, p. 233; (2) Beni Hasan, Tomb No. 15, *Bull. Met. Mus.*, 1931-32, Fig. 8; (3) *Bersheh*, II, Pl. XVI; (4) Middle Kingdom, *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, 1920-21, Fig. 17.

animals being attacked by hunting dogs. The other side shows game pursued by lions, a leopard and two fabulous animals, one with a griffon head and wings, the other with a long snake-like neck. A giraffe also appears and a curious figure, which appears to be a man wearing a jackal mask. Capart, *l.c.*, pp. 232, 233. See Fig. 26.

- (4) Louvre palette: similar to above but simpler in design. Four jackals (paired tail to tail) form the border. Within this frame one side shows a tall palm tree flanked by two giraffes. The other side has the circular depression for the paint, with above it a lion and an ibis, below it a long-necked beast. Capart, *l.c.*, pp. 234, 235.

- (5) British Museum fragment: at the top of the circular space, part of an animal lying down, and below, two ostriches. Capart, *l.c.*, p. 236.
- (6) Cairo fragment: on one side are three rows of walking animals, with a group of trees below them and an early word-sign for Tehenu. On the other side are six crenellated towns with their names apparently written inside the walls. The walls are being broken down by the hoes held by a lion, a hawk, a scorpion, two hawks on standards, and three obliterated figures. Capart, *l.c.*, pp. 236, 237.

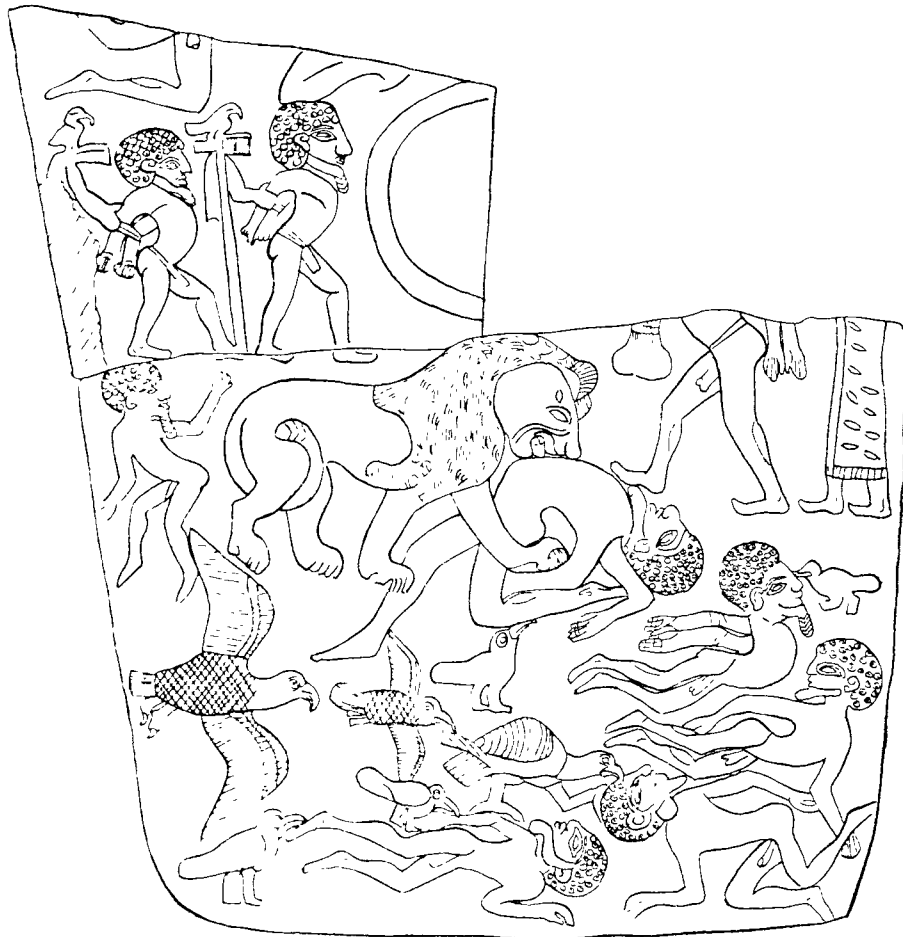


FIG. 27. Oxford-British Museum Palette: Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 238, 240.

- (7) Palette composed of a fragment in the Ashmolean Museum and a larger piece in the British Museum. On one side, paired giraffes with palm trees between. On the other side a battle scene. Above on left, recumbent figures of naked men and two naked captives driven to the right by a Horus and Thoth standard. On the right, below, a naked captive is driven to the left by a man in a long embroidered garment. An object in front of him may be an ideogram for his name. Beneath are scattered slain men attacked by a lion and vultures. Capart, *l.c.*, pp. 238-241. See Pl. 30, Fig. 27.
- (8) Louvre fragment: above, on one side, a bull tramples a fallen man, the upper part of the body of the animal forming the outline of the palette. Below, on one side, are five standards (two surmounted by jackals, one by Thoth, one by Horus, and one by the emblem for Min) provided each with human hands that seize a rope. Below, part of a human figure. The other side of the palette shows parts of two crenellated towns with their names inside. Capart, *l.c.*, pp. 242, 243. See Pl. 30.

- (9) Cairo fragment: 3 registers of male figures facing right. Other side re-used with Dyn. XVIII cartouche of Queen Tiy.

The next palette is not only dated by the name of a king, Narmer, but appears to record an actual historical event. It gives a complete representation of a type of scene which has already been suggested by the battle scene on No. 7 above, and by the conquered towns of Nos. 6 and 8. Here we have reached a more developed stage of monumental representation.

- (10) The palette of King Narmer from Hierakonpolis in the Cairo Museum. At the top of the palette on each side is the Horus name of the king, flanked on each side by a Hathor head. On one side the king is shown on a large scale seizing a captive by the hair and about to strike him with a

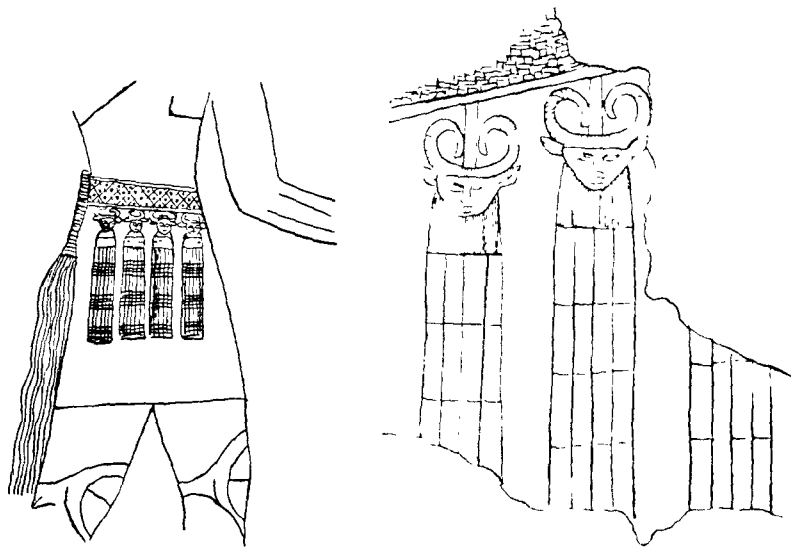


FIG. 28. Hathor girdle of king on Narmer palette (Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, June, 1926, p. 35); similar girdle from Zoser statue (Firth and Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah, The Step Pyramid*, Pl. 59).



FIG. 29. Detail of Narmer palette (*Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. XXIX).

mace. Behind him is a small attendant bearing sandals and a jar, while above, on the right, is an ideogram representing the king as a Horus hawk dominating six thousand fallen enemies. Beneath are represented two running (or prostrate) enemies. On the other side the circular depression for the paint is flanked by two long-necked animals with their necks entwined and controlled by two small male figures who pull upon ropes that are tied about the animals' necks. Below, a bull breaks down a crenellated wall of a town and tramples on a prostrate foe. Above, the king is shown in a procession, followed by his sandal-bearer and preceded by an attendant and four men who bear standards surmounted by two hawks, a jackal, and the 'Khons' emblem. The king appears to be inspecting two rows of slain men who have their arms bound and their heads cut off and laid between their legs. Hieroglyphic signs above seem to identify the tribe of the slain. Pl. 29, Figs. 28, 29, 33.

The great mace-heads from Hierakonpolis show an equally developed method of representation, and with the Semerkhet rock carving at the Wady Maghara and a few fragments of decorated stone vessels constitute the stone carvings of the beginning of the Dynastic period which form a continuation of the type of reliefs found on the slate palettes.

- (1) Mace-head of the Scorpion King from Hierakonpolis, Ashmolean Museum. The king is shown wearing the white crown and holding a hoe in his hand. In front of him is a man with a basket, and behind are two attendants with sunshades or fans. Above, on the right, are standard-bearers.

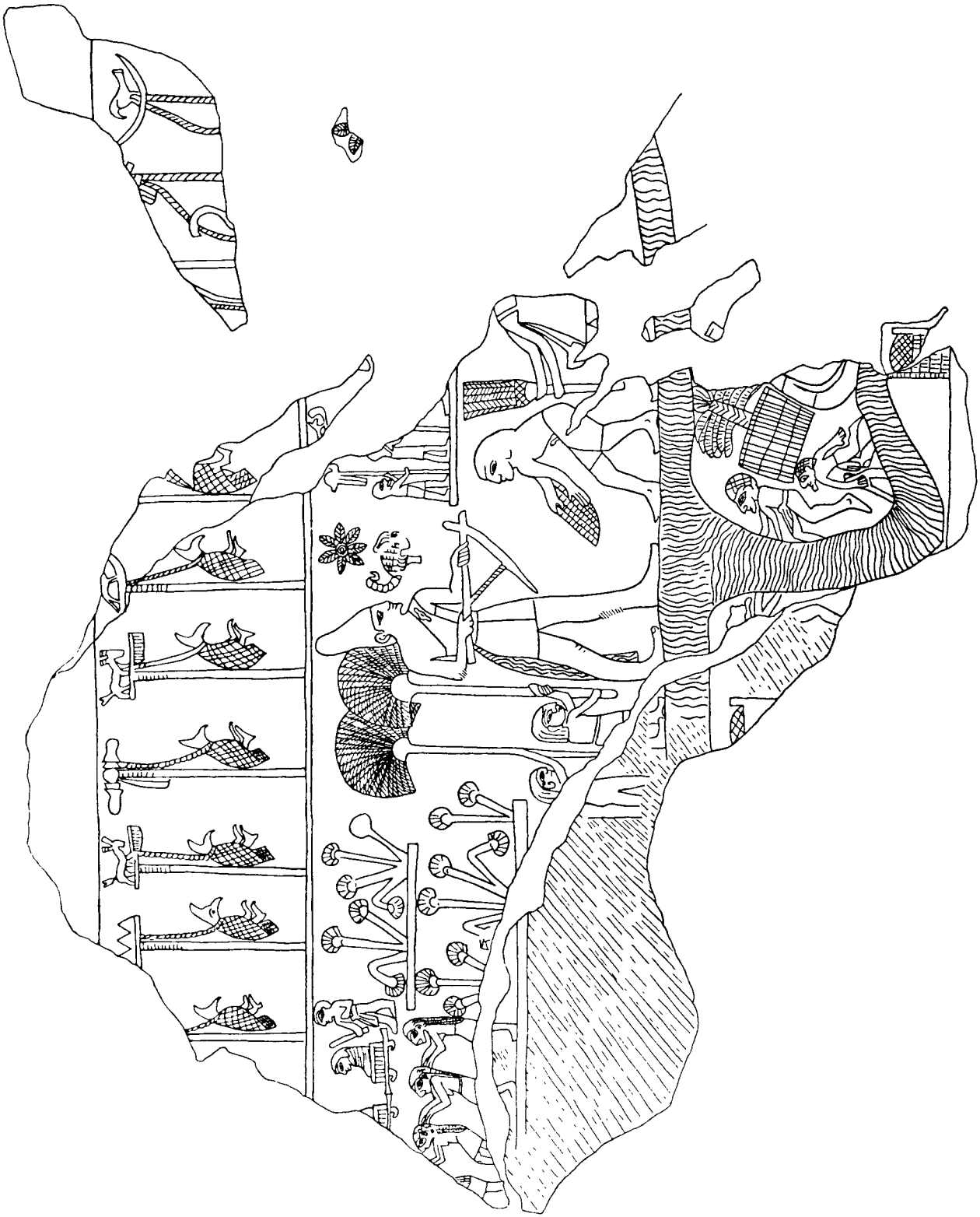


FIG. 30. Scorpion King Mace-head, drawn from original in Oxford and Hierakonpolis I, pl. XXVI C.

Below the king is an irregularly shaped strip of water, apparently representing a canal or stream. The prow of a boat projects on the right and is apparently meant to be floating on the water. In the space on the right, encircled by water, are two small male figures, one carrying a hoe. In addition to these there is also a palm tree and an enclosure of wattle (?). A small shrine is drawn below on the right, and on the left a third male figure, partly preserved. Behind the king's fan-bearers are two registers of formally drawn plants like the sign for 1000, two figures in carrying-chairs accompanied by an attendant, and four dancing girls. Around the top of the mace-head is a border consisting of standards, two surmounted by the Seth animal, one by a jackal, one by a hawk, one by the desert sign (?), and one by the emblem for Min, from which hang birds which have been tied by cords around their necks. The scene has been interpreted as the representation of a ceremony in which the king officiates at the opening of a canal. See Fig. 30.

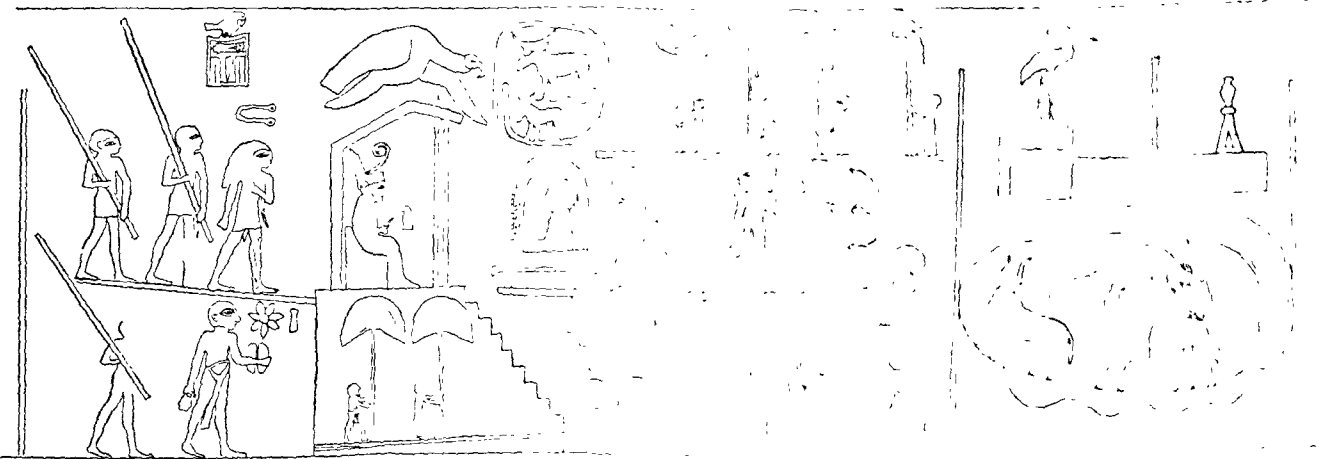


FIG. 31. The Narmer mace-head (*Hierakonpolis* I, pl. XXVI B).

- (2) The second mace-head from Hierakonpolis with the name of Narmer, Ashmolean Museum. This bears relations to the Heb-Sed scene as it is represented at a later date. The king is shown in the Heb-Sed robe, with flail and red crown, seated in a kiosk at the top of a flight of steps. Over the kiosk is a protecting vulture, and beside the base of the platform stand two attendants with fans. Behind the king are two registers of attendants, among whom can be recognized the sandal-bearer and the dignitary who appear on the Narmer palette. In front of the throne are three registers. The first shows a circular enclosure containing a cow and a calf. On the right of this are the usual standard-bearers. The second register shows a robed figure seated in a sort of palanquin and followed by three bearded figures with clasped hands. These men are accompanied by half-moon-shaped signs. Below them are a bull and a goat accompanied by numerals, and a kneeling bound captive, also with numbers below. On the right of these three registers is a primitive shrine with a long-legged bird above and a jar on an offering-stand in front. Below this is an oval-shaped enclosure containing three horned animals. See Fig. 31.
- (3) The third Hierakonpolis mace-head is badly preserved. It shows the king seated in a similar dress in a kiosk, and at least two registers of men who bring offerings, or present ritual objects (*Hierakonpolis*, I, XXVI A).

The relief of Semerkhet at the Wady Maghara in Sinai (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pls. 45-47) is the only large monument of the Early Dynastic period. The king appears three times carved in the face of the cliff, once with the white crown, tunic, and dagger at his waist, seizing a kneeling captive by the hair and preparing to strike him with his upraised mace; twice in a walking attitude wearing tunic and

bull's tail and carrying a *shm*-wand (?) and a dagger (?). An ivory plaque in the British Museum, found by Amélineau at Abydos (*Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, I, pl. XXXIII), shows Wedymuw in a similar attitude to that of Semerkhet, striking a kneeling captive. Three ivory cylinders found by Quibell (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XV) contain similar representations, although the captive is not kneeling but standing in front of the man with the mace. The plaque in Berlin shows Wedymuw striking down a representative of the people of the eastern desert, an action apparently also mentioned on the Palermo stone. The private monument which adjoins the royal rock carving of Semerkhet at the Wady Maghara is probably also to be dated to the reign of that king. This shows a standing figure of a man designated as *imy-r; mšc*. He holds in his left hand a bow and a weapon shaped like the hieroglyph *end*, probably

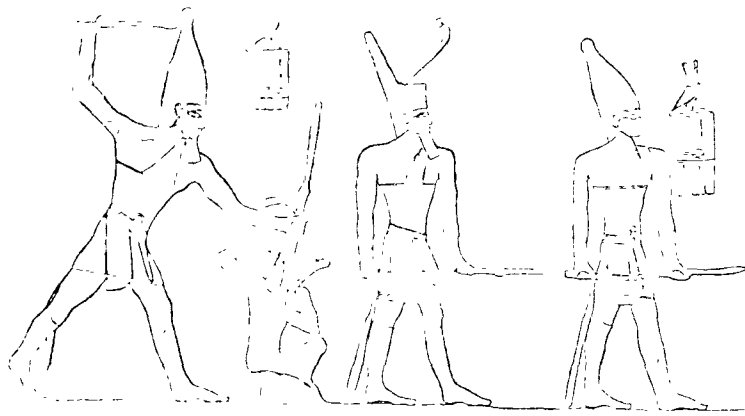


FIG. 32. Relief of Semerkhet at Wady Maghara (Gardiner, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. I).

the same object as that carried by two men painted on the cross-wall of the Hierakonpolis painted tomb.

A few stone vessels decorated with figures in relief are known from the early period, but only fragments of these have survived. Capart (*l.c.*, p. 100) illustrates two interesting fragments in the Berlin Museum. One of these shows a naked man with his hair fashioned into long curls, bearing an axe and some indeterminate object (Fig. 35). The other piece has preserved only the naked leg of a human

figure and parts of two boats. Another vessel (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XIX) has an elaborate decoration of birds, scorpions, and a bow. Of more impressive quality are the slate fragments with beautiful but tantalizingly broken carvings found by Amélineau in the Royal tombs at Abydos (*l.c.*, vol. I, pp. 211, 212, and pl. XXVIII). One of these shows a well-modelled head of a duck (Ashmolean Museum), while another bears a fragmentary human hand. A group of fitting fragments (Brussels) form a large beetle from which springs a human arm holding *wšs* sceptres. The excellent quality of these reliefs prepares us somewhat for the technical accomplishment of the beautiful carving found by Emery in the tomb of Hema-ka at Saqqarah, dated to the reign of Wedymuw (*The Tomb of Hemaka*, Frontispiece). This was the finest of a number of extraordinary circular disks, pierced in the centre, which, it is thought, may have formed part of a game. It is a schist disk inlaid with coloured stones carved in relief to show a hound pursuing a gazelle, and another dog seizing the throat of a prostrate gazelle. Another disk has two doves in relief applied to the surface which is surrounded by diamond-shaped inlays, while a third disk has an inlay representing a bird trap containing two long-legged water birds (*l.c.*, pl. 12). Equally remarkable is a drawing of a spotted bull and a monkey upon a small plaque of limestone, also found in the tomb of Hema-ka (*l.c.*, pl. 19). In connexion with these excellent drawings of animals it would be well to remember the two little gold amuletic figures of Dyn. I, found by Dr. Reisner at Naga-ed-Dêr, which, with the Abydos carvings, indicate that the Saqqarah finds, splendid as they are, are not isolated phenomena. One of these is an oryx with a collar decorated by a pendant in the form of the girdle tie, while the other shows the equally well-rendered form of a bull (the horns have been broken away) with a Hathor head hanging from its collar (*Naga-ed-Dêr*, I, pl. 6). The fine workmanship and experienced drawing expressed by these little gold figures is all the more surprising when we remember that Naga-ed-Dêr was the cemetery of an unimportant community.

Although not of a similar representational character, the decoration of the round-topped grave stelae from the royal tombs at Abydos gives evidence of the advance that was being made in the carving of stone monuments. Here, too, we find one of the rare early instances where a comparison can be made between royal and private work, for the little name-stones of the courtiers were made for the same purpose, apparently, as the royal stelae, although smaller in scale and with a proportionate inferiority of workmanship. The royal stones are round-topped and bear the king's name enclosed in a palace-façade frame surmounted either by the Horus hawk or, in Dynasty II, the Seth animal. They show a considerable variation in workmanship from the bold, well-balanced carving of Zet, with its carefully drawn hieroglyphs, to the poorly executed and slightly lop-sided stelae of Peribsen, where the hieroglyphs are carved in a single, roughly-outlined plane, without inner detail. The majority of the private round-topped stelae, like the royal examples, give only the name of the owner (or name and titles), determined with a rough figure of a seated or standing person. They are generally very crude, the sign or figure being executed in a simple silhouette standing out sharply from the background on a roughly worked, rather shapeless piece of stone which generally approximates to the round-topped form of its royal precedent. The rectangular stela of Sabef, of the time of Qay-a'a, is the most developed of these representations (*Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XXXVI). Here a larger array of titles has been given, and the hieroglyphs are arranged in two roughly horizontal lines. The man is shown standing, facing right with staff and wand. The background has been chiselled away leaving the figures standing out as smooth surfaces against a roughly-pitted ground. It may be that the piece is unfinished, and that it was intended to smooth the background. The outlines are uneven and show a craftsman who was by no means master of his material. Similar in style and execution to this stela is a faience plaque from the early deposit in the Abydos temple showing a standing man with staff, accompanied by a group of rudimentary hieroglyphs evidently forming his titles and name (*Abydos*, II, Frontispiece).

In order to discuss the multitude of small reliefs cut in soft materials it is necessary first to turn back again to the Predynastic period in order to examine a group of carvings which appear on knife handles. These ivory handles are dated to a period previous to Dyn. I by the type of rippled chipping of the flint knives to which they are attached. The processions of animals and birds resemble the decorations of certain of the slate palettes and are reflected in the carvings on combs and other ivory objects.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that long lines of birds, animals, and boats occur on a sealing of Aha (*Royal Tombs*, II, pl. XIV), and that there is a close resemblance between these carvings and the figures of animals and shells cut on the pendant girdle strips of the Coptos Min statues. The unusual *motif* of the elephant standing on hills, found on one of these statues, is repeated again on an ivory carving (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. XVI, VI). I list below some of the most important of the decorated knife handles:

- (1) The Gebel-el-Arak carving in the Louvre. On one side are represented hunters with dogs and desert game, as well as a lion attacking one of the hooved animals. A hunter with a lasso on the other side of the handle appears to have been carried over from this scene. Above is a curious bearded figure with a tight-fitting brimmed head-dress and a long skirt, who seizes a pair of rearing lions (Fig. 33). On the other side of the piece are pairs of struggling men and two registers of boats separated by fallen warriors (*J.E.A.*, V, pl. XXXII).

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the comb formerly in the collection of Mr. Theodore M. Davis (*J.E.A.*, vol. V, pl. XXXIII). Other similar ivory carvings were found by Quibell at Hierakonpolis (vol. I, pls. XII to XVII, vol. II, pl. XXXII). One of these, on pl. XVI, shows in addition to the procession of animals a long line of human figures. Another piece shows a man seizing

the necks of a pair of long-necked animals. See also Capart, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71-73. To this list should be added the gold handle of a mace-head belonging to a provincial chieftain of early dynastic times (*Nubian Archaeological Survey* (Firth), 1910-1911, p. 205). The gold was decorated with rows of animals resembling those of the ivory carvings.



- (2) The Carnarvon Ivory: this shows on one side three registers of walking animals, and on the other a scattered group of desert game (*l.c.*, pl. II).
- (3) Ivory knife-handle in the Pitt-Rivers Museum. Both sides of this handle show regularly disposed processions of animals (*l.c.*, p. 227).
- (4) The Brooklyn knife handle: both sides show regular registers of walking animals (*l.c.*, pl. XXXIV).

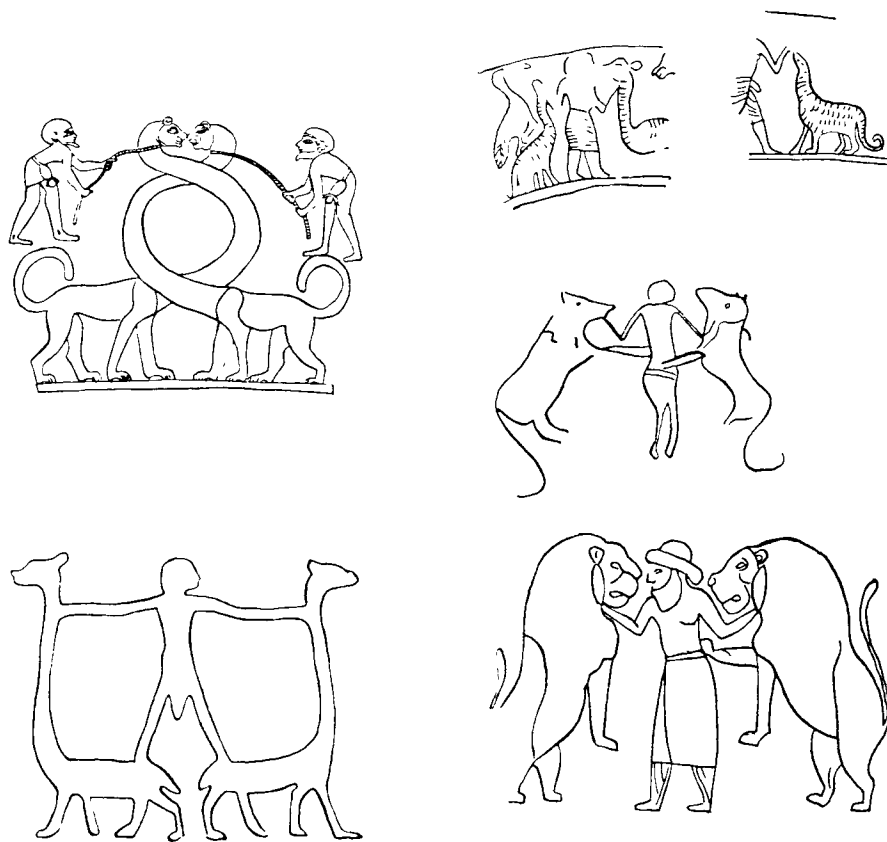


FIG. 33. (1) Narmer palette (*Hierakonpolis* I, pl. XXIX); (2) Carved ivory (*l.c.*, I, pl. XVI); (3) figure from painted tomb (*l.c.*, II, pl. LXXVI); (4) Hieroglyph for Cusae, Middle Kingdom (*Meir* II, pl. XVII); (5) Gebel el-Arak knife handle (*J.E.A.*, vol. V, pl. XXXII).

- (5) Cairo knife-handle, covered with gold. On one side, scattered game attacked by a leopard (?), lion, hunting dog, and griffon. The reverse shows twined serpents interspersed with rosettes (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 68).

Turning to the small carvings of Dyn. I, the most important of these are the tablets of wood and ivory with groups of figures and inscriptions. They are in the form of labels with a small perforation in the corner for attachment to some article of tomb equipment.<sup>1</sup> Ordinarily they bear the name of some commodity, usually oil, and seem to be more elaborate versions of the small tags, such as the necklace labels of Neith-hotep or the ivory pieces of Hemaka (Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 39). The representations on these tablets seem to belong to two types. One has on the right: *hst sp* (the tall sign filling the entire height of the tablet) and a year-name. The relation of these year-names to similar designations on the Palermo Stone has long been recognized.<sup>2</sup> The name and titles of the king and one of his officials appear in addition to the year-name and the commodity. Tablets of this type are known

<sup>1</sup> One was found by Emery beside the fragments of a leather bag and with traces of string still adhering to the perforation in the wood.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, vol. III; Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, XXXIV, p. 283; *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, p. 148; Borchardt, *Die Annalen*.

with the names of Semerkhet (*R.T.*, I, pl. XVII), Qay-a'a (*R.T.*, I, pl. XVII and *R.T.*, II, pl. XII) and Wedymuw (badly preserved, Amélineau, *l.c.*, vol. IV, pl. XXXVII). A tablet of Zer has a Sothic date according to Borchardt (*Annalen*, p. 53). The second type of representation lacks the writing of *hwt sp* and the year-names down the right side, and in addition to the name of the king and the commodity has a series of figure groups or scenes in horizontal registers. It is possible that these scenes may be an amplification of the year-names in that they represent notable events of the king's reign. This would certainly seem to be the case in the tablet of Wedymuw, where he is shown striking down a representative of the 'Easterners', an action which can be paralleled in the Palermo Stone. Another tablet of



FIG. 34. Inscribed plaque of Wedymuw (*Royal Tombs I*, pl. XV).

Wedymuw seems to form a sort of transition between the two types, having *hwt sp* written on the right, without the vertical column with the year-name, but instead, three horizontal registers of scenes, the top one of which clearly represents the Heb-Sed feast (see Fig. 34). The list of tablets of the second type is as follows:

- (1) Ivory tablet of Aha found in the tomb of Neith-hotep at Naqadah and now in the Cairo Museum. *Annales*, XXXIII, pls. I, II, gives a new publication of this piece by Vikentiev. The upper one of three horizontal registers gives the king's name, the boat associated with the feast of *Smsw Hr*, and a group of signs that twice includes the ideograph for *ch*. In the second register a group of figures converge towards a pile of offerings on the left, in front of which stand two men facing each other, one of whom appears to be stirring something in a vessel (on another fragment, *R.T.*, I, pl. X. Sethe has interpreted this as the ideograph for *hws*, 'to build'). Approaching this group from the right is a figure with a staff which is perhaps intended for the king. Above him stands a bowing man and behind him three men stand under a sort of canopy surmounted by *hkr* ornaments. In the third register below are four more men evidently intended to be following this group. The third register is largely occupied by the name of an oil. See Fig. 38.
- (2) A second tablet of Aha, found by Garstang in the same tomb at Naqadah and now in Liverpool, seems to be identical, although the tablet is broken in the upper corners (Garstang, *A.Z.*, XLII, p. 61).

- (3) Fragments of two other tablets of Aha in Cairo show the same representation (*R.T.*, II, pl. III). In this case the preservation of *ms' Inpw* suggests the year-name, but *hst sp* is not preserved. Only the upper register is preserved with the king's name and a group which appears to be an overseer watching a man stabbing a captive while a basin stands beside them to catch the blood. The same group appears on the Hema-ka tablet and this is the interpretation which Emery has suggested.
- (4) Ebony tablet of Aha with four registers (*R.T.*, II, pl. X). In the upper register beside the king's Horus name is written *ms'* and the symbol for Anubis. To the right of this is a structure evidently intended for a shrine of Neith. Above this is the boat of the *šmsw Hr* festival. In the second

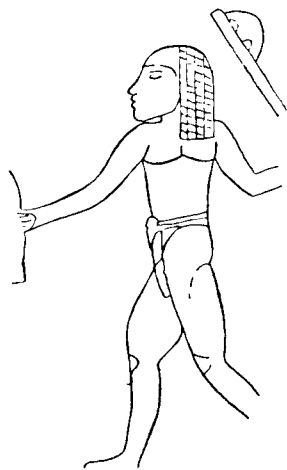


FIG. 35. Berlin vase fragment (Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, Fig. 70).

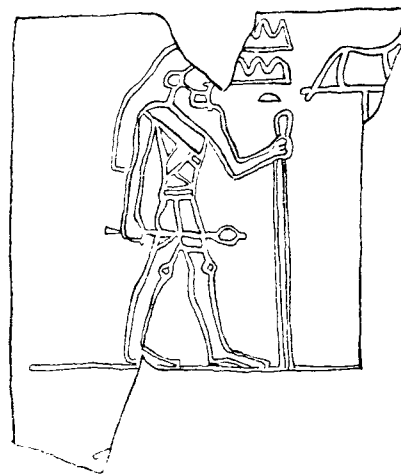


FIG. 36. Standing figure of Wedymuw (*Royal Tombs I*, pl. XIV).

register is a man holding out a bowl (?), a bull caught in a net (?), and a bird standing on a shrine which suggests that this may be a temple of Thoth. It appears on the Hierakonpolis mace-head (Fig. 31). The next register is unintelligible to me except that it appears to contain boats, while the fourth register gives the name of an oil.

- (5) A broken ebony tablet of Aha with an apparently identical representation (*R.T.*, II, pl. XI).

In addition to the shrine shown on the second mace-head from Hierakonpolis there are several other early examples for comparison with those on these last two tablets. Resembling the cabins on the boats painted on Predynastic pottery and the Upper Egyptian shrine (*pr wr*) is a small representation (*R.T.*, II, pl. X). On another fragment the ram (Hery-she-f) stands in front of a little shrine surmounted by a horned head seen full face. This appears as the determinative for Crocodilopolis (*Šdt*) in the Pyramid texts (Spruche 582), although a shrine of Hery-she-f on the Palermo stone (Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 20), with standards in front of it like those of the Neith chapel on the Aha tablet, is said to be in Heracleopolis. A similar use of flags on standards on top of a shrine has been found recently at Saqqarah by Selim Bey Hassan in a Dyn. VI tomb of a man named Her-neb-kaw (*Illustrated London News*, June 4, 1938, p. 1000) and appears in the funeral scene of Sneferuw-in-shat-f (De Morgan, *Dahchour II*, pl. XXII).

Three tablets of Zer have interesting representations, although their meaning is by no means clear.

- (1) Ebony tablet of Zer in Cairo (Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 35). The first of the three registers on this tablet has the Horus name of the king followed by four men carrying remarkable objects, a figure in the form of a mummy, a *nar* fish, a large bird resembling a pelican, and two unintelligible

objects. One is reminded strongly of the curious effigies borne by the men in the cryptic representation on a stela of the Middle Kingdom in the Louvre (Drioton, *La Cryptographie égyptienne*, p. 22). The second register is also very obscure. A bull on a standard carried by the first man has *ms'* written in front of it, and at the extreme right two figures wrapped up and seated on low seats resemble similar figures on the Hierakonpolis mace-heads and in the later Heb-Sed scenes. The lower register contains the name of the commodity.

- (2) Ivory tablet of Zer found by Amélineau at Abydos (*l.c.*, vol. III, pl. XV) in Berlin. In the first register two rows of shrines alternating with trees are separated by a wavy strip of water. In the second register is a framework enclosing hieroglyphic signs resembling that around the name of Menes on the Naqadah plaque. A crenellated structure contains one of the wrapped seated figures mentioned on the preceding plaque among other unintelligible signs. The third register has a boat resembling those on the Aha plaques Nos. 4 and 5. The lowest register contains the name of the commodity.
- (3) Ivory tablet found at Saqqarah by Quibell in Qs 2171 H (*Archaic Mastabas*, pl. XI). This piece, in Cairo, closely resembles the preceding one, although there seem to be some variations in the hieroglyphic signs.

The shrines with the trees and strip of water are repeated again on a Middle Kingdom relief from Memphis (Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. VI) where they are associated with the god of the city of *Dbrwt*. The shrines are of the Lower Egyptian type and appear again in the reliefs of the Sahura and Ne-user-ra Pyramid temples as well as in the funeral scenes of Yeduwet (Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. VIII) and in Lepsius S 31 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 101). The wavy strip of water is shown under the funeral bark in the latter tomb as well as in the Dahshur chapel of Sneferuw-in-shat-f (De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, pl. XXII) and the chapel of Her-neb-kaw, recently excavated at Saqqarah by Selim Bey Hassan.

In addition to the tablet of Wedymuw with a Heb-Sed scene discussed above, there were two other tablets of that king's reign:

- (1) Tablet found by Amélineau at Abydos and now in the British Museum (Amélineau, *l.c.*, vol. I, pl. XXXIII). The king is shown with the standard of Wepwawt, striking down a captive chieftain with his mace. Attention has been called already to the resemblance of this piece to the Wady Maghara reliefs of Semerkhet. The ground-line beneath the feet of the figures slopes up to the right and is covered with dots as though to imitate desert ground.
- (2) A fragmentary tablet found by Petrie (*R.T.*, II, pl. VII). This shows part of a figure thrusting a long, forked pole into an enclosure with a wavy outline. Schäfer has interpreted this as an early representation of the fish-spearing scene. See Fig. 37.

Perhaps having some relation with this last fragment are some curious carvings<sup>1</sup> which show the king harpooning or struggling with a hippopotamus (Fig. 39), all of the time of Wedymuw. Also of the reign of this king is an ivory with an excellent representation of the king standing with staff and mace, facing to the right and wearing a *hry-hb* sash and long wig and chin beard (Fig. 36). A similar standing figure of Wedymuw wearing the white crown is found on a sealing (facing left, Fig. 39), and another early representation is that of Azib inscribed on a stone vessel (Amélineau, *l.c.*, II, pl. XXI). A seated figure on a fragment now in Oxford is remarkable in that it appears to hold another figure on its lap (*R.T.*, pl. Va, 12).

Several carvings show types of men such as we have found them on the slate palettes and mace-heads. Thus *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. IV shows a bearded figure (and a fragment of another) in a long ornamented robe similar to that worn by the man driving a captive on the British Museum palette. Another such figure appears on an ivory plaque (Amélineau, *l.c.*, I, pl. XLII). Bearded offering-bearers

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Tombs*, I, pls. XIV, XXXII; II, pl. VII.

reminiscent of those on the third Hierakonpolis mace-head are found on two carvings (*R.T.*, II, pl. IV). Kneeling captives and similarly bound standing figures are known in several examples (*R.T.*, II, pl. IV, III A; *Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. XII, XV), and running or falling figures are found on a fragment from Hierakonpolis (*l.c.*, pl. XVI). An ivory gaming piece of Qay-a'a shows a bound bearded figure (*R.T.*, I, pl. XVII).

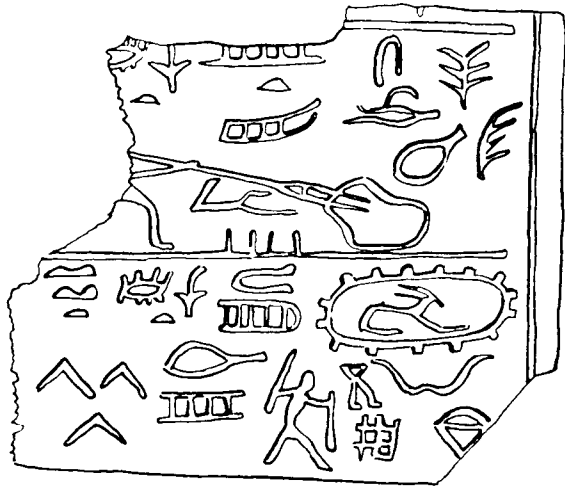


FIG. 37. Fish-spearing (*Abydos* I, pl. XI).

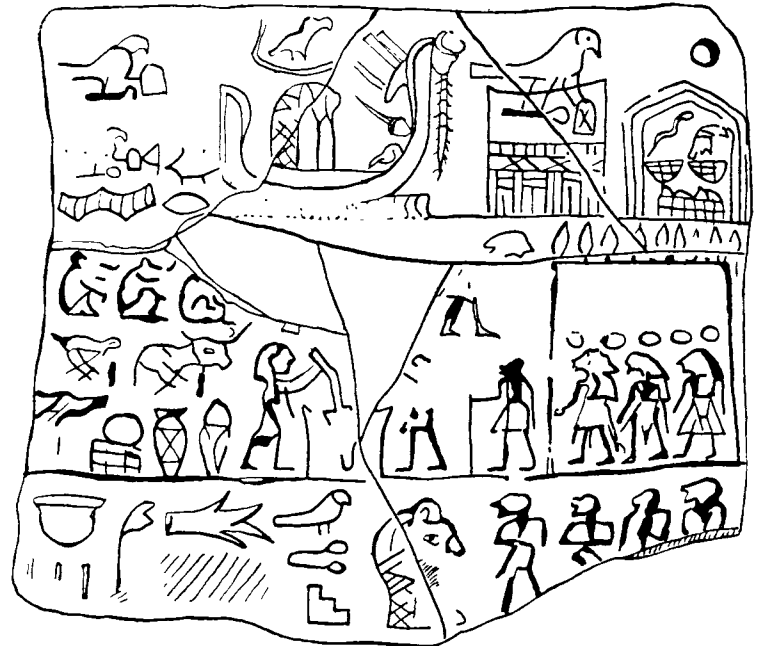


FIG. 38. The Naqadah plaque (Vikentiev, *Annales* XXXIII, Part III, pl. II).



FIG. 39. King harpooning and wrestling, Borchardt, *Die Annalen*, p. 36.

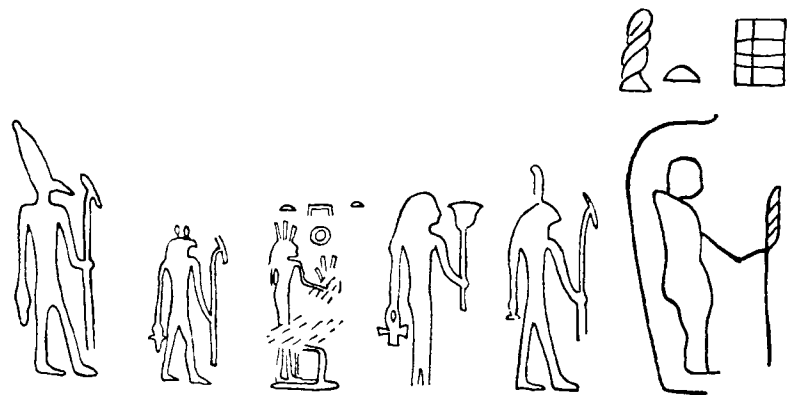


FIG. 40. Early representations of gods in human form, *R.T.* II, pls. XXII, XXI, XXIII; *Tarkhan*, I, pl. III.

Mention must be made, finally, of a few other remarkable examples of pictorial representation in the carvings of the Early Dynastic period:

- (1) A shell plaque in Berlin (Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 83). On one side is a procession of goats, drawn so that each figure overlaps the next. On the reverse are shown a bull and a goat, while below is an irregular strip of water with fish in it. See Figs. 41, 42.
- (2) A mace- or sceptre-head from Hierakonpolis (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XIX) shows a similar line of overlapping animals. These repeat a *motif* of a dog attacking a lion. See Fig. 41.
- (3) Cylinder seals found at Naga-ed-Dêr and at El Kab; known also in a number of collections. Earliest representation of the table scene: a figure seated at a table above which are drawn flat or semi-circular cakes (these do not rise vertically from the table but are laid horizontally above it, thus

differing from the later representations). The chair has the seat drawn in plan as well as in section (see Fig. 46). These seals bear, in addition to the name of the owner, a queer figure like a bird with the head of a horned animal turned back as though looking over its shoulder. It may be a rudimentary drawing of an animal in which only two of the legs are shown. For these cylinders see *Naga-ed-Dér*, I, pl. 44; Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. III; Quibell, *El-Kab*, pl. XX. The last of these was found with a stone bowl inscribed with the name of Sneferuw, but the Naga-ed-Dér examples were certainly Early Dynastic.

- (4) Figure of Ptah scratched on a stone bowl (*Tarkhan*, I, pl. XXXVII). The god is shown as a short, fat, naked figure standing in a shrine and holding a staff. The name of the god is written above the shrine. There seems to be an attempt to represent the figure correctly in profile. See Fig. 40.
- (5) Wood-carving from the tomb of Wedymuw (*R.T.*, I, Suppl. pl. VII A, No. 13). The shoulder and arm of a man are preserved. He holds in his hand something resembling a *dd* emblem, the girdle tie and *wss* signs combined (see p. 131). A fortuitous resemblance has been noted between this and the formal flower bouquet of Menkawhor on a relief in the Louvre (Boreux, *Cat.*, II, pl. LXIII), although that relief is to be dated at least to Dyn. XVIII.
- (6) Relief on a comb of Zet, found in the lower cemetery at Abydos (Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, p. 113). Above the king's Horus name flanked by *wss* emblems is an outspread pair of wings supporting the Horus bark. Schäfer has shown that in this case the wings have taken the place of the sky sign (as we find it used on columns of Sahura, *Sahura*, I, pl. 11, p. 45). Thus we have here an early representation like that of the Sun Bark on the back of the Lady of the Heavens, Nut. See Fig. 204.

#### b. Early Examples of Painting

The sole remaining example of early wall painting is that found in a tomb at Hierakonpolis by Green. This has been dated by Dr. Reisner to the end of the Predynastic period. Scattered over the wall are groups of men and animals, apparently unrelated to one another. Combined with these are river-boats with cabins and palm fronds placed on their prows, such as we find on the painted pottery of the

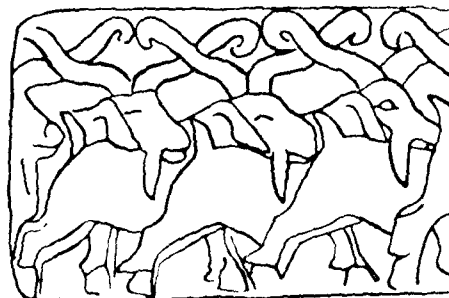
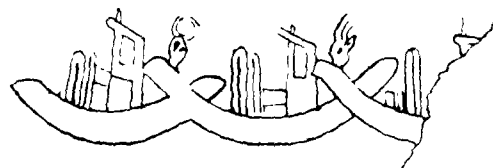
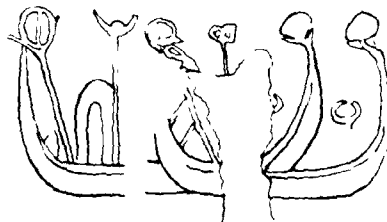
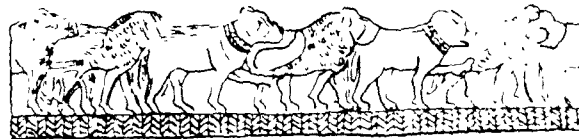


FIG. 41. Overlapping figures: (1) dogs and lions, *Hierakonpolis* I, pl. XIX; (2) ships on Gebel el-Arak knife-handle, *J.E.A.*, V, pl. XXXII; (3) sheep on Berlin shell plaque, Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 83.

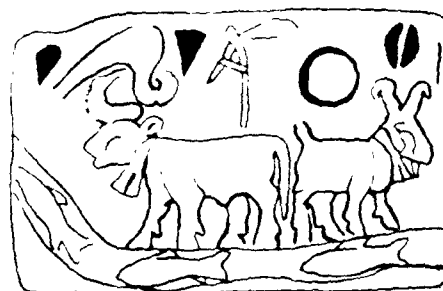


FIG. 42. Reverse of the Berlin shell plaque, Capart, *l.c.*, Fig. 51.

Predynastic period (Fig. 43). At the upper left-hand corner of the wall are hunters and lions with what may perhaps be animal traps. In the centre of the wall is a boat with women in long skirts which may well represent a funeral bark with its wailing women. On the right of this are two fighting men, a smaller boat, and a hunting scene which includes a man lassoing a horned animal. The lower part of the wall shows a line of four boats with desert animals scattered along the wall between the craft. Below the boats

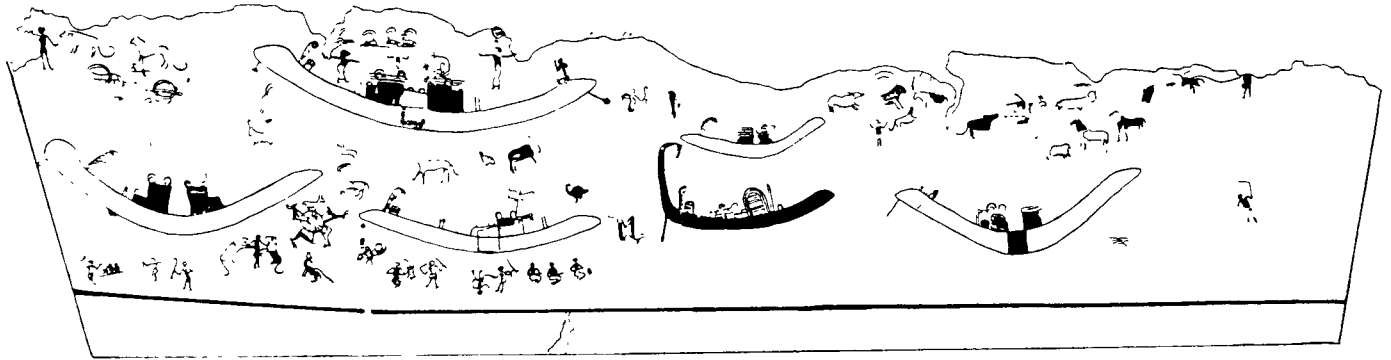


FIG. 43. The Hierakonpolis wall painting (*Hierakonpolis II*, pl. LXXV).



FIG. 44. Paintings on pottery: (1) bowl with man holding dogs on a leash (*J.E.A.*, XIV, p. 266); (2) fragment with birds on a tree (Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 118); (3) vase with fighting men (*J.E.A.*, XIV, p. 267); (4) fragment with men holding harpoons (*The Badarian Civilization*, pl. LIV); (5) vase with boats and figures (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 119).

is a series of small figure groups. On the left a man with upraised mace is striking the heads of four captives which kneel before him. From the right approach two men who carry what appear to be primitive *wis* sceptres. Next to them stands a figure seizing the muzzles of two lions which rear up on each side of him. Above this, four horned animals are shown as though caught in a circular trap, while another similar animal lies on the ground with its legs hobbled accompanied by a man in a peculiar attitude. On the right, a warrior with a skin shield fights with a second skin-clad figure. Another man wearing a skin seems to have vanquished his opponent who is shown upside down with his feet in the air. On the right, three women (judging from their white skirts) squat in a row on the ground. At the

very end of the wall stands a man with an upraised stick who may belong to the hunting scene above. On the cross wall of the tomb are two male figures carrying sticks like the *wšš*-sceptre and smaller weapons in the shape of the sign *ṛnd*.

Although one recognizes at a glance that certain of the elements of this composition appear also in the carvings, the closest resemblance is naturally to be sought in the similar scenes painted on the pottery of the Predynastic period, both in the early white-line decorations on red and in the later red-

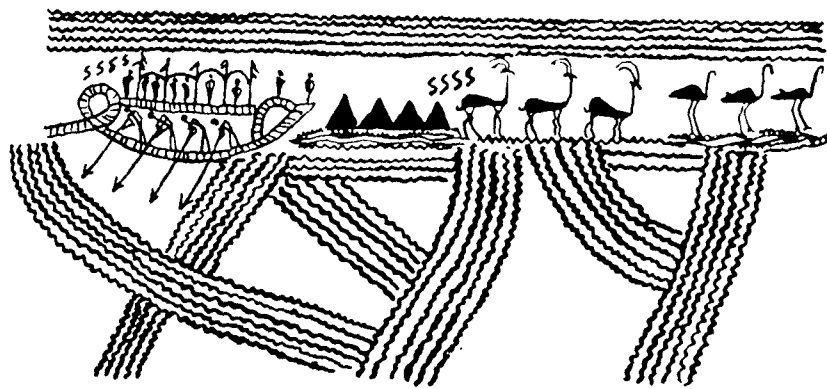
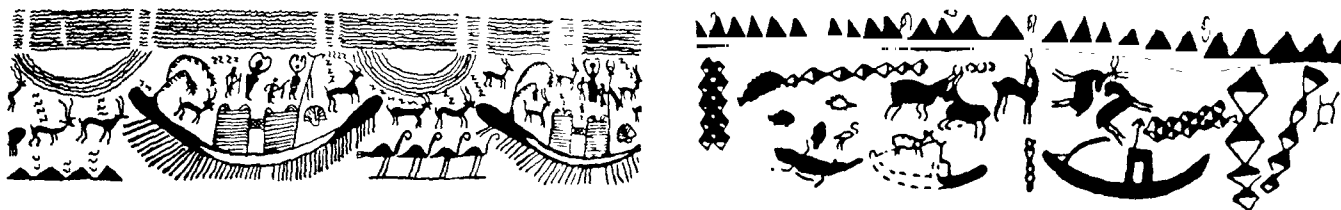


FIG. 45. Paintings on pottery: (1) vase with boats, figures of men and animals (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 121); (2) boats and fighting animals (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 120); (3) boat and animals (*Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. XXI).

line figures on a buff ground. Particular attention should be called to three of the white-line vases (Scharff, *J.E.A.*, XIV, pp. 261 ff.). One of these (Fig. 44) shows a man with flowing hair who appears to be stabbing with a spear a second man who holds his arms up in the air. A similar tall jar in Brussels shows two men apparently with twigs in their hair and their arms raised over their heads, separated by three pairs of smaller figures which seem to seize one another. Even more interesting than these is a bowl, formerly in the Golenischeff Collection, which shows a hunter with a bow leading four dogs on a leash (Fig. 44). This is a *motif* in the hunting scene which was to receive later development in such examples as that in the chapel of Neferma'at at Medum. Another vase (*El Mahasna*, pl. XXVII) shows a man harpooning a hippopotamus.

The red-line decorated pottery bears a close resemblance, both in subject-matter and composition, to the paintings of the Hierakonpolis tomb. Similar boats are commonly shown and with them appear desert animals, long-legged birds, plant forms, and human figures, indicated in the summary, geometric style of the painted tomb. The scattered arrangement of the figures resembles that in the larger work, and one or two of the more complicated compositions on pottery convey a very similar impression to that of the wall decoration. One of these (Fig. 45, above) has two boats with oars and cabins, accompanied by long-legged birds and horned animals. Above one of the boats are two children and a woman, drawn as if seen from the front with her arms above her head. Over the other boat are two women,



a man with a bow, and another with a staff. Among the vase drawings given by Petrie in *Prehistoric Egypt*, there is one particularly interesting composition showing a boat, poled by four men, bearing a series of little cabins or shelters each containing the figure of a woman (see Fig. 45). Capart has illustrated a vase

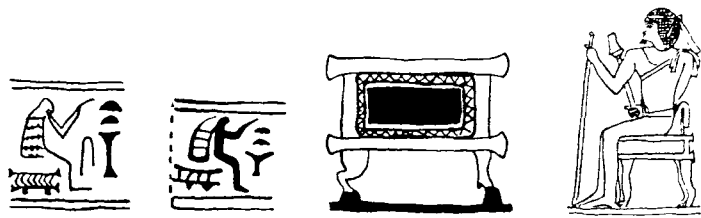


FIG. 46. Seated figures showing chair seat in plan and elevation: (1-2) cylinder seals (*Naga-ed-Dér* I, pl. 44; Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. III); (3) Dynasty III painting (*The Tomb of Hesy*, pl. XVIII); (4) Dynasty V relief (*Ptah-hetep*, 1896, pl. XXXIX).

from El Amrah (Fig. 44), where above a boat stands a woman with her arms over her head, while beside her are two men who appear to hold castanets in their hands. Such women, seen from the front with their arms over their heads, have been interpreted as dancers. They find a parallel in a gold knife-handle in Cairo (Capart, *l.c.*, p. 69), where again the figures seem to be viewed from the front and not in the usual semi-profile drawing.

Mention should be made, finally, of a fragment

of a vase from Badari, where a row of men hold harpoons in their hands (Fig. 44) and a large composition with fighting animals and boats (Fig. 45). A bowl shows a tree on which birds have alighted<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 44). The elephant is used as a standard emblem on one of the boats on another vase (Petrie, *l.c.*, pl. XXIII).

### c. Conclusions concerning the Early Period

Lack of material makes it impossible to establish two lines of development, royal and private, for the earliest period of Egyptian art. By the beginning of the Dynastic period, however, the paintings of the Hierakonpolis tomb, the crudely-scratched figures of some of the private slate palettes, and the small round-topped stelae of Abydos, together with a few other examples cited above, show us clearly how the work done for private persons lagged behind the achievements of the royal craftsmen, and give us a parallel to conditions which existed in later periods. The earliest paintings show us figures indicated by strokes and blobs of colour. The angular, geometric forms resemble those employed in all primitive rock drawings. The earliest decorators of pots were content to draw with a white line on the polished red surface of their vases. Red-brown lines on the buff ware sufficed for the later vase painters. In the paintings of the Hierakonpolis tomb we begin to find a slightly more developed treatment. The outlines of the figure are now filled in with solid colour, and in addition to the red-brown used for drawing and for the solid tones of the bodies of men, we find the artist employing white and black to relieve the monotony and to give clarity to certain of the details. A green probably made from powdered malachite was laid down over the white coating which was first given to the surface of the boats (all except one which was painted blue-black). The eyes of the figures were indicated by a blob of white paint, inside which a black dot marked the pupil. In composition the painting in the Hierakonpolis tomb and the decorated vases show much in common. The rough approximation of a horizontal frieze running around the vessel or along the wall is generally maintained, but the subordinate figures are tucked in around the large masses, and there is no attempt to relate one group of figures to another. Men, animals, and plant and geometric ornament are dotted over the surface mainly with a desire to fill the empty spaces. A better sense of balance and proportion is shown by the designs which are composed simply of plant and geometric forms. Pictorial representation is mainly confined to scenes of boating and hunting, although the groups of fighting men, the figure slaying captives, the man seizing rearing lions, and the funeral scene suggested by the women in boats, add other elements to this simple subject-matter.

The slate palettes and the carvings with animal decorations present two main types of composition.

<sup>1</sup> From the early dynastic stratum of the Abydos temple enclosure; Petrie, *Abydos*, I, p. 23, pl. L.

although the decorative placing of two giraffes on each side of a palm-tree, or two long-necked animals flanking each other, might be considered a third type. One of these arranges the animals in ordered rows, horizontal registers that fill the whole space. The other scatters the figures over the surface to be decorated, usually with no regard to space relationship, but as though each figure had been taken separately and fitted into the empty space left by the outlines of the adjoining figures. No two figures overlap when thus arranged. A few pieces, however, display a more accurate observation of the relationship between several figures. In the Louvre fragment, for example (Pl. 30), the legs of the fallen man are drawn as though really lying between the forelegs of the trampling bull. The bull's left leg crosses over the man's legs, while its right leg is hidden behind them. This is a more convincing rendering than another frequently adopted, as in the piece in the British Museum (Fig. 27) where the front legs of the lion pass over the body of the fallen man, as though the outline of the lion had been cut out and laid down over the other figure. A similar impression is produced by the lion which is meant to be seizing the haunches of an animal on the Gebel el-Arak handle. Experiments in correct space relationship have been attempted in a few other cases on the palettes. Thus the hoof of the bull on the Narmer Palette (Pl. 29) seems to press into the arm of the fallen man. The rope of the man lassoing an animal on the Louvre fragment passes between his legs (Fig. 25). The hoes held by the animals hacking at the town walls on the Cairo fragment cross over the walls in a way that appears correct to our eyes. A method of representing a number of figures in a group was invented by these early draughtsmen, one which was to achieve popularity throughout Egyptian art. This was the overlapping of a series of figures in profile. Two methods were in use and both necessitated the complete drawing of only one of the figures. In one case the last figure in the row appears on the outside and the fore-part of the next figure projects slightly beyond this in front. In the other method the first figure of the group is completely drawn, and the hind parts of the next figure project beyond its back, while in the case of animals the heads of the succeeding figures appear above the backs of the animals in front of them. It is interesting to find that both these types had been developed in the Early Dynastic carvings, the first in the case of the hunting dogs and lions on the small Hierakonpolis mace-head (Fig. 41), and the boats of the Gebel el-Arak knife-handle (Fig. 41, which might be interpreted either way), and the second (with a slight variation) in the goats on the Berlin shell plaque (Fig. 41).

The Narmer palette, the Hierakonpolis mace-heads, and the wooden and ivory tablets from the royal tombs begin to show a more developed arrangement of the material within the space allotted,<sup>1</sup> and in these examples there seems to be an attempt to record the action of a specific event. The artist has devised the method of stringing out in a long register the figures concerned in a particular action. He does not hesitate to place extra figures in the space above the register if his subject requires them, but he now makes it clear that the figures engaged in the same action are related to one another. In addition the sculptor of the Scorpion mace-head has given a slight indication of the background for his figures (Fig. 30). There are the first glimmerings of a representation of landscape in the winding stream which frames the men below, the tree, the wattle enclosure, and the little shrine. Something similar is to be seen in the irregular waterway with the fish beneath the cattle on the Berlin shell plaque (Fig. 42), in the structure with the *hkr* pattern surmounting it on the Naqadah plaque (Fig. 38), the shrines on several other plaques, and the curious enclosure with the animals, the shrine, and the Heb-sed throne on the second Hierakonpolis mace-head (Fig. 31). Architectural and plant accessories sparingly indicated to suggest locality were considered sufficient backgrounds throughout the Old Kingdom, and we find them thus used as early as Dyn. I.

<sup>1</sup> One must not overlook the skill shown in adjusting the representation to the curved surfaces of the mace-heads.

The attitude of the standing male figure is crystallized in Dyn. I, and most of the conventions for the representation of the human figure have been established. We have seen that the Predynastic paintings gave a summary treatment to the human figure, reducing it to a geometric pattern by a few strokes of the brush and a blob or two of paint. But in the Hierakonpolis painting the ordinary conventions of the standing figure are already recognizable. The head is clearly in profile, the shoulders front view, and the legs again in profile. As early as Semerkhet we have a large representation of the king standing in the traditional striding position which we have found already on the Narmer palette on a smaller scale. The traditional royal attitude, standing with mace in air to strike a captive who is grasped by the hair in one hand, also receives monumental treatment in the rock carving of Semerkhet. It had appeared already, of course, in the Hierakonpolis painting, and is known also from the tablet of Wedy-muw, a sealing, and an ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis. The familiar seated figure of the king in Heb-sed dress appears in a number of different examples. It has been noted that one carved tablet seems to anticipate the fish-spearing scene of later times, and in the cylinder seal carvings we have the earliest example of that most important element of Old Kingdom representation, the man seated at the table of bread.

While the principal positions of the chief figure are found either fore-shadowed or fully developed in these early representations, the subsidiary figures show a good deal more experimental variety. The subject-matter of the early palettes called for figures engaged in violent action, and it must be remembered that the Egyptian artist always admitted a certain licence in the delineation of moving figures. The sculptors of these early reliefs were more successful in capturing an impression of movement than they were in imitating the structure of the body in motion. Frequently a sinuous outline was employed which does not indicate sharply the demarcation between parts of the body. This was used to indicate the lifeless bodies of men on the battlefield (see particularly the man attacked by a lion, Fig. 27). Another device was the folding over of the shoulders until they met, either at the front or the back. This was apparently an unsuccessful attempt to represent the figure properly in profile, and became the conventional method of showing a prisoner with his arms tied behind his back. The folding forward of the shoulders is shown by many of the subsidiary figures on the Scorpion mace-head, and by the standard-bearers on the Narmer palette, as well as the men pulling the ropes around the necks of the fabulous animals. An approximation of true profile is found in the dancing-women of the Scorpion mace-head, and something approaching profile in the figures above them seated in carrying-chairs. A detail which is rare in later art is the representation of both the breasts in front view. This appears in the warrior on the Berlin vase fragment (Fig. 35) and the fighting men on the Gebel el-Arak knife. The same type of drawing is known infrequently in the case of dancing-girls in the Old Kingdom. The women with their arms over their heads on the Predynastic pottery and the gold knife-handle appear to be shown in front view, and it should be noted that the slain men on the Narmer palette apparently have their legs shown in front view with the feet turned in towards each other (Fig. 29).

A number of other elements familiar in Old Kingdom art can be traced back to these early representations. The desert animals of the palettes and ivories are found represented later much in the same fashion. The squat, heavily built hunting dogs are known in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and we see them held on leashes already on a Predynastic bowl and on the Gebel el-Arak knife. The hound seizing the throat of the prostrate gazelle, a *motif* so common to hunting scenes, appears already on the inlaid disk from the Saqqarah tomb of Hema-ka. There is one peculiarity about the game of these early carvings. The animals show a tendency to rear up on their hind legs, in contrast to those of the Old Kingdom which, with a very few exceptions, seem always to keep four feet on the ground. The turning

back of the head, though, is well known later on (Fig. 25). The ibex on the Gebel el-Arak knife is thus drawn in a fashion that closely approaches genuine foreshortening. Three other examples occur among the horned animals on the Louvre-British Museum palette, two on the Hierakonpolis palette, and one in the case of a sheep on the Cairo palette. The rearing figures of animals are paralleled in one case by the leaping figure of a man brandishing bow and mace (Fig. 25), a type of figure that does not occur again until the war scenes of the Middle Kingdom. The elephant disappears from the Old Kingdom carvings, although retained as a hieroglyph, and does not reappear until much later. The fantastic animals are also known later. The griffin appears in the tombs of Beni Hasan and Bersheh (Fig. 26) and the long-necked monster is familiar from the symbol for Cusae (Fig. 33). The group of figures in this sign, a man standing between two long-necked creatures and seizing them by the necks, occurs first on an ivory carving from Hierakonpolis, and is perhaps to be associated with the *motif* of the man standing between two rearing lions in the Hierakonpolis tomb and on the Gebel el-Arak knife-handle (Fig. 33).

The attitude of the flying bird shows the two conventions that became fixed in Egyptian art. In one the wings spring from the upper and lower outlines of the body (Fig. 27). In the other the near wing is folded down over the body and the far wing is lowered behind the body (Fig. 31). A later alteration of this attitude spread the far wing out with its tip forward, forming a splendid pattern but with less naturalistic effect.

The clothing of the figures is that known from the later reliefs. The belt of the king on the Narmer palette, with its pendent Hathor heads, is duplicated on a fragment of a statue of Zoser (Fig. 28). The uraeus appears first on the brow of Wedymuw on the London plaque. The forms of white and red crown are shown with their details carefully marked. The ordinary short kilt is frequently shown, while the attendant on the Narmer palette and mace-head wears the long robe with shoulder ornaments familiar in the Old Kingdom reliefs. The king wears the Heb-Sed robe, and also a tunic with a piece of material that crosses one shoulder and is fastened with a knot there, a type of garment worn by gods in the Dyn. V reliefs. The head-dress with round curls so common on the naked men of the palettes is found later worn by Ab-neb on an archaic niche-stone, and on the panels of Hesy-ra. The long embroidered robe shown on the British Museum palette and on certain ivories is found later, usually associated with the figures of foreigners. The curious standards provided with human arms have other parallels in Egyptian representation, but the odd feature of the hand attached to the Horus hawk in the ideogram of the Narmer palette is very unusual (Pl. 29). The enclosure with animals inside on the Narmer mace-head is not easy to interpret and I can think of no later parallel unless it be the mysterious elements of the rite associated with the *Tekenu* in the New Kingdom tomb of Mentu-her-khepesh-f. The odd scenes on the sealings which show the king struggling with a hippopotamus and spearing some animal have a possible counterpart in an unpublished scene containing a hippopotamus hunt in the temple of Pepy II. The various kinds of shrines have affinities with later buildings, and the *motif* of the protecting wings seems to have its origin on an ivory of the reign of Zet in Cairo which shows wings spread above the king's Horus name and surmounted by a Horus bark. Combined with the sun's disk as an emblem of Ra, the symbol is found surmounting the king's name (Sneferuw) on the south end of the curtain box of Queen Hetepheres I, and again in the decorations of the temple of Sahura (Fig. 204).

The quality of the reliefs in stone is excellent, as is that of the early knife-handles, of which that from Gebel el-Arak is undoubtedly the finest example. The background is always cut away leaving large simple masses standing well away from the surface. The relief tends to remain in one plane, and the outlines are sharp, the edges of the relief not merging with the background. There is little inner modelling, the details being indicated by incisions in the surface or by leaving certain parts in relief, resembling

somewhat the embossed elements in beaten metal-work. This can be seen clearly in the facial details of the Hathor heads of the Narmer palette (Pl. 29), in the eye, nostrils, and leg muscles of the bull on the Louvre fragment (Pl. 30), or the lion's head and the hair and faces of the prostrate figures on the battlefield of the British Museum palette (Fig. 27). While this carving is bold and salient, the figure of the king in the procession on one side of the Narmer palette has very delicate raised lines outlining the muscles of arm and leg, details treated in a much more summary fashion in the larger figure on the reverse of the piece (Pl. 29). The Gebel el-Arak ivory shows a less schematic rendering of the muscles in the case of the ibex where there is a more subtle transition from one plane to another. One might almost see in these carvings the germ of the two later styles of high and low relief found in the Old Kingdom. Compare, for example, the delicate low carving of the Hathor pendants on the belt of the king on the Narmer palette with the bold, but equally beautiful cutting of the leaves and fruit of the palm-tree and the giraffes' heads on the Oxford fragment (Pl. 30). This latter palette shows figures with a more rounded surface, a plumper form when contrasted with the flat planes of the Narmer figures with their pattern of lightly raised lines, indicating muscles. Incidentally the uneven surface of the Narmer palette should be noted, both in the case of the background and the plane of the relief surface.

The royal grave stelae, and in a cruder way the private stelae, show a type of cutting resembling that of the smaller objects. Large simple forms, more or less in one plane, are separated from their background by sharp-edged outlines. The round-topped stelae of Zer, Zet, and Merneith have very high relief with a certain rounding of the surfaces. That of Qay-a'a has flat relief with sharp edges. The Peribsen stelae are less carefully cut, while that of Semerkhet appears to be unfinished, with the background unsmoothed and the outlines left rough. The one large piece of royal sculpture, the rock carving of Semerkhet at the Wady Maghara in Sinai, has little to distinguish it from the reliefs of later kings carved on the neighbouring rocks. A certain simplicity, a stiffness in the articulation of the figures, and a sparing use of inscriptions might be pointed out, but all the Wady Maghara reliefs show rather rough carving in flat relief with little modelling. Some of the smaller work from the royal tombs has carving in relief similar to the pieces just discussed, but much of the decoration on ivory and wood is in incised lines, and being on a very small scale the figures and hieroglyphs are often very sketchy in drawing and always summary in detail. It must be remembered that the working of hard stone in the shape of vases had long continued and that the skill acquired in this craft had made possible the carving of the slate palettes and mace-heads. The objects from the royal tombs which correspond to these reliefs in skill and technique are to be sought among the shattered carvings on stone bowls, such as the splendid bold relief of the fragment of a bird's head, the beetle design, or the hand found by Amélineau; the exquisite decorative pattern in white marble (*Royal Tombs*, II, pl. V, 15), or the hieroglyphs accompanying the name of Wedymuw on an alabaster jar (*l.c.*, II, pl. VII). Most beautiful of all these Dyn. I pieces is the disk with the hunting scene from the Saqqarah tomb of Hema-ka. The delicate rendering of the bodies of the animals, the naturalism of the forms, and beauty of the colouring gained by combining various stones would be difficult to match in any period of Egyptian art.

Thus it seems to me that we find in the material from the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods a series of representations closely knit together by kindred elements and showing an unbroken development. It is impossible to place all the objects which have survived in strictly chronological order. We cannot trace the development, therefore, step by step in all its details, but the steady progress from the white-line drawings of the early pottery to the palette of Narmer, the Sinai carving of Semerkhet, or the Hema-ka disks is none the less evident. What is more, we can trace in these early representations the firm foundations of the art of the Old Kingdom.

## VIII

### THE MONUMENTS OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

AT the end of Dyn. II in the reign of Khasekhemuwy, Dr. Reisner has shown that a new corpus of stone vessels appears and that with this reign the progress of Egyptian civilization takes a new step forward. The objects of the time of Khasekhemuwy belong, therefore, stylistically with those of the reign of Zoser and the Third Dynasty. The position of King Khasekhem is still uncertain. From the evidence of the formation of his name he is usually placed before Khasekhemuwy, but there is a possibility that he is to be placed in Dyn. III. I have grouped the reliefs and paintings of Khasekhem, Khasekhemuwy, and Dyn. III, as well as the work of the transition period of the reigns of Huni and Sneferuw, under the convenient heading: 'Archaic Period'. It comprises really three periods: the transition Dyn. II—III; Dyn. III; and the transition Dyn. III—IV.

#### a. The Royal Monuments, Late Dynasty II and Dynasty III

From the reign of Khasekhem there are three monuments available for the study of reliefs. One of these is a fragment of a royal stela from Hierakonpolis with figures incised in hard stone. Below is an inscription with the king's Horus name, while above is apparently part of a royal figure kneeling on a prostrate captive. The captive consists of a bearded head with long hair attached to a long flat raised space on which the broken figure kneels. On the head is placed a bow (*Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. LVIII). The bases of the slate and limestone statues of Khasekhem are decorated with remarkable drawings. On the front of the base of each statue is a list of slain enemies of the king, while prostrate figures of these are continued around the sides of the base. These lively sketches incised in stone discard the usual conventions. They represent the human body in attitudes rarely found in Egyptian art (Fig. 47). A curious device, also, is the springing of the thousand signs from the head of a bound prostrate figure.

To the reign of Khasekhemuwy belong the granite reliefs from a door-jamb found by Quibell in the temple<sup>1</sup> at Hierakonpolis (*l.c.*, I, pl. II). On the narrow face of this block are the king's names: Khasekhemuwy, Nebuwy-hetep-wenef, repeated three times in palace-façade frames surmounted by the Horus hawk and the Seth animal, and flanked on one side by *dd* and *wš* signs intertwined with the girdle tie emblem.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions are in relief. The larger face of the block has a scene erased with such care that it is difficult to judge its workmanship, but carved in low relief. The inscriptions are almost entirely illegible. The founding of some building is represented (*J.E.A.*, 1934, pl. XXIV). On the left stands the king facing right with staff and wand, his Horus name above him. In front of the king are four registers of small figures. The upper pair face each other. The next two registers each contain three small figures with staffs facing the king. The lowest register seems to contain four figures, and two others are placed to the right of the third register. On the right the large figures of the Goddess

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of a red granite door-jamb of Khasekhemuwy, decorated with figures and hieroglyphs in relief, were recently found by Mr. Lansing at the entrance to the fort at Hierakonpolis (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, November 1935, fig. 11). One piece shows what appears to be the top of the Heb-Sed throne of the king, while another has two men walking in procession towards the right. Sayce and Somers Clarke (*Annales*, VI, p. 239) mention other granite fragments with reliefs that

were found by Quibell at El Kab in a brick building of uncertain date at the NE corner of the great wall. Other fragments were found between here and the temple wall. Two pieces had portions of standing figures in low relief and a third bore the Horus name of Khasekhemuwy. Thus granite reliefs of this king seem to have been widely dispersed at both Hierakonpolis and El Kab.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schafer, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Inst.*, Vol. IV, p. 3.

Seshat and the king (?) face each other hammering in boundary poles. The group is similar to a scene in the Ne-user-ra Sun Temple (Von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. I). An inscription runs vertically between the poles and an obliterated inscription is visible above the whole scene. Two other blocks were found nearby. One bore the king's name and the other had in relief a list of foreign countries (*Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. XXIII).

The fact that these reliefs were cut in granite is remarkable in itself. The next inscriptions cut in granite that have been preserved are those of Cheops and Chephren, but these were in sunk relief. In fact I know of no other hard-stone reliefs in the Old Kingdom, except for such decoration as the remarkable figure on an alabaster vessel from the Step Pyramid (Firth and Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, pl. 104),

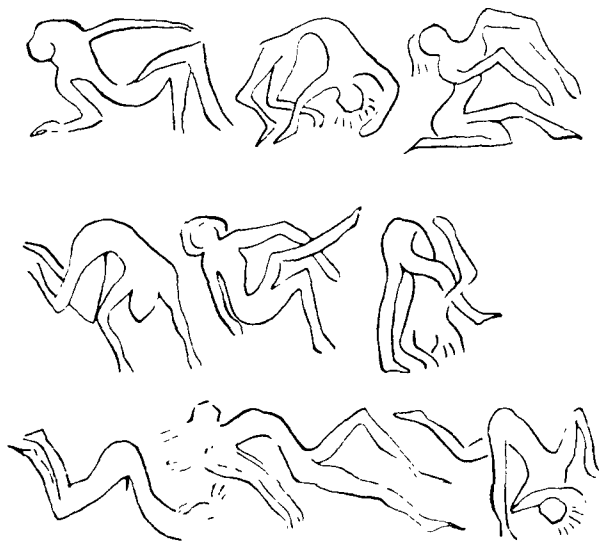


FIG. 47. Prostrate figures incised on base of throne of Khasekhem (*Hierakonpolis* I, pl. XL).

or the plants and Nile gods on the side of the throne of certain statues of Chephren. The Khasekhemuwy scene is too badly damaged to give a clear impression of style, but the representation seems to have little about it that is archaic, and resembles the form of the scene as we find it in the fully developed reliefs of Dyn. V. There is scarcely anything to stamp this as an early piece of work. One might note the form of the Seth animal, standing instead of seated or lying down as is more usual later on; the cramped drawing of the hawk hieroglyphs; or the flat surface of the relief and lack of inner detail.

In the same way it is striking what little difference in style is apparent between the royal reliefs at the Wady Maghara of Dyn. I—IV (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pls. 45–51; Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pls. I–IV). One can trace only a gradual development in the modelling from the flat carving of Semerkhet to the heavy, rounded surfaces of Sneferuw and Cheops. From this period there is a relief of Neter-khet and two of Sa-nekht. The Neter-khet carving is roughly executed. It represents the king in the act of striking a kneeling captive with a mace. On the right is the king's Horus name, and behind him a goddess of uncertain identification holding *wꜣs* staff and *ꜣnh* sign. The goddess appears to have the wing of a protecting bird above her head, and in front of her is a line of hieroglyphs. The king wears one of the early examples of the uraeus on his forehead, but is otherwise not remarkable. The reliefs of Sa-nekht are better executed and begin to show more attention to the modelling of the surfaces. One is a fragment of a scene similar to that of Neter-khet; the other relief shows the king standing, facing right with staff and mace, wearing the white crown (Pl. 30). In front of him is a standard of *wꜣp-wꜣwt* and beside it a small shrine. There is a clear attempt to portray the actual features of the king. The lips are full and protruding, while the nose is blunt with wide-spreading nostrils. The likeness bears a strong resemblance to portraits of Zoser, both in relief and in the seated statue from the Step Pyramid *serdab*.

The largest body of relief sculpture of Dyn. III comes from the precincts of the great temple of Zoser at Saqqarah, but this can be supplemented by some tantalizingly broken fragments of relief found by Schiaparelli at Heliopolis, by a little piece of sculpture of similar type in the Cairo Museum, to be dated either to the reign of Sa-nekht or Zoser, and by two pieces of royal relief from the temple of Hathor at Gebelein. Six panels in relief on the backs of false-doors, three in an underground gallery of the Step

Pyramid, and three in the tomb under the southern enclosure wall resemble each other in their representations. The king appears striding or standing, apparently in connexion with shrines of various gods (Pl. 31). In five cases out of six he wears the crown of Upper Egypt, but once that of Lower Egypt. The temple of El Kab and that of Horus of Edfu can be identified in the inscriptions. The king is accompanied by a protecting bird (Horus), by the *wꜥ-wꜣwt* standard, as well as *nḥ* and *wꜣs* signs provided with human arms (Firth and Quibell, *l.c.*, pls. 15-17, 40-42). The meaning of these scenes and their peculiar position in the substructure of a tomb is difficult to understand. Mr. Firth suggested that they may have to do

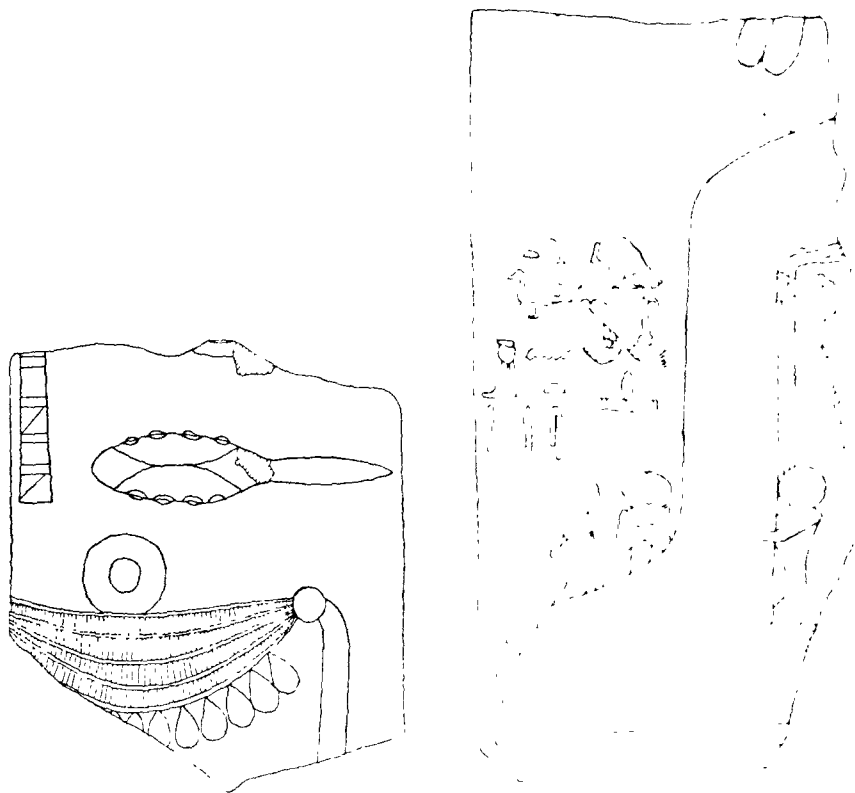


FIG. 48. Two fragments: Zoser reliefs from Heliopolis in Turin; altered from Weill's drawings by notes made in Turin (Weill, *Sphinx*, 15, 1; Figs. 1, 10).

with the foundation of certain temples. A close parallel occurs in the reliefs of the gateway discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie at Memphis and assigned to the time of Sesostris I (*Palace of Apries*, pl. IX). These Middle Kingdom scenes are connected with a Heb-Sed ceremony but their meaning is by no means clear. Can it be that they represent the king visiting the shrines of the various gods during the progress of the Heb-Sed feast?

The Heliopolis reliefs are certainly concerned with the celebration of a Heb-Sed. The fragments are now in Turin (Weill, *Sphinx*, XV, pp. 11-18). They are very incomplete, but they show figures on such a small scale that the reliefs must have served to decorate a small shrine. The building from which they came was apparently so badly destroyed that it is impossible to be certain of its plan.<sup>1</sup> Two of the pieces give the name of Neter-khet, one set in a palace-façade frame accompanied by formulae (Fig. 49), the other (Fig. 48) giving his *nḥ* name below the *Ntr-ḥt* (as it appears on the statue found in the Step Pyramid *serdab*). Two groups of fragments each show a seated figure facing to the left and wearing a long robe, a long full wig, and the divine beard. This costume is known in the Old Kingdom in

<sup>1</sup> In Figs. 48-53 I give drawings of the Turin fragments based on Weill's publications (Figs. 1-12) corrected by sketches and measurements made by Dows Dunham and myself in Turin. I have referred to a number of unpublished pieces in

Turin which I am not permitted to reproduce. It is to be hoped that these will soon appear in an official publication of the Turin Museum.



the case of the hieroglyph determining the name of a god (see Davies, *The Tomb of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I, pl. IV). Over one of these figures is the Seth animal and over the other: . . . *b*, in which I would see the name of the god Geb. In front of each seated figure is written: *di cnh dd w3s sw ib dt*, and in front of and behind each are five vertical lines of inscription, each identical inscription thus repeated four times (see Fig. 50). There must have been at least four of the seated figures and perhaps more. Sethe (*Urkunden* I, 153-4) has also restored the name of Shu (in space left blank in Fig. 50 on right of No. 5). Therefore it seems that we have here the Ennead of Heliopolis.<sup>1</sup>

Another fragment has the Seth animal facing to the right and the epithet 'He of Ombos' (Fig. 51). This piece has a border of *hkr* ornament along the top and seems to belong to a different scene from the

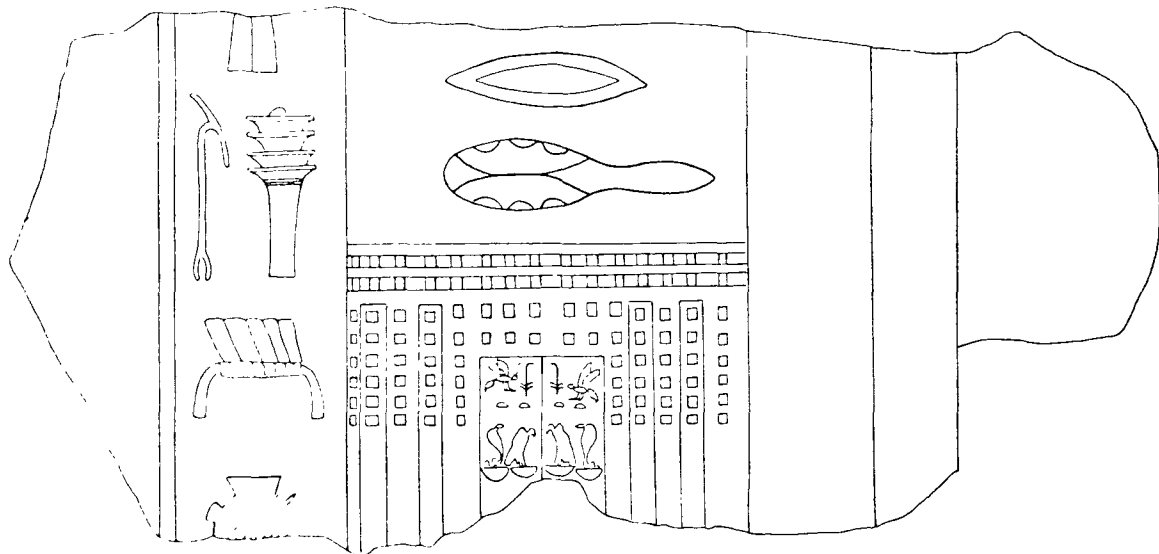


FIG. 49. Fragment of Zoser Heliopolis relief in Turin; Weill's fragment No. 2, corrected from original.

preceding group of fragments. A fragment on a larger scale and therefore from still another scene shows parts of two registers. Above is a throne with the intertwined plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. Below is the head of a large figure in a full wig surmounted by the sky border. Perhaps belonging to this representation are several other fragments with hieroglyphs on a scale larger than that of the other inscriptions and less well worked.

A most interesting fragment shows the king seated with the ladies of his family gathered around his feet (Fig. 48). The women are represented as tiny figures, two in front of the king's legs, and a third behind with her arm around his leg. The name of the third woman is illegible. Over the first two is written: *syt n3wt m3(st) Hr Int-ka-s, Htp-hr-nbty*. Whether the titles belong to both or whether Int-ka-s is *syt n3wt* and Hetep-her-nebty *m3(st) Hr* is uncertain from the arrangement of the words, but Hetep-her-nebty at least seems to be distinguished by a queen's title. She is also shown differently from the other two women, with her hands crossed on her breast and a head-dress of the unusual type worn by certain queens of Dyn. IV (Hetep-heres II, the mother of Khufuw-khaf, and the woman on the Bankfield stela). The name of Hetep-her-nebty seems to occur again on another piece with the title *wrt ht3* (only *htp . . . nbty* preserved). She stood at the base of a *w3p w3wt* standard followed by that with the 'Khons' emblem (Fig. 52). A fragment of a similar standard faces to the right, and these two pieces may belong to flanking scenes of the striding king in a Heb-Sed ceremony or a scene of the founding of a temple. A portion of a torso and arm probably belongs to such a figure, as does a fragment of the king's leg with the pendant tail of his dress and a *w3s* emblem. The lady Int-ka-s stood between his legs on

<sup>1</sup> See also Montet, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)*, p. 143, fig. 33, for a relief of Ne-user-ra which suggests a parallel.

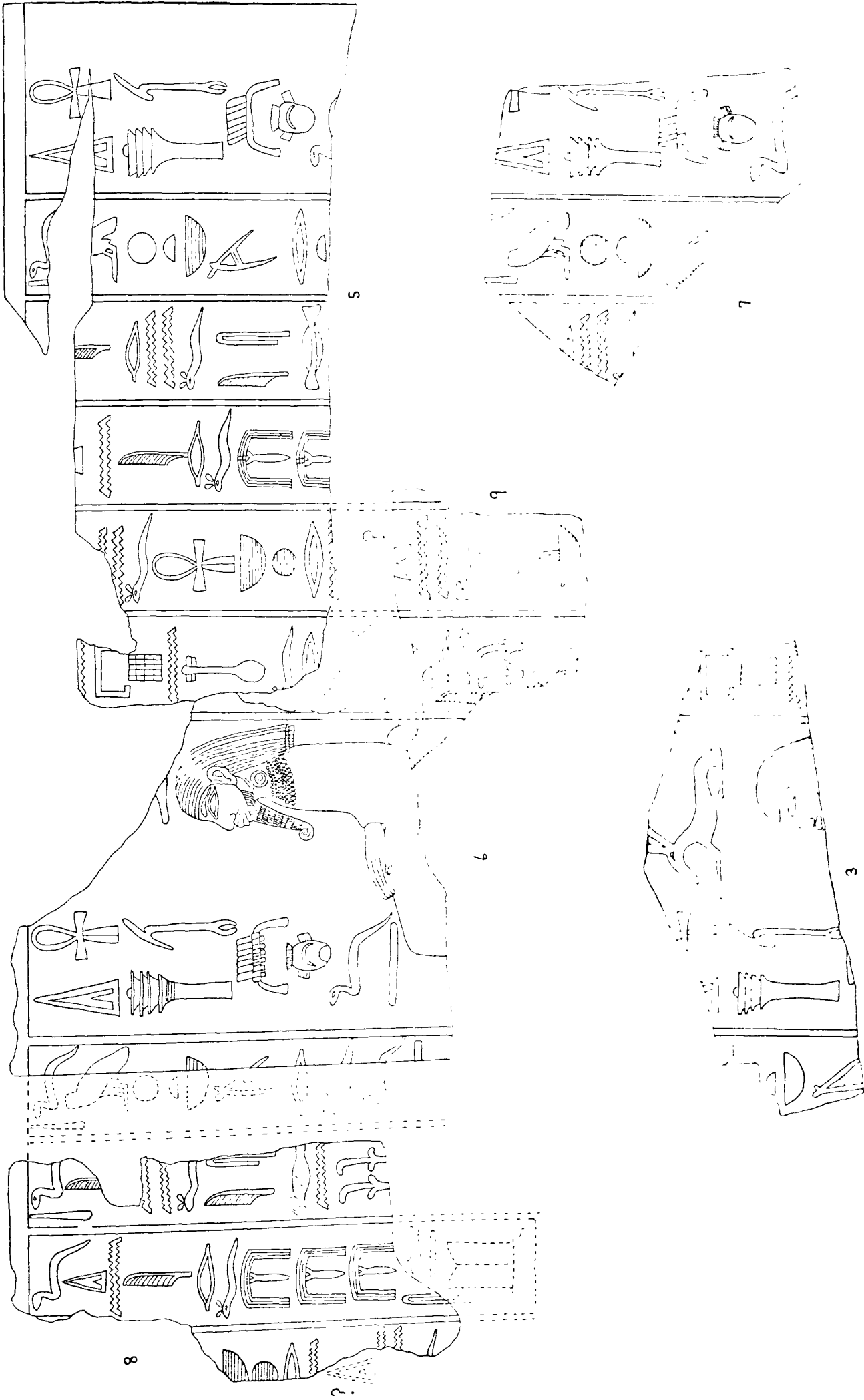


Fig. 50. Zoser Heliopolis reliefs in Turin: suggested reconstruction for Weill's fragments 8, 6, 9, 5, and fragments 3 and 7 from an early identical group; corrected from original.

this fragment where her broken name is still preserved. Perhaps belonging to the same scene are two registers, each with a part of a small figure, one with staff, and the other facing a small shrine. On the analogy of the Step Pyramid reliefs and the Memphis gateway of the Middle Kingdom found by Petrie there should be other standing figures of the king. Part of one of these may be found on the small piece showing the hand of the king carrying a wand, while a small attendant stands in front of him. The position of the hand indicates a standing figure of the king. A fragment of the cobra representing the goddess Buto is another element that accompanies this type of scene.

Finally, there is a fragment showing the seated king with his clenched hands held to his breast, one of them grasping two staves and the other perhaps the flail. A small attendant places his hand on the

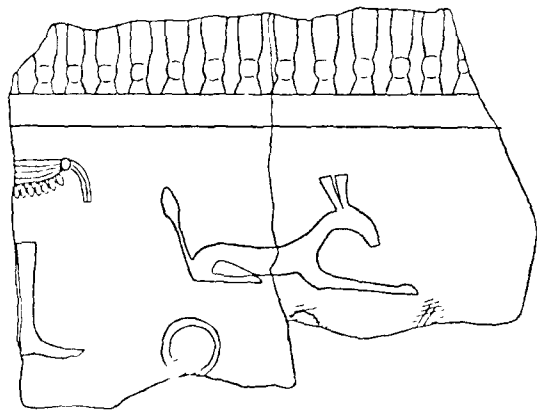


FIG. 51. Fragment of Zoser Heliopolis relief in Turin; Weill's No. 4 with corrections.

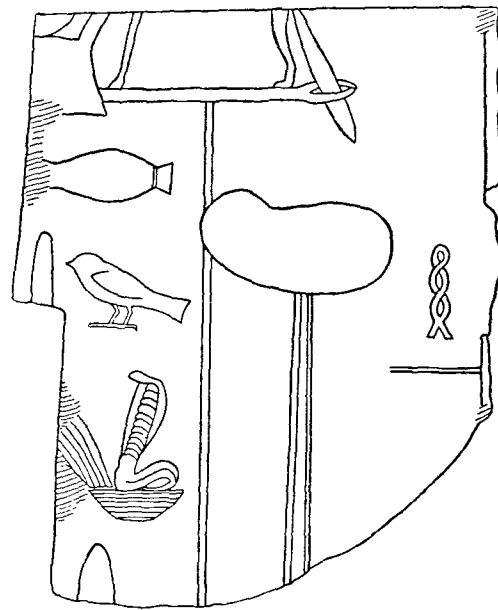


FIG. 52. Zoser Heliopolis relief in Turin; Weill's No. 11 with corrections.

king's elbow. This would appear to be the scene where the king is seated on the Heb-Sed throne while one of the officiants arranges his dress. Perhaps from this figure, or from that where the king is seated with the princesses, comes the bit of the curled protuberance of the red crown with the sign *bit* in front. Another fragment gives names of two towns with the indications 'east' and 'west' above them. Finally, there is a corner piece with a broken inscription on one face and on the other the lower part of a line of writing ending . . . *dt*, and beneath this a line of stars in the sky border.

The Cairo fragment published by Prof. Borchardt (*Annales*, XXVIII, p. 43) resembles the Heliopolis pieces, both in style and in the small scale of the figures. Prof. Borchardt has assigned the fragment to the reign of Sa-nekht because of the resemblance of the features of the king's head on one side of the piece to the portrait of Sa-nekht from the Wady Maghara. It seems to me possible, however, that the fragment may have the same provenance as the Zoser fragments in Turin. The orderly composition bounded by a border-line on both sides of the piece and the meticulous quality of the work make it very doubtful that this could be a sculptor's trial piece, as has been suggested. It has none of the hasty sketchiness of the flake of limestone with a portrait of Sneferuw found by Rowe at Medum which is one of the rare examples that we have of a sculptor's trial piece from the Old Kingdom. The fact that the decoration is on both sides of a thin piece of white limestone (*ca.* 2 cm. thick), although very unusual, could be explained if this were a fragment of the thin screen wall of the side of a small shrine. On one side the king is shown standing in Heb-Sed dress facing to right. The signs *bꜣw* and *m* are probably

parts of the labels *hm brw Nhn* and *imy hnt* (to be restored over two small figures in front of him). The other side shows a head of the king on a larger scale, wearing the red crown, and also facing to the right. If the stone formed part of the side of a shrine it would in all probability have been the left-side wall, with the king facing in to the right wearing the red crown inside the shrine and facing out to the right on the outer wall. The blank space behind the king's head on the inside might have served to take the folded back wooden door of the shrine.

In addition to the above reliefs there is further material for stylistic consideration in the inscriptions on the bases of two statues of Zoser and on the boundary stones with the names of Int-ka-s and Hetep-her-nebty. These are in relief of a slightly different quality from the Step Pyramid panels and the Heliopolis reliefs.

Even more important than these is a tiny fragment of wood carved with decoration in relief found by Quibell in the Step Pyramid (*The Step Pyramid*, p. 139, pl. 109). Below is the upper part of the Wepwawt standard, the Horus name of Neter-khet, and the curling protuberance of the red crown. Above a sky border with stars is preserved the heel of the king and the pendent bull's tail of his garment. He is apparently pulling a rope tied to the prow of a vessel. It seems more than likely that he is towing the Sokar bark as in a scene in the Abydos temple (Capart, *Le Temple de Sêti I<sup>r</sup>*, pl. XLIX).

Two other very important fragments of archaic relief have not yet been published. One of these in Turin comes apparently from the early temple of Hathor at Gebelein. It shows a striding figure of the king facing to the right and wearing the pendent bull's tail. He carries horizontally in his right hand a bundle of four staves. Behind him, above, are two small figures nearly destroyed, and below, a larger figure in a curious wig who holds up the tail of his panther-skin garment. This is an attitude known from one of the officiants in the Abu Gurob Heb-Sed reliefs. He is labelled here *Mwt-nfr*. Beneath a sky border with stars is a much-broken representation of the peculiar boat associated with the *šmšw Hr* feast, with an enormous projection at the prow (drawn as though made from matting) such as we know from pictures of this boat on the early Dyn. tablets, or the Sun Bark in the Pyramid Texts (*Spruche*, 262). Above the boat is written: *šmšw Hr*, and a little farther to the left *nfr Hnw*, followed by the uraeus snake on a basket. Whether this is a reference to the snake goddess of Hermopolis who is called *Hwt nbt Wnw*, or an association of the Sun Bark with the uraeus snake (Pyramid Texts, *Spruche*, 262), it is impossible to determine from the fragmentary condition of the relief.

The archaic forms of the hieroglyphs, the peculiar drawing of the wig and the panther skin of the figure behind the king, and the unusually slender, elongated forms of the human figures with their sparse modelling leave no doubt of the archaic nature of this relief. There is a resemblance, too, to the Heliopolis reliefs, particularly in the way in which the stars are drawn in the sky border. There is a second piece in Cairo (Pl. 30) which resembles this so closely, both in style and in the quality of the limestone in which it is carved, that I should be inclined to assign it also to the Gebelein temple, although no provenance has been entered in the museum records. There is also a striking resemblance to the Zoser Turin reliefs. Very similar is the drawing of the Wepwawt standard, particularly the way in which

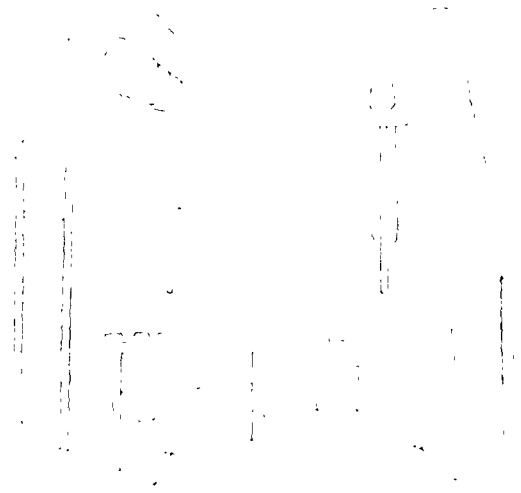


FIG. 53. Fragment of Zoser Heliopolis relief in Turin; Weill's No. 12 corrected from original.

the projecting curved piece, as well as the adjoining symbol of 'Khons', are covered with little incised dots. The rather rough drawing of the small stars in the border at the top is also like the Zoser pieces. The slenderness of the figures and the forms of the hieroglyphs resemble closely the other Gebelein piece. The hard compact limestone with its slate-like fractures is identical with the latter fragment. The scene, too, is complementary. A foundation ceremony is represented. The hands of the king are evidently shown driving in boundary stakes. He is accompanied by two Wepwawt standards, facing each other, and one with the 'Khons' emblem. Over the stakes is written (*šmšw?*) (followed by a boat) *Hr*. Facing the king is a female figure (goddess?) holding a jar on her head. Over her is written *mn k*. Dr. Reisner has suggested to me that on the Turin piece the king is probably carrying the boundary stakes which he is here shown driving into the ground. The exact date of these pieces is difficult to determine, but I would suggest Late Dyn. II (on the analogies of the Khasekhemuwy foundation ceremony) or the reign of Zoser to which period the pieces most nearly correspond. There is a less developed style felt here than in the Saqqarah and Heliopolis reliefs and it is just possible that this may be due to the provincial origin of the work. This is a difficult point to determine as there is very little evidence for provincial schools of sculpture at any time before the late Old Kingdom. Certainly the work of Khasekhemuwy at Hierakonpolis and El Kab is of a quality representative of the work of the court, and it may be that the Gebelein reliefs owe their slight peculiarities to the fact that they are a little earlier than the reign of Zoser.

It is the reliefs of Zoser and Sa-nekht that exemplify the style of their period. There is little or no hard-stone relief to compare with the granite carvings of Khasekhemuwy, while the figures of the Kha-sekhem stela are no more than scratched on the surface of the stone. The wildly tangled anatomy of the prostrate figures on the Kha-sekhem statues forms one of those rare by-paths which occasionally turn aside from the steady line of development of Egyptian art. In the Zoser reliefs themselves several different styles, or rather different qualities of workmanship, can be detected. The sculptor of the boundary stelae of the princesses worked hastily leaving a slanting profile to the outlines of his figures. He indulged in little modelling and there is a sparseness of inner detail. On the other hand the craftsman who carved the statue base with the name of Imhotep was a meticulous draughtsman. The bows under the feet of the King and the line of *rhyt* birds are beautifully drawn in flat, low relief, as are the *dd* and girdle tie emblems on the front of the base. Note, for example, the well-observed crossing of the bird's wings to prevent them from flying. However, when it came to drawing the minute details of the inscription across the front of the base, although the artist tried conscientiously to include inner drawing lines, he was working on such a small scale that he was unable to draw them accurately. The result is a series of cramped and stringy hieroglyphs (Pl. 31 c). The neck of the *tp* sign is long and the face gaunt. The details of the head of the owl are askew. The *wr* bird is unusually slender, as are the legs of *ii*, the outlines of *ht*, the *o* sign, and *r*. In contrast to the boundary stones, however, the signs are well aligned and the arrangement orderly. The line of hieroglyphs across the base of the seated statue of Zoser shows large simple signs in flat relief without much inner detail. The outlines are well drawn.

It is the panels in the underground chambers of the Step Pyramid precinct which mark the advance over earlier reliefs. The fragments from Heliopolis and the Cairo piece provide confirmatory material strongly resembling the Saqqarah panels. Even in the rough stone carving of the Wady Maghara, the reliefs of Sa-nekht begin to show an improvement in the modelling of the surfaces, and like the Step Pyramid reliefs attempt to portray the actual features of the king. The Saqqarah panels are in a beautiful low relief that shades off into the background. There is a new subtlety in the modelling of the human figure. The collar-bones, the knee, the leg muscles, and the bony and muscular structure of the face are

indicated by means of very slight but telling gradations of surface. Only the lines of paint around the eye and the eyebrow are still raised, retaining the repoussé treatment of the early representations. The proportions of the figure have been greatly improved and the composition has been ordered and simplified. Except for a certain slimness of figure evident here and in the panels of Hesi-ra, the proportions are those with which we are familiar in later Old Kingdom art. The use of very large hieroglyphs gives to these scenes a boldness of mass, in spite of the low relief. In actual cutting and modelling there is little to distinguish the best of the carving from the fine low relief of Dyn. IV at Giza (Pl. 31).

The Heliopolis reliefs are perhaps slightly inferior. They show a gradation of workmanship from fragments which resemble the boundary stelae of the princesses to others which approach the perfection of the Step Pyramid panels in their fine low relief and intricate inner detail. The Cairo piece is of equal quality with the Saqqarah reliefs. It stresses, however, the boldness of mass which we have noted in the Zoser panels, with a relief which is graduated less smoothly to meet the background. It seems to me possible to detect in this piece and in the Saqqarah reliefs the germs of the heavy bold style that was to dominate the transition period from Dyn. III to Dyn. IV.<sup>1</sup>

The Hierakonpolis and El Kab blocks of Khasekhemuwy, the two Gebelcin pieces, and the Heliopolis reliefs of Zoser are the only examples of temple relief which are preserved until the reign of Weserkaf, with the exception of some beautiful Dyn. IV fragments re-used at Lisht, some newly discovered fragments in the Pyramid Temple of Cheops, a block possibly from the Chephren causeway, and a few sunk relief inscriptions of Cheops and Chephren. The Saqqarah reliefs of Zoser fall into a peculiar category of their own as they were used in the sub-structure of a tomb. The chapels of the Heb-Sed court and the funerary temple of the king have preserved no trace of decoration, although they show the most elaborate carving of architectural details in stone. The most remarkable technical achievement of the period seems to me to be the carving of reliefs in granite by the craftsmen of Khasekhemuwy. This achievement had behind it the long-developed craft of carving vases of hard stone, which already in Dyn. I had been decorated with reliefs.

#### b. The Private Monuments of Late Dynasty II and Dynasty III

The private work of the period under discussion falls into two well-defined groups, the accomplished craftsmanship of the Hesi-ra reliefs and paintings, and the less skilful work exemplified by the primitive niche-stones or the Bankfield stela. The latter is also reflected in the private rock carvings at Wady Maghara which contribute little material of value for the study of reliefs. The wooden panels of Hesi-ra, dated to the reign of Zoser, resemble the best work of that king in the delicacy of their low relief. It should be remembered, however, that they are carved in a softer material. They show here and there traces of the sharp-edged outline which characterizes early work, and is, as well, a feature of the high reliefs in stone of the next period. Nevertheless many of the surfaces show a smooth gradation to the background. The modelling and the elaboration of inner detail equals and perhaps excels the Zoser reliefs. There is a predilection for slender forms. Vertical hieroglyphs are tall and narrow. The wands and staffs are greatly reduced in width, as is the stand for the table of bread. Oddly enough this does not seem to be characteristic of the hieroglyphs of the painted walls and may have been accentuated in the carving of the panels. In the drawing of the human figure the collar-bones are carefully delineated.

<sup>1</sup> Even more clearly forecasting the bold style of the end of the Dynasty is the figure representing 'millions of years' supporting a Heb-Sed pavilion on the side of an alabaster jar found in the Step Pyramid (Firth and Quibell, *loc. cit.*, pl. 104).

The figure of this squatting man is boldly modelled in high relief with a heavy rounding of the surfaces. A peculiarity of the drawing is that the foot drawn back under the figure is seen from the bottom (sole of the foot).

The modelling of the legs has received particular attention in one of the standing figures (Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, pl. XXIX, on the right), as has the bony structure of the face of another standing figure (pl. XXX, right). A deep furrow curves down around the mouth of the seated figure (pl. XXXI). This does not appear on the other panels but is found in the reliefs of the next period. It may be that it is meant to show advancing age, a device introduced by this sculptor and copied by his followers. It is perhaps not accidental that this particular panel exhibits the greatest similarity to the reliefs of the transitional period (Dyn. III—IV), being higher, flatter relief with sharply defined edges.

Certain interesting new elements are introduced in the Hesi-ra reliefs. Here occurs the first developed representation of the man seated at the table of bread with short list above and titles and names (Pl. 31). An unusual detail, not repeated later, is that the seated man holds staff and wand against his breast. Nor does the scribe's equipment hanging over his arm appear again. This is the first large seated figure that we know. The artist has had difficulty in representing the legs under the long robe. He has made them too slender below the knee and has carried up the dividing line from the ankles so that it looks as though the far leg were covering the near leg at the top, gradually widening to show the full width of the ankle, although the foot partly disappears behind the near foot. The front leg of the chair is not shown, a convention common to the primitive niche-stones. Here in its first example the hand stretched out to the offering-table has the thumb in the wrong position, as though it were the left hand, not the right. In one of the panels occurs for the first time the gesture of a standing figure holding a staff against his breast. It should be noted that the unusual head-dress with little round curls is found on one of the figures. The attitude of this man, standing with hands hanging open at his sides, is another new position.

The panelled crude-brick wall of the corridor of Hesi-ra was painted with mat patterns, while the backs of the small niches which did not contain actual wooden panels were coloured to imitate wood graining. On the opposite wall various household articles and personal equipment were painted as though standing in open cupboards or set under a mat shelter. There was possibly a large seated figure at the end of the wall inspecting all this material. The end wall was decorated with rows of offering-stands, and the door-jamb of the entrance had an offering-list (a similar list was employed later on the door-jamb of the chapel of Kha-bauw-sokar, but is now nearly illegible). The outer corridor contained the earliest scenes from life that have been preserved in chapel decoration. A fragment on the west wall showed a crocodile in the water, four oxen, and two human figures. Other fragments of men engaged in uncertain occupations were found. These traces of a fully developed swamp scene in Dyn. III warn us, as do the granite carvings of Khasekhemuwy, how fragmentary is our knowledge of the art of the Archaic Period. The drawing and colouring of these paintings is highly developed. Mr. Quibell writes (*l.c.*, p. 10): 'The hair on the legs of the oxen is represented by short stippling strokes, somewhat unlike anything seen elsewhere.' This seems to be an early example of broken colour. The graining of wood, and mottling of stone vessels, as well as the fibre of mats and the scaled markings on the back of the crocodile are drawn in meticulous fashion. The colours are yellow, red, white, black, and green, while Mr. Quibell also mentions blue. The fragmentary small figures are well drawn, although the eye is unusually large. One figure leans over with his head in a peculiar position as though the back of the head were shown. It is so broken that no conclusion can be drawn (see Fig. 202). A convention which appears in these paintings for the first time should be noted. This is the representation of objects inside boxes, sometimes drawn as though the lid had been lifted off and one were looking down on the contents from above, sometimes as though the side of the box had been removed to exhibit the objects inside. Often there is a mixture of these two forms of representation necessitated by the size and shape of the articles that have been fitted into the circumscribed space of the rectangular outline of the box.

The seats of the chairs and the upper surface of the bed are often shown in plan as well as profile, exhibiting the thong ties with which they were attached to the framework (Fig. 46).

In addition to the offering-lists of Hesi-ra and those painted on the door-jambs of Kha-bauw-sokar, there was found another fragmentary list which also appears to be early. This is now preserved only in a drawing in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition labelled simply 'Covington Tomb'. This would seem to refer to the large panelled brick mastaba excavated by Dow Covington and Mr. Quibell on a high point in the ridge south-east of the Third Pyramid. This tomb was probably of the reign of Khasekhemuwy, but Covington also uncovered a few other pits and even a stone mastaba which is certainly as late as Dyn. IV, if not later. No one has any recollection, apparently, of the finding of a painted wall in any of these tombs, and it is uncertain whether it came from a chapel or a burial-chamber. Nevertheless the possibility that it may have come from the great panelled mastaba is further strengthened by inner evidence in the list itself. It is in the form of an early compartment list containing garments (including an unusual one called *wni* determined by a wolf and apparently implying that the garment was made of wolf skin), furniture, granaries, food, and drink. This type of compartment list is very rare after the reign of Cheops, and is characteristic of the transition period Dyn. III-IV. Its most elaborate form is exemplified by the whole east wall of the corridor of Hesi-ra. Therefore it would form a suitable part of the decoration of a mastaba of the end of Dyn. II. Another early detail is that the thousand sign is painted yellow instead of the green which became more common later for all plant forms, basket-work, &c., which were often yellow in early paintings. The scarcity of early paintings gives to this fragment an importance disproportionate to its actual value. Aside from a few fragmentary mat patterns (one group of pieces found by Emery being as early as Dyn. I) found in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah and some nearly obliterated figures in FS 3032 and 3034, no other paintings remain which can be dated earlier than Dyn. IV.

Beginning perhaps as early as the end of Dyn. II the compound niche in the crude-brick mastaba was supplied with a small inscribed limestone slab set in the position of the tablet of the later decorated stone *ka*-door. This was obviously the transitional step between the plain crude-brick niche and the fully-developed stone false-door. These 'primitive niche-stones' consisted of a rectangular slab carved in relief with a representation of the table scene and compartment list later found on the slab-stelae and the tablets of the stone false-doors. A few examples have a stone drum carved at the base of the rectangle. The carving is much cruder in workmanship than are the panels of Hesi-ra, and the examples present great difficulties when one attempts to arrange them in chronological order. One or two of the pieces preserved can be dated possibly as early as the end of Dyn. II, but certain of them are as late as Dyn. IV. Since the provenance of most of them is unknown, the possibility of a provincial origin must be taken into consideration. They all represent inferior private workmanship contrasting with the careful work of the royal reliefs of the period.

The principal characteristics of the workmanship are irregularities in spacing, crowding of hieroglyphs, carelessness in the horizontal and vertical alinement of objects and figures, simplicity of form, relief in one plane with a minimum of inner drawing or modelling, and a lack of firmness in the outlines as well as a fumbling awkwardness in the representation of forms. In a few cases the relief is left as a one-plane surface sharply silhouetted against a rough and pitted background (FS. 3073 X). There are no inner drawing lines. Probably in this case the work is unfinished and it resembles an example of Dyn. I mentioned on p. 130. The background is completely cut away in the niche-stones as in all early reliefs, except for examples like the Kha-sekhem stela, where the outline is merely incised. I believe that incised lines occur only in the cutting of hard stone and in very small decorated objects of wood, ivory, and



stone. The forms of the niche-stones are frequently so roughly drawn and unprovided with inner drawing that hieroglyphs and small details are sometimes unrecognizable. Usually our confusion is due less to the archaic form of hieroglyph than to the inability of the craftsman. This is true of the Sehefener tablet (Pl. 32), although as a princess she should have been able to command an able sculptor, and it is probable that this is one of the earliest pieces in the group.

The importance of distinguishing between poor workmanship and actual archaism in the period from Dyn. II to the beginning of Dyn. IV is not to be underestimated. A warning is to be found in three inscribed objects found at Reqaqnah (Garstang, *The Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pl. 28). The stela of Sa-mery (R 88 A) and the wooden stela of Shepses (R 64) have often been cited as archaic objects. The wooden stela was too badly damaged to judge of its style, but the limestone panel bears all the characteristics of primitive work—irregular spacing of hieroglyphs, clumsy drawing of the figure, and peculiar forms of the hieroglyphs themselves (see the sign for *wrb*). There is a marked resemblance to the Bankfield stela, FS 3036 X, and other niche-stones. A third inscription is 'typical Old Kingdom work'. The hieroglyphs are small, neatly made, and well drawn in conventional forms. They are arranged in vertical columns divided by raised lines (which are perhaps wider than usual). The work might be of Dyn. IV, V, or VI, stylistically. The tomb from which this third stone comes (R 70) has been dated by Dr. Reisner to Dyn. IV (Cheops(?)) or later, see *Tomb Development*, p. 232). The other two mastabas (R 88 A, R 64) are small and obviously subsidiary to this tomb and the other large mastabas of the cemetery. The burial equipment of Shepses contained a bowl marked with the name of Sneferuw.<sup>1</sup> The R 70 inscription contains a list of scribes among which appears the name of Sa-mery, who is probably the same man as the owner of the stela of R 88 A. Thus in Dyn. IV, at a provincial site, the wealthy owner of a large tomb could have his reliefs carved in style and workmanship similar to that current at the court, while one of his followers had to be content with carving closely resembling that of the private work of Dyn. II and III.

The above example presents the double difficulty of distinguishing work that is really early from work that is the result of inferior craftsmanship and the separation of provincial work from that done at court (really only a variation of the same problem). It shows that errors can be made when one is forced back upon stylistic criticism unsupported by chronological evidence. An examination of the material makes it evident that we have very little provincial work that can be definitely identified, and that what there is presents contradictory evidence. The 'archaic' style was still current at Reqaqnah in the reign of Sneferuw or even later, side by side with a type of relief that one could easily mistake for the work of Dyn. V. The tablets FS 3036 X and Neb-iaw (Cairo 37912), which are of a type which one might be tempted to assign to a provincial site, are certainly from Saqqarah. This weakens the claim for a provincial origin for the similar Bankfield stela<sup>2</sup> and the Gem-n-sesher tablet. It would seem that the majority of these stones bear the same relation to the Zoser reliefs and the panels of Hesi-ra that the private grave stones at Abydos bore to the royal stelae, and that their most probable source is the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqarah.

There are certain archaisms that occur in the primitive niche-stones. These may be summed up as

<sup>1</sup> We have seen (p. 45) that the statues of Nefer-shemen at El Kab can hardly be accepted as of such an early date as that suggested by the name of Sneferuw on the stone bowls found in the neighbouring tomb of Ka-mena, but are more probably considerably later in Dyn. IV. It should be noted, however, that the fragments of relief from the lining of one of the niches in the mastaba of Ka-mena, show a head with the characteristic

strip of green eye-paint associated with the reliefs of the transition period (Dy. III-IV) at Saqqarah. These fragments are so poorly preserved that it is impossible to draw much information from them (Quibell, *El Kab*, pl. XVIII).

<sup>2</sup> Junker, *Giza*, II, p. 16, states that this was bought in Luxor in 1839. It is now in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, England.

follows. The absence of a front leg to the chair is a constant feature of all the early stones. The drawing of the seat in plan as well as profile often occurs. A bowl-shaped table on a narrow stand, with low loaves of bread, is also common to them all. In the case of the Bankfield stela the table actually has the shape of a bowl with recurved rim. A type of wig with long curls is shown in the case of the Princess Sehefener (Pl. 32), Iset-ka (*Archaic Mastabas*, pl. XXVIII), and the two figures on the slab of Waten and Weser-neb-nt.<sup>1</sup> Ab-neb (Weill, *II<sup>me</sup> et III<sup>me</sup> Dynasties*, p. 220) has a wig composed of small round curls. The Bankfield lady (*J.E.A.*, IV, pl. LV) has a head-dress that is set well back from the forehead and marked with horizontal lines, resembling that of Hetep-her-nebty and the later figures of Hetep-heres II and the mother of Khufuw-khaf. The occurrence of a simple form of compartment list is found in the case of Sehefener, Ab-neb, Gem-n-sesher (Berlin No. 23217, Scharff, *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 346), Zefa-nesuwt (Von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, pl. 14), the Waten tablet (*Revue égyptologique*, Jan. 1919), 3036 X and 3073 X, while the linen list without the compartment arrangement appears on the niche-stone of Wep-ka (Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, pl. XXVIII). Primitive forms of hieroglyphs occur in the case of Sehefener, 3036 X, the Bankfield stela, Gem-n-sesher, Wep-ka, and Zefa-nesuwt. In the case of the 3073 X piece the unintelligible forms of the signs may be due to the unfinished condition of the carving, and in the case of the Neb-iaw stone the same features are probably due to the weathered condition of the surface. A squarish throne instead of a chair appears on the Sehefener and Bankfield stones.

I should list the following private niche-stones as showing poor workmanship: Gem-n-sesher (Berlin, No. 23217), Ka-akhet (?) (Munich, Alte Residenz, Glyptothek No. 106), FS 3036 X, Neith-khem (?) (Firth), Neb-iaw (Cairo, 37912), and the Bankfield stela (Halifax). I should set these down as the less skilful work of Dyn. III, although the Neb-iaw stone may be as late as Sneferuw. The slab from FS 3073 X certainly seems to be unfinished and is difficult to place. The slab of Ra-khuw (FS 3037) is carefully worked but simple in composition. The seven others appear to show good typical private work of the Archaic period. These are Sehefener (Cairo), the double tablet of Waten and Weser-neb-nt, Emery's double tablet of Tety and Nefer-heres, Zefa-nesuwt, Ist-ka(?), Wep-ka, and Ab-neb (Leiden). Of these the tablet of the Princess Sehefener (QS 2146 E) is certainly the earliest in type and is probably to be dated to the end of Dyn. II. That of Ab-neb, on the other hand, is carved in alabaster, and since it shows good workmanship in hard stone may be as late as the reign of Sneferuw, although I should be inclined to date it to Dyn. III. The figures of this tablet are well drawn and show a higher type of relief with the heavier rounding of the surface that is characteristic of the following period. The figure of the owner appears twice, standing with staff and wand, and seated at a table of bread. In all these niche-stones the figure seated at a table of bread is of the form which is known throughout the Old Kingdom. In Hesi-ra there was the unusual element of the staff and wand held against the breast, but here the figure sits with left hand on breast and right hand extended towards the table. There are two exceptions to this where both hands are stretched out towards the table (Bankfield and Neb-iaw), an attitude found in female figures in Dyn. IV, and a peculiar variation in the Munich tablet, where the man holds his right hand to his mouth. The tablet of Waten and that of Tety recently found by Emery present the unusual arrangement of two table scenes, each for a separate person, one behind the other. Both show a resemblance in style to the relief of Kha-bauw-sokar.

In Dyn. III most of the ordinary forms are crystallized in their well-known aspects. The proportions

<sup>1</sup> Moret, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 1919, pl. 2. The Abbé Tresson has very kindly informed me that this relief, formerly in the collection of the Comte de Sainte-Ferriol, was one of

several pieces not included when this collection was presented to the Grenoble Museum. The present location of the tablet unfortunately is unknown.

of the human figure are established and the modelling shows great progress. The technique of low relief has achieved a perfection in royal work scarcely to be excelled. It remains for the following Dynasties to develop a bold type of relief<sup>1</sup> (already foreshadowed in the early Dynastic Period and in some pieces of Dyn. III), as well as intermediate variations, and the entirely new type of sunk relief. In the next few generations the great works of the kings of Dyn. IV (and Huni if he built the Southern Pyramid at Dahshur) were to provide such a training-school that the skill of the craftsmen available to private persons was soon to reach a level approaching that of royal work. The next step, too, was to be the expansion of the reliefs over larger areas of wall surface. All the carving up until the reign of Sneferuw (or Huni), as we have seen, is on a comparatively small scale. We have little evidence of the royal work of Huni and Sneferuw, but with the introduction of the stone-lined chapel, coupled with increasing technical skill, the way was opened up for the representation of larger figures and more complicated scenes. The chapel of Hesi-ra shows us that this decoration of large wall surfaces had been anticipated already in painting on plaster.

### c. The Transition Period from Dynasties III to IV: the Reigns of Huni and Sneferuw: Royal Work

There are no reliefs or inscriptions that can be attributed to Huni; even his burial-place is uncertain unless it be the South Stone Pyramid at Dahshur. The material for Sneferuw is extremely meagre. It is limited to the rock-carvings at the Wady Maghara (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pls. 50, 51), a small trial piece found by Alan Rowe at Medum on which he read the name of Sneferuw, and the beautiful inscriptions and patterns with which Sneferuw caused to be decorated the furniture of his queen Hetep-heres, the mother of Cheops. In the best worked of the two Wady Maghara reliefs Sneferuw is shown in the familiar attitude, striking a kneeling captive with a mace, accompanied by his names, titles and certain formulae. The relief is high with bold simple masses and a heavy rounding of the surfaces. The king wears a new type of head-dress with horns and feathers. This head-dress occurs again on the trial piece found by Mr. Rowe. It also appears on the head of the Horus hawk on the Hetep-heres canopy, alternating with a bundle-shaped crown like the *hkr* ornament, accompanied by horns and feathers. The workmanship of the Medum limestone flake is crude.<sup>2</sup> The relief is in one plane with an uneven surface silhouetted against a background that is completely cut away. The king stands facing right, holding a *wš* sceptre in his left hand. The ear is clumsily drawn, and the features summarily indicated. The other carving from the Wady Maghara is badly cut, the outlines incised, and the background partly cut away with the surface left pitted. The figures are flat with no inner detail. The king is shown wearing the white crown, striking a captive, and again standing, once with the white crown and once with the red. The uneven background suggests that the work may be unfinished.

The hieroglyphs of the Hetep-heres bed canopy (G 7000 X) inscriptions are beautifully modelled in the gold. The relief must first have been carved on the wooden panels over which the gold was beaten into shape. The surfaces are broken up with stipple marks, fine striations, and cross-hatching. A necklace is drawn on the flying hawk, and fine lines indicate the fangs of the cobra (Pl. 37). The advance achieved in the delineation of form and movement can be seen strikingly by comparing the flying birds on the Narmer Mace head or the British Museum palette (Figs. 27, 31) with the flying hawk here, or with the hawks resting on tall plants in the inlay panels of a piece of furniture of uncertain form (Fig. 59). The formalized protecting bird with far wing outstretched, tip forward, and the near

<sup>1</sup> Emery is unfortunately unable to date exactly the bold, rough reliefs of a man named Khentet-ka; architrave, tablet, and standing figure on back panel of niche found thrown down

in the debris.

<sup>2</sup> *Illustrated London News*, April 9, 1932, p. 536.

wing folding down has been seen in the Zoser panels and occurs here again on the end of the inlaid curtain box. The position of the wings forming a right-angle makes a suitable frame above the king. The artist has achieved a superb decorative effect in the coils of the cobra's body (Pl. 37), and has shown unusually acute observation of nature in the drawing of the bee (Pl. 37). The base of the far wing is hidden behind the body, but the near wing is attached well down the side. The same care is shown in drawing the far and near legs. This is an observation of space relationship, of relative planes of surface, and of the rounding of a solid object, very rare in Egyptian art. A stylistic peculiarity of the draughtsman of the bed canopy hieroglyphs is the crispness of drawing of the  $\underline{d}$  serpent, the neck bent sharply back at the curve.



FIG. 54. Early seated figures: Cheops (Anthes, *Inschriften von Hat-nub*, Pl. IV); Sneferuw, from end of Hetep-heres curtain box; gold hieroglyph determining name of Hetep-heres on carrying-chair.

The bed canopy and the curtain box with its inlaid inscriptions were certainly made for Hetep-heres by her husband Sneferuw. On the other hand, the carrying-chair and the box with the anklets were made at the order of her son Cheops. The other inlaid panels bear no name except that of Hetep-heres herself and may have been prepared by either king. Although the Cheops objects belong to a later period than that discussed here, the furniture formed a group within one woman's lifetime and should be considered together. The south end of the Sneferuw curtain box has for the first time the winged sun disk placed over the king's name (Fig. 204), while the northern end shows us the developed representation of the seated king, on box throne, with staff in left hand and right arm extended along his thigh. He wears a plain fillet over a short wig, with the ribbons hanging down behind (Fig. 54).

A fragmentary seated figure of Hetep-heres built up of separate pieces of beaten gold which had been attached to the panel of some piece of furniture now completely destroyed may belong to the group of pieces prepared by Sneferuw or to those presented by Cheops. The heavy, bold style, evident even in the delicate technique of beaten gold, strongly suggests the work of the reign of Sneferuw (Fig. 55). A detail to be noted is the covering of the arms to the elbow with rows of heavy bracelets. Something similar is known in the case of representations of Nofret at Medum in reliefs which, although probably of the reign of Cheops, mirror truthfully the style of the preceding reign. In the case of Nofret the bracelets do not reach to the elbow but are heavy and cover the lower arm prominently (Pls. 33, 34), while they are

less prominent on the arms of the wife of Khufuw-khaf (Pl. 43), although still numerous. The attitude of Hetep-heres gives us the first example of a woman holding a lotus flower to her nose. The accomplished drawing of the fingers holding the flower stem is in keeping with the excellent design shown by all the Hetep-heres decoration. The position of the fingers was later adapted to the hand poised with the harpoon and similar gestures. One of the carrying-chair hieroglyphs again shows us a seated figure of Hetep-heres, on a box throne wearing tunic and lappet wig (Fig. 54). Her left arm is placed on her



FIG. 55. Seated figure of Queen Hetep-heres; relief on thin gold applied to a destroyed piece of furniture from G 7000 X.

breast and her right arm extended along her thigh. This is one of the first examples examined of the seated woman conventionally dressed in tunic and lappet wig, although the type has been anticipated in several of the crude figures on the primitive niche-stones. Since the carrying-chair is of the reign of Cheops several of the private examples in cruciform chapels, however, are probably earlier than this figure.

The inlaid hieroglyphs of the curtain box have preserved little inner detail, showing only the vigorous drawing of their outlines. On the other hand, the small gold hieroglyphs of the carrying-chair have the most beautiful quality of drawing and finish. The patterns decorating other objects in the Hetep-heres tomb testify to the skill and taste that had been attained in formal design. Strongly stylized are the flower patterns of the bed and certain other inlay panels (Fig. 57); likewise the insects (butterflies, I believe with Keimer, not dragon-flies) on the silver anklets or perhaps rather bracelets (Fig. 57).

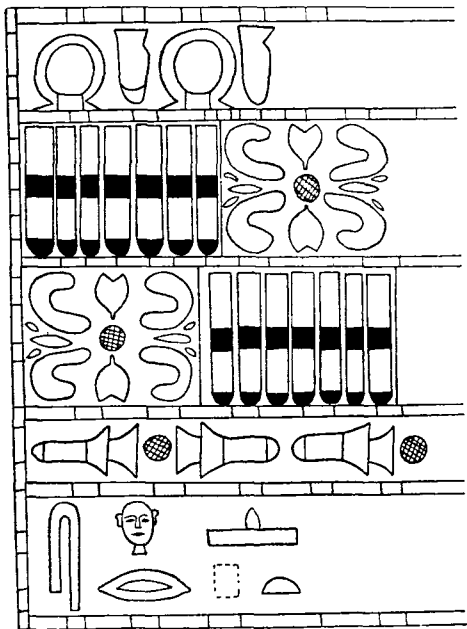


FIG. 56. Inlay pattern with name of Queen Hetep-heres, from a destroyed piece of furniture; G 7000 X.

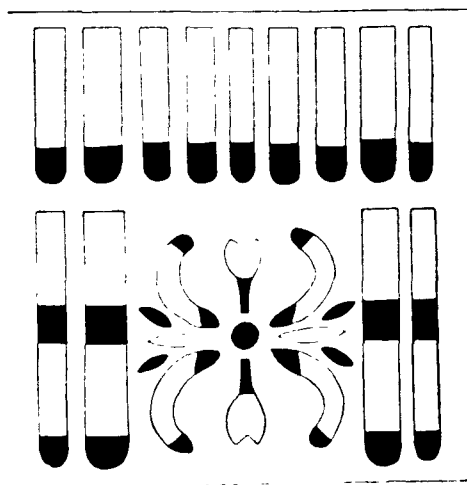


FIG. 57. Inlay pattern with flower elements from foot board of bed; butterfly design from silver anklets (or bracelets), G 7000 X.

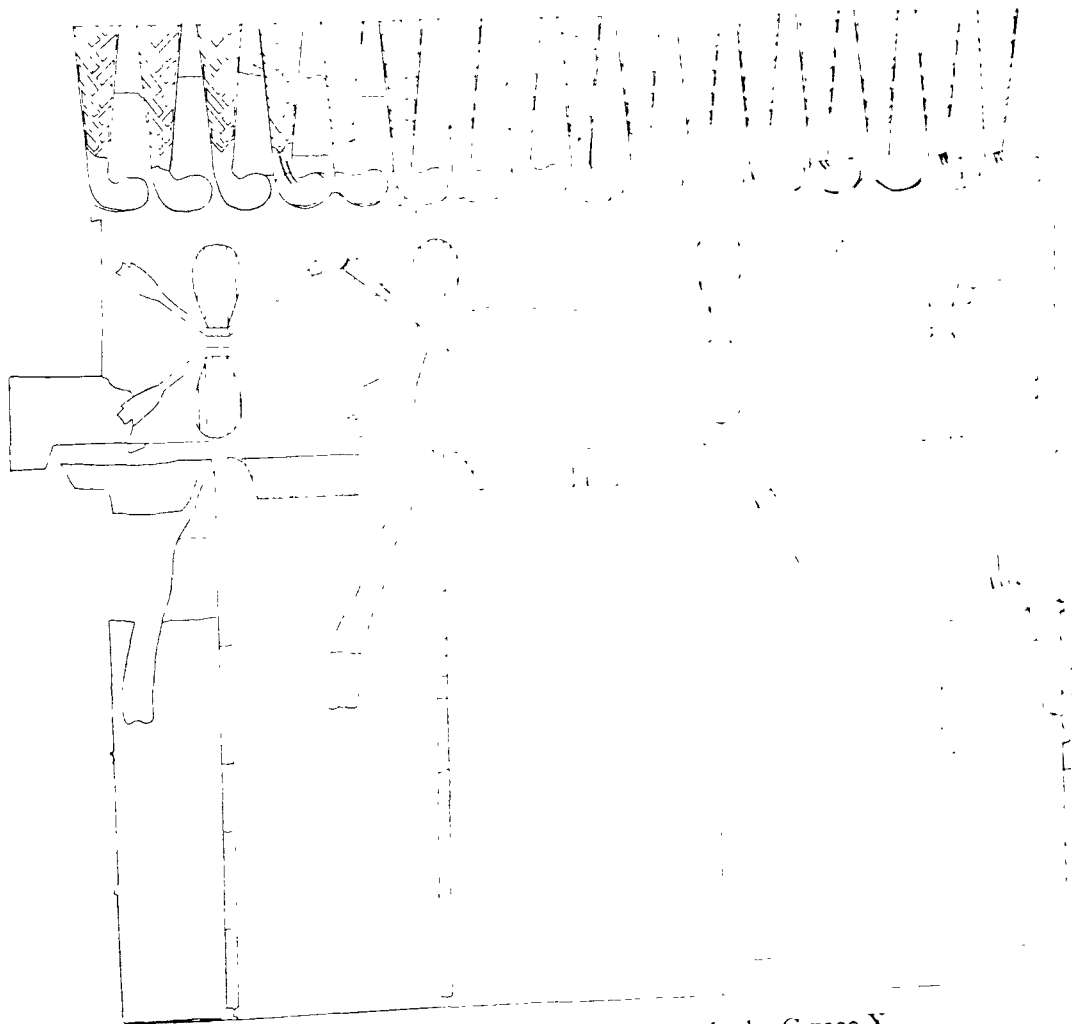


FIG. 58. Inlay pattern showing Neith standards, G 7000 X.

A pattern of striking decorative effect consists of Neith emblems on standards from which float streamers (Fig. 58). Across the top is a border of hooked patterns. These seem to be early examples of the conventionalized lock of hair worn by male children in the Old Kingdom and later applied to the wigs of female statues and anthropoid coffins in the Middle Kingdom. Comparison with such examples as the side-lock of the boy's statuette (Old Kingdom, Borchardt, No. 122) or the plait of hair hanging down from a woman's head in the relief on the side of another statue (No. 376), the curls hanging over the shoulders of the Middle Kingdom queen's statue in Cairo (Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, 1911, pl. 132), and the coffin of Senebtisi (Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, frontispiece and p. 45), can leave little doubt as to the identity of the design. Whether the side-lock as used here in the design can

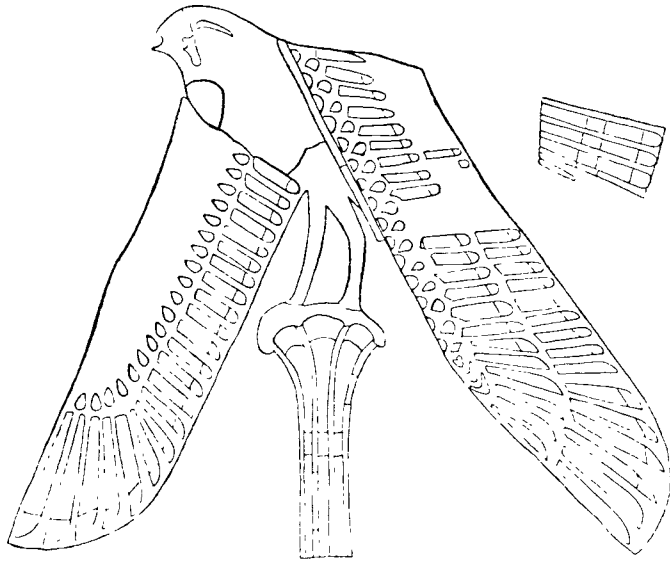


FIG. 59. Inlay pattern with hawk resting on plant;  
G 7000 X.

have any connexion with the Libyan origin of the Goddess Neith must be a matter for further investigation. The symbol must have some meaning thus used in connexion with the Neith emblems. The central elements of the Neith emblem itself have usually been called a shield but they have in the Hetep-heres inlays the vertical inner drawing lines which appear on an early slate carving in Brussels. There Keimer has observed the similarity to the markings of the cockroaches associated with the symbol of Neith.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that these elements on the Neith standard may be conventionalized representations of the cockroach.

Another design for which I know no parallel is the hawk with gracefully spread wings perched on a tall palm-like plant (Fig. 59). The complicated

pattern (Fig. 56) made up of horizontal registers containing *šn* signs, rosettes, and paired Min emblems, above an inscription ending in the name of the queen, is partly repeated again with modifications on the inlaid vases of Neferirkara (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke-re*, pls. 3, 5, 7). A few small inlay fragments from the Step Pyramid (*The Step Pyramid*, pls. 94, 109), a very incomplete fragment of a vase, resembling those of Neferirkara found in the Mycerinus temple (*Mycerinus*, pl. 65) and two partially preserved boxes (*El Kab*, pl. VIII; *Abydos II*, pl. XXI), are other Old Kingdom examples of a craft employing faience inlays with brilliant results (see also p. 11). A fine sense of balance, the simplification of form by selecting salient features, and the delicate craftsmanship give the Hetep-heres designs a beauty perhaps never later excelled in Egyptian art. A full publication of the patterns must await the completion of the difficult work of restoring these fragile pieces.

#### d. The Private Reliefs and Paintings of the Transition Period, Dynasties III-IV

By the end of Dyn. III the skill of the craftsmen available for private work was equal to the decoration in relief of large surfaces. The offering-niche now began to be lined with stone carved with reliefs and inscriptions. The lining of the interior cruciform chapel with stone soon followed and provided greatly expanded surfaces for relief decoration. It seems as though this must have been anticipated in the royal reliefs. As early as Khasekhemuwy we have an example of a fairly large portion of a temple wall

<sup>1</sup> See Keimer, *Annales*, XXXI, pp. 149 ff. Compare the Neith emblem on the back of the Dyn. I gold capsule in the form of a cockroach found by Reisner, *Naga-ed-Dér*, I, pl. 6.

decorated in relief (the granite door-jamb from Hierakonpolis). Similar evidence is forthcoming from Heliopolis and Gebelein, but the Zoser pyramid temple appears to have had no wall decorations and the walls of the little temple of the Medum Pyramid are bare of ornament. It is possible that the last may be unfinished, and until the temples of the Bent Pyramid and the North Stone Pyramid at Dahshur are excavated one can only speculate as to the possibility of their decoration, as well as that of temples, not funerary in purpose, which must have existed in the valley. Two fragments found at Medum, the legs of a hawk, which perhaps surmounted a royal name, and a piece of *hkr* ornament (*Medum and Memphis*, p. 11, pl. XX), are of a type that might have served for the decoration of a royal chapel, but there is no construction to which they can be assigned. The flake with the portrait of Sneferuw is the sort of object that might have been executed in the idle moments of a man engaged in the carving of royal reliefs, but again there is no evidence for such work ever having been begun.

The stone-lined niches of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep were in crude-brick cruciform chapels of palace-façade type and are probably to be dated to the end of Dyn. III. Succeeding these in type are the lined niches of Iy-nefer at Dahshur and Neferma'at, Atet, and Nofret at Medum, although the last of these occurs subsidiary to a stone-lined cruciform chapel in the mastaba of Nofret's husband, Rahotep. From the type of mastaba and burial-place Dr. Reisner would date the tomb of Neferma'at late in the reign of Sneferuw or early in the reign of Cheops, and that of Rahotep certainly in the reign of Cheops. From the evidence of the chapel decoration the reliefs and paintings of Neferma'at and Atet can hardly be later than the reign of Sneferuw, while the reliefs of Rahotep and Nofret, if they are of the reign of Cheops, represent, like the two famous statues from this tomb, the style of the preceding reign. The stone-lined niches of Iy-nefer are certainly of the reign of Sneferuw and that king's cartouche appears on the back of one of the niches. The cruciform chapels of FS 3080 and Akhet-a'a are also probably of the reign of Sneferuw. Methen I should place with Rahotep as the latest of the cruciform chapels. The chapels of Akhet-hetep and Peher-nefer probably closely approach that of FS 3078, both in style and time.

The stone-lined niches of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep (Murray, *Saqqarah Mastabas*, pls. I, II) each formed the central element of a crude-brick wall decorated with palace-façade panelling. They must have been surmounted by the horizontal bars which ordinarily cross the wall above the 'great door' in a panelled wall, and therefore, like the niches of Hesi-ra, possessed no tablet. In this and in the subsidiary crude-brick panelling plastered and painted with mat patterns (like the west wall of Hesi-ra) these niches differed considerably from the stone-lined plain compound niches. As there was no tablet the table scene with accompanying lists and titles is allocated to the back panel of the inner niche. On the sides of the inner niche are large figures of the owner facing out, accompanied by titles and name and again a compartment list of offerings. The drum and cross-bar contained titles and name. The outer niche was of crude brick and decorated like the rest of the wall with mat patterns. The back of this niche was formed, however, of stone with a small simple niche cut in the stone flanking the inner niche on each side (*Tomb Development*, pp. 268, 269).

The reliefs of this period are characterized by broad, simple masses standing well away from the background, and although rounded heavily on the surface show a distinct, sharp edge instead of a gradual transition to the wall behind them. A characteristic of all early relief, whether high or low, is that the hieroglyphs stand out to the same level as the large figures. The composition of the wall surfaces is simple. A few big figures occupy the wall spaces. The subsidiary figures are large in size and few in number. The inner detail is on a large scale, as are the hieroglyphs of the accompanying inscriptions. The resulting style is heavy and bold. In some respects the reliefs of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-



nefer-hetep depart from this style. On the whole, however, they resemble it fairly closely.<sup>1</sup> I would see in these reliefs a bridge between the style of the Zoser panels and that of the Iy-nefer niches. The inner detail is minutely worked, great attention is given to the curls of hair, the pleating of the man's apron, and to his ornate necklace with an Anubis figure (Pl. 36). Due to the size of the niches the whole representation is on a smaller scale and the relief consequently lower than in the other tombs, although perceptibly of the bold type (about 3 mm. high). In the inscriptions the vertical and horizontal hieroglyphs are slender. In this and in the irregular grouping of the hieroglyphs and the working of the faces there is a resemblance to the Hesi-ra panels. Hathor-nefer-hetep has a high cheek-bone and that curious furrow around the corners of the mouth which we have seen in the seated figure of Hesi-ra. She has the pursed lips and wide nostrils that appear in the portrait of Sa-nekht. Traces of green paint lining the eyes are also evident. The use of this green eye-paint on statues and reliefs is characteristic of the period.<sup>2</sup> In the reliefs of Hesi-ra was abandoned for the first time the pronounced drawing in relief of the line of paint around the eye. It is found no longer in these reliefs, and its place seems to have been taken by the line of green colour around the eye (covering the eyelid).

Kha-bauw-sokar is shown with the same type of mouth and pronounced cheek-bone as is his wife. He wears a well-defined moustache on his upper lip. The compartment lists beneath the figures on the back and sides of the inner niche continue the tradition set by the cupboard lists of Hesi-ra and by the rudimentary compartment lists of some of the primitive niche-stones. They contain the first well-developed examples of the linen list which was to occupy an important position on the Giza slab-stelae. Lists of garments and furniture also accompany the more usual items of food and drink.

The reliefs of Iy-nefer are very high and flat. The large figures and their adjoining inscriptions stand 9 to 12 mm. away from the background, while the surfaces of the smaller figures and inscriptions are 6 to 7 mm. high. The hieroglyphs are unusually large, the *f* in one case measuring 23 cm. long and the *ii* 19 cm. high. Only the lowest part of the wall remains, casing the inner and outer niches of two deep plain false-doors in the face of the mastaba, as well as the façade panels of the second of these (Barsanti, *Annales*, III, pp. 198 ff.). The seated figure at a table of bread must have been reserved for the tablet, as the owner is shown standing at the back of one niche and seated with staff in the other. In addition to the large figures of the owner which face out on the backs of the outer niche and also on the façade panels, men with articles of the funerary meal appear on the sides of the niche as well as estates bearing offerings. In the dress of the chief figure we have a curious treatment of the problem of representing the panther-skin garment. Apparently in this case the man wore two skins, one at the front and one at the back, with the claws of the forelegs attached at the shoulders. The artist has experimented with two types of representation, as the drawing of the torso partly in front view and partly in profile obviously created a difficulty in the arrangement of the skins. In one case the heads of the animals are placed under the man's arm-pits and the two skins overlap in front (Pl. 36). In the other case the skin is spread out full across the front of the body. The occurrence of these two skins is probably the explanation for the two tails that are often seen hanging down in the later representations of panther skins, such as that of the Goddess Seshat in the Sahura temple (*Grabdenkmal Sahu-rê*, II, pl. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Stylistic similarities to these reliefs can be found, it seems to me, in two of the primitive niche-stones, that of Waten and Emery's Tety.

<sup>2</sup> I do not believe, though, that it is an absolutely reliable evidence of archaic date. It occurs in the wooden panel of Mer-ib in the Louvre which seems to be of late Dyn. IV. The green eye-paint appears also upon the false-door of Shepsesy in

Cairo (No. 68923, from Emery's mastaba 3302). Emery assigns an early date to this piece but the inscriptions are in sunk relief which I do not believe occurs before the reign of Chephren. The style of the reliefs resembles such carvings as those of Shery which I would assign to the late Dyn. IV group at Saqqarah.

The decorations of the cruciform chapels of FS 3078, Akhet-hetep, and Peher-nefer<sup>1</sup> are very simple, showing large figures of the owner with men bringing the funerary meal on the sides of the false-door and the entrance doorway in 3078, and personified estates on the north and south walls of all three tombs. The titles of Peher-nefer are greatly amplified so that they form almost a biographical inscription such as occurs on the door-jambes of Methen. The fragments of Akhet-a'a as they are preserved show only vertical lines of titles from the false-door and large figures of the owner facing out on the entrance jambes.<sup>2</sup> The figure of the wife does not appear in any of these chapels, and it is probable that her representations and inscriptions were reserved for her own niche or chapel as in the case of Hathor-nefer-hetep, Nofret, and Atet. The chapels of Akhet-hetep and Peher-nefer are preserved to us only in the rough sketches of Mariette and Nestor l'Hôte, making it impossible to judge the cutting of the reliefs or details of style. The reliefs of 3078 show big figures in a heavy, bold style with more rounded surfaces than in Iy-nefer (Pl. 34). The relief is not so high as that of Iy-nefer, resembling strongly in the heavy, simple modelling and the drawing of the faces of the subsidiary figures the reliefs of Rahotep and Nofret. The proportionate size of the small figures is indicated by the fact that two offering-bearers occupy the entire width of the wall on the north and south walls. The same is true of Peher-nefer, while in Akhet-hetep there is only one figure to each register on the south wall. The device of folding over the shoulders to approximate a drawing in profile occurs on the north wall of the passage to 3078, where a man holds up a bowl containing the heart of the slaughtered animal. Another device familiar in Egyptian drawing is that the heart is drawn above the bowl although it is actually supposed to be inside it. This occurs again in the case of a number of small vessels drawn above a bowl which must really have contained them (north side of the inner niche).

The sculptures of Akhet-a'a have an individual quality of their own (Pl. 35). The edges of the relief are sharply cut, although the figures are in high relief. The work has a crisp, dry quality, lacking the heavily rounded surfaces, and the hieroglyphs are smaller, sharp edged, and rather cramped in appearance (although when examined individually they are seen to be well drawn). The face is carefully modelled and approaches the quality of what might be called the idealized Old Kingdom face. The lips are no longer pursed, the eye and eyebrow naturally modelled (except for the inevitable frontality). The cheek is full and the nose straight, with a tendency towards an aquiline type. The muscles of the neck are well indicated, but the collar-bones are marked by sharp-edged depressions. Akhet-a'a wears a long robe, the top of which slants from the right shoulder to a point below the left breast. It is decorated with an unusual bow in front, while a pleated panel of the garment falls below. Among the hieroglyphs should be mentioned the wavy lines of the *mr* sign and the unusual writing of *imy-r* with *m* and a pair of eyes in the title *imy-r: k3t nb(t) n(t) nšwt*.

The chapel of Methen, strongly resembling the style of the preceding group of tombs, introduces a number of new details in its decoration (Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, II, pls. 3-7; for photographs see Fecheimer, *Plastik*, pls. 116, 117). It must be remembered, though, that this and Rahotep are the only two cruciform chapels completely preserved and that 3078 and Akhet-a'a may have contained other scenes

<sup>1</sup> The chapel FS 3078 was found by Firth in the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah (*Tomb Development*, p. 266). It is now buried again but is described here from personal examination and the photographs given to the Harvard-Boston Expedition by Mr. Firth. The chapel of Akhet-hetep is briefly described by Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 68. In *Tomb Development*, p. 398, I have attempted to identify this tomb (A 1 = No. 18) with FS 3076. The reliefs of Peher-nefer were recorded by Nestor l'Hôte and the inscriptions published by Maspero, *Études Ég.*, II, pp. 246-271. I have examined the original MSS. of Nestor

l'Hôte in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The exact location of the mastaba is uncertain but it must have been in the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah.

<sup>2</sup> The two entrance jambes are in the Louvre, and the fragments from the false-door and a broken statue of Akhet-a'a are in Berlin (Weil, *II et III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties*, pls. VI, VII). I should like to call attention to a fragment in Leipzig (No. 2807) which I believe forms part of the back panel of the inner niche of the false-door.

at the top of the destroyed walls. Methen gives us for the first time the table scene in its proper position on the tablet of the false-door. On the west wall is a very abbreviated hunting scene continued on the south wall with five registers of animals. In each of the three lower registers on the south wall a hound seizes a hooved animal (Fig. 60). In every case the large figure of the owner, instead of standing alone on the wall, is accompanied by small figures who present him with food offerings or perform for him

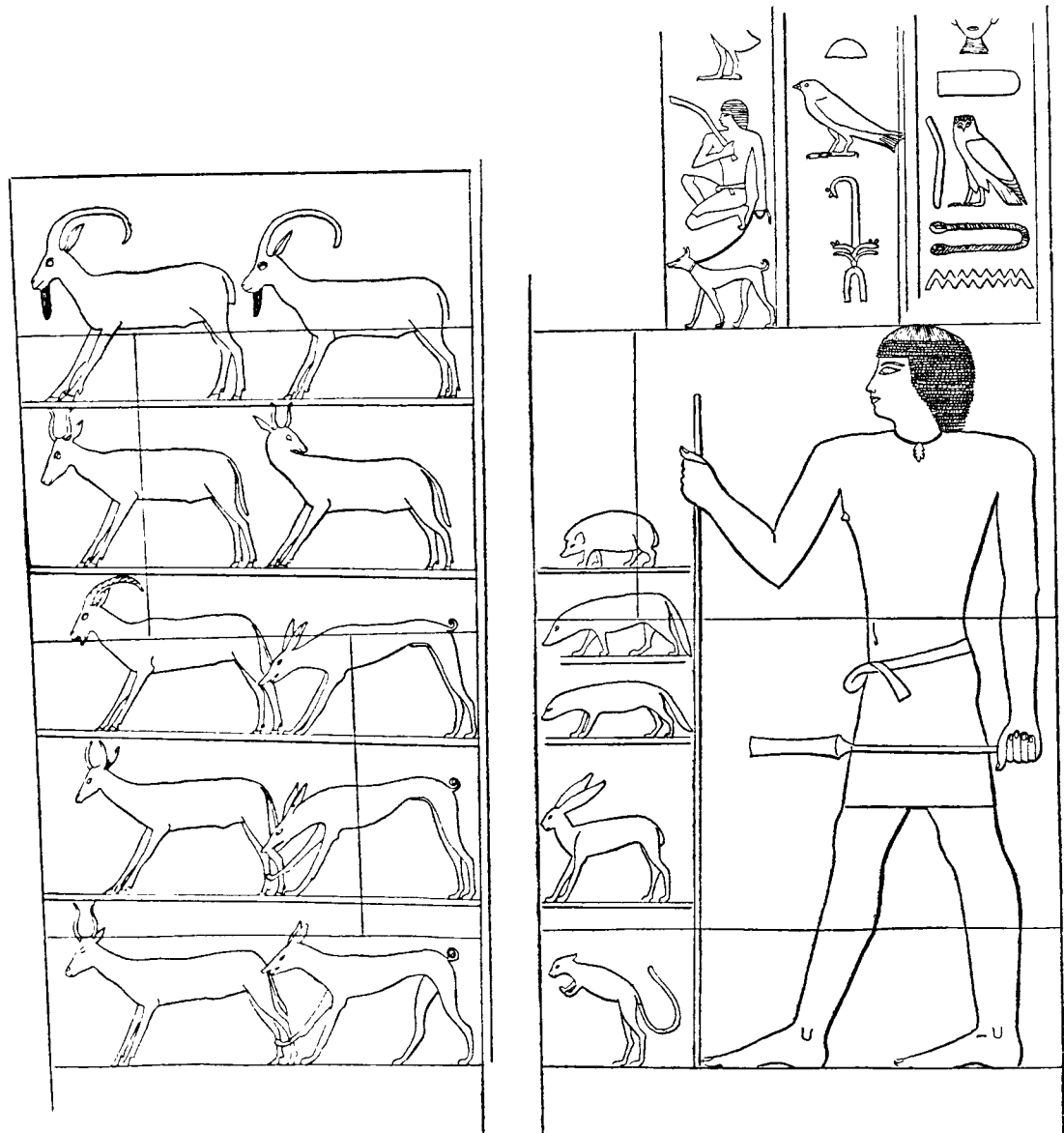


FIG. 60. Hunting scene from chapel of Methen, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pls. 3, 6.

the ceremonies connected with the receiving of the funerary meal. On the east wall appears the first known slaughter scene. As important as the expansion of subject-matter is a new continuity of representation from wall to adjoining wall. The continuation of the desert game from the west to the south wall has been mentioned above. On the east wall a man hurries away from the slaughtered bull carrying the heart and a fresh cut of meat to the large figure of the owner on the north wall for whom ceremonies are being performed. Men with equipment on the east wall also proceed towards this chief figure, while south of the entrance men bearing similar objects continue the procession of such offering-bearers on the south wall. Curious is the placing of the chief figure on the upper part of the north and south walls with subsidiary registers below, but the Medum chapels show a tendency towards this arrangement.

The reliefs of Methen are not entirely finished. The completed carving is fine in quality and the

modelling of the figures is more advanced than in any of the high reliefs examined so far. The heads are particularly well executed, and the animals and hieroglyphs are beautifully drawn. The relief is high, ranging from 2 to 12 mm. The figure on the back panel of the false-door has been left in one plane with a sharp edge to the carving and the background has been cut completely away only around the front outline of the figure. The standing figure in the upper part of the north wall is in very high relief with a sharp edge, and the surface modelling of the edges has not been brought to completion. The extreme upper part of the east wall remains uninscribed. In the drawing, the convention of the folded-over shoulders appears in the man pouring from a ewer into a basin on the west wall north of the false-door, in two men pulling on the legs of the slaughtered bull, and in the man running with the heart and cut of meat (the heart is again drawn above the basin). A very elaborate type of folded-back shoulder, for once almost successful, is seen in the man carrying a bed on his back on the south wall (Fig. 171). Observation of individuality is shown in the pendulous, fleshy breast of the seated figure of Methen on the south wall, evidently portraying him as an ageing man. The lining of the eyes with green paint is found not only on the face of the owner, but at least once on a subsidiary figure (man carrying animal on east wall). The elaborate forms of hieroglyphs, which are drawn on a large scale, are too numerous to mention in detail. The spatial treatment of the hunter represented above his dog (Fig. 6c) is interesting.

When we turn to the Medum reliefs it becomes evident that here there is a great expansion of subject-matter. For the first time the family of the owner appears, but it is to be noted that while Atet is shown in the chapel of her husband Neferma'at, the cruciform chapel of Rahotep follows the example of the other chapels and relegates the representations of Nofret to her own niche. This niche follows the old simple forms. The tablet of the inner niche gives us, however, for the first time the man and wife seated facing each other at table of bread. Sons and daughters appear on the backs of the outer niche. Rahotep's figure is on the back of the inner recess and his name and titles on the cross-bar. Compartment lists with two registers of estates below occupy the sides of the deep outer niche. The style of these reliefs and those of Rahotep (Pls. 33, 34) resembles closely that of 3078 at Saqqarah.

In addition to the representation of other members of the family, new scenes of several different types are found at Medum. The hunting scene appears on a wall of the corridor of Rahotep, on the north wall of Atet's deep niche, and the south wall of her outer crude-brick corridor, as well as on the façade of Neferma'at. The bird-trapping scene, and accompanying scenes of boating, appear in all three cases (a particularly beautiful example of the bird-trapping scene is that in the painted corridor of Atet (Fig. 61)). The boat-building scene, the fishing scene, and the ploughing scene are common to the three chapels. These reliefs also display a number of minor incidents from life which are surprising at such an early period. In Rahotep's chapel a man sits under a clump of papyrus cutting up fish, while below him two men carry an enormous fish slung from a paddle. In the Neferma'at and Atet reliefs small scenes of children playing with animals are a valuable addition to the very limited body of light, half-humorous subjects (Fig. 225). The panel from Neferma'at's façade showing a man skinning an animal that hangs from a tree has an unusual detail of a monkey climbing up the tree. Another early treatment of the slaughter scene is the group on the façade of Atet where a man cuts off the head of an oryx held up by its horns. Many features familiar from later Old Kingdom scenes occur here for the first time, for example, the heron that stands in the prow of a boat, the man who braces his back against the underside of a boat in the process of building, the group of figures (badly preserved on the south wall of Atet's niche) twisting with sticks the cloth containing the dregs from the oil or wine vat, or the woman suckling a child (determinative of *mnrt Snfrw*). Other examples are the man seated in a carrying-chair, the wife squatting at the feet of her husband, and the crouching figure of the hunter (this has

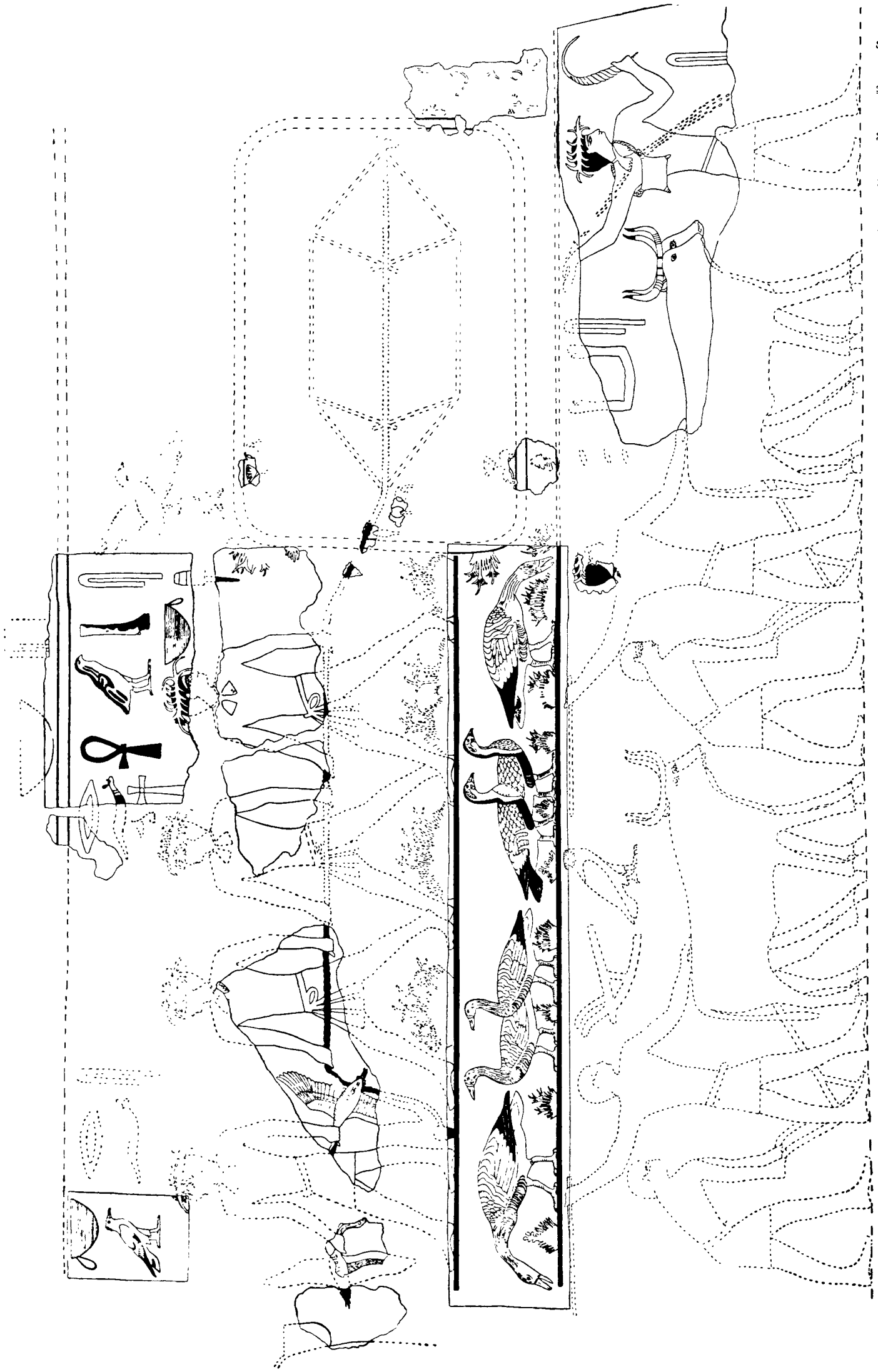


FIG. 61. Restoration of swamp scene from outer corridor of chapel of Atet at Medum; *J.E.A.*, 1937, pls. IV, VII.

appeared in the hieroglyph for *mšr* as early as the private inscription of the time of Semerkhet at the Wady Maghara). A rare detail is the hunting leopard accompanying his master or the attractive pattern of the hound seizing the tail of the last of a row of foxes.

The Medum reliefs thus show us the beginning of that long line of subjects drawn from the everyday life of the Egyptians which have made the decorations of their chapels such a source of pleasure and instruction to us at the present day. It should be noted that these scenes are in general reduced to small panels with a few figures performing a typical action representing the whole scene. One suspects, however, that the small panels of the reliefs may be compressed elements from large scenes painted on crude-brick corridor walls (like the scenes in Atet's outer corridor) rather than primitive elements from which were built up the larger scenes. Already the wide walls of the deep stone-lined niches of Neferma'at and Atet and the long corridor of Rahotep's chapel allowed space for the expansion of the scene and an increase in the number of figures represented. We have seen also a tendency to carry over the contents of one wall to the next in the Chapel of Methen and this is repeated in Rahotep's reliefs, clearly in the case where a fishing scene on the east wall adjoins men cleaning fish and carrying a large fish on a pole on the south wall. The shape of the cruciform chapel was badly adapted for representing large scenes from life which had been in existence as early as the reign of Zoser, as the swamp scene in the outer corridor of Hesi-ra proves conclusively. The L-shaped chapel at Giza was also badly restricted in wall-space for the representation of large scenes, and it is probably for this reason that the scenes from life do not appear in the interior chapels of this type, but were reserved, as we know from the example of Prince Ka-wab's chapel, for the outer rooms. With the introduction of the rock-cut chapel with its many rooms and large wall-spaces, and with the appearance of the multiple-roomed chapels of Dyn.V, the scenes from life finally expanded to their fullest extent.

In the drawing of the Medum reliefs, and particularly in the paintings from Atet's corridor and the fragments from the Neferma'at chapel, the artist has reached a new sureness and skill which in the paintings falls little short of perfection in the beauty of line, the careful delineation of small details, and the clear, bright colour. Mrs. Davies has already noted that in the famous fragment of painting with the geese: 'Subtler shades are used than we find elsewhere in Egyptian painting. Black mixed with white has produced grey, and mixed with red has produced a dull pink. Black has also been combined with yellow and red to form a dark brown, while shading with fine lines adds new tones to the feathers. The stippling of light red on the legs has yielded a far brighter tint than if the colour had been applied opaquely, as upon the breasts' (*Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. III, p. 5). We shall return to the subject of the colouring of these paintings later. At present it is sufficient to note the tremendous advance over anything that is preserved from a previous period. With all their delicacy of inner detail, it should be remembered that these paintings still retain the same boldness of style and the use of a few very large figures to fill a wall-space that we have found characteristic of the reliefs. The scenes from life have given the artist new scope for drawing figures in motion. He shows a predilection for the folded-over shoulder and he retains the archaism of the chair seen in plan as well as in profile. A similar convention seems to be found in the drawing of Neferma'at carried in a chair. Neferma'at must really have sat on the floor of the chair with his knees up and not on a box throne as seems to be indicated here (that is, the artist has placed him on the arm of the chair).<sup>1</sup> This probably resulted from a desire not to hide part of the figure. Here

<sup>1</sup> That this interpretation may be wrong, however, is indicated by two later examples which resemble the Neferma'at representation and not the ordinary mode of drawing the man seated in a carrying-chair. These two examples (a relief in Berlin numbered 15790, and the Cairo relief of Ipy, Wreszinski,

*Atlas*, I, pl. 405) seem to show a box throne and have a cushion laid over the back of what I should have interpreted as the back panel of the carrying-chair but what may here be the low back-rest of the throne.

and there is a sparing indication of background—desert ground beneath the animals in the painted hunting scene (*J.E.A.*, June, 1937, pl. V), flowering plants to accompany the geese, a tree from which hangs the game, and papyrus clumps under which squats a man cleaning fish, or a man pulling the cord of a bird trap. A beginning towards this localization of the scene has been found as early as the Scorpion mace-head with its winding stream, hut, shrine, and palm-tree, or the water which surrounds the crocodile in the Hesi-ra painting. These first slight indications now receive a more naturalistic development which was to continue, very cautiously it is true, later on.

In the chapels of Atet and Neferma'at there is an entirely new technique in the carving of reliefs. It resembles somewhat the later sunk relief and consisted in cutting out the stone within the outlines of the figures and filling these spaces with coloured pastes. Bosses and projections were left to hold the paste in place, but the device was neither a satisfactory nor a lasting one. As we now see the walls most of the paste has fallen out carrying away the inner details, which were indicated by transitions from one coloured paste to another, and leaving only the outlines and rough backgrounds for the colour. Curiously enough, at the outer edge of Neferma'at's corridor a small area of the wall has been carved in high relief resembling that of Rahotep. A tablet was found inscribed in this same high relief, and it seems that the later blocking of the corridor was carved to represent a false-door framed by these altered outer edges of the corridor walls. The technique of inlaying with coloured pastes did not continue in favour. We have only one other example of its use on a smaller scale in the inscriptions on the base of the statue of Hemyuwnuw where the hieroglyphs were similarly inlaid.

## IX

# THE RELIEFS OF DYNASTY IV: CHEOPS TO SHEPSESKAF

### a. The Royal Examples

CHEOPS has left at the Wady Maghara a record like that of his predecessors (Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, I, p. 62, Fig. 41; Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pls. II-III). He is shown wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt smiting a Bedouin chieftain. He is accompanied by a protecting bird, a figure of the god Thoth, and by a full titulary in large hieroglyphs. The carving shows a development of the bold type of high relief with massive rounded surfaces and detailed inner drawing on a large scale. Among the inscriptions of the Hat-nub quarry there is a carving of the time of Cheops (Fig. 54). The king wears the red crown. He is seated on a box throne holding a staff in his left hand and a mace over his right shoulder. Above him is the protecting Horus hawk, and beneath the throne are the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt joined by the symbol *sm*. The king is accompanied by his Horus name and his name Khufuw, as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. The style of relief is impossible to judge from a drawing (Anthes, *Inschriften von Hat-nub*, pl. 4), but the figures and inscriptions show able draughtsmanship.

Until recently there was no evidence of any decoration, either of reliefs or inscriptions, in the funerary temple of Cheops, but there are a number of fragments of royal work in other temples dating to his reign.<sup>1</sup> At Bubastis was found a granite block with the Horus name of Cheops incised upon it in bold well-cut hieroglyphs (Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. VIII). Built into the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht were a number of blocks which had decorated an Old Kingdom temple destroyed most probably somewhere in the neighbourhood to form building material for the monument of the later king. These reliefs cover a period from the reign of Cheops to the end of Dyn. VI and record the names of Cheops, Chephren, Unas, and Pepy. It will not be possible to discuss this material thoroughly until Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams shall have completed her study of these reliefs and solved the difficult problem of assigning the pieces which are not dated by a king's name to their proper place. The blocks which can be attributed certainly to Cheops show a delicate low relief of the finest quality resembling the fine low carvings in the chapel of the queen's pyramid G I b and the decorations of the chapels of Ankh-haf (G 7510) Hemyuwnuw (G 4000), and Merytyetes (G 7650). The fragments give a titulary of the king, representations of personified royal estates (one of which shows for the first time the device of placing the cartouche of the king on the head of a female figure, Pl. 39), cattle with labels over them compounded with the name of Cheops (Pl. 39), and a fragment of inscription including the name of the king.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Selim Bey Hassan has recently cleared the Pyramid Temple of Cheops, and it is apparent that this was decorated with fine low reliefs in white limestone, resembling the best work known already from this reign, as well as sunk relief inscriptions in granite. One fragment shows the king standing wearing the red crown, while another, with an inscription mentioning the Great Pyramid, shows Cheops seated on the Heb-Sed throne. There need no longer be any doubt that royal reliefs appeared in at least one funerary temple of Dyn. IV.

<sup>2</sup> A block with cattle, different from that mentioned above, has been published. *Handbook of The Egyptian Rooms* (1911), p. 36, fig. 14. Other fragments of these Old Kingdom reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum have been published as follows: sailors manning the rigging of a ship, *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, Dec. 1922, p. 13, fig. 12; goat's head, *l.c.*, fig. 13; block re-used in pavement, *l.c.*, Oct. 1914, p. 221, fig. 15; block with the god Wep-wawt, *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. I, p. 525.



The chapels of the three queens' pyramids, east of the Great Pyramid of their husband Cheops, were probably all decorated with reliefs. Only a part of the decoration of that of the Middle Pyramid (G I b) was preserved. Here fragments of relief were found in such a position as to leave no doubt that they came from the walls of this chapel. Other fragments, which by their style and subject-matter appear to belong with these, were found north and east of G I b and probably come from the same chapel, although they could, of course, come from G I a. Some fragments of relief found in the debris of the Cheops causeway, in the light of recent discoveries, seem to come from that king's temple. The pieces are very small, furnishing a meagre indication of the subject-matter represented, but they are of fine low relief like the best work of the reign of Cheops. The chapel of G I c, which we know from a late inscription belonged to Queen Henutsen, was altered in the Saite period to form a temple of Isis. From the old Dyn. IV decoration there still remain fragments of palace-façade panelling carved on the wall on each side of the entrance to the inner offering-room. The fragments from G I b give part of the titles of the queen, bits of offering-lists, and men bringing offerings and animals. Fragments of a boat being paddled by a number of men were found, and over another boat a fragmentary inscription mentioning the shrine of Buto (*pr nsr*). One piece, in particular, bears evidence of its origin in a royal chapel as it has the band of sky with stars separating two registers, a detail found only in royal reliefs. Fragmentary as is this material, it bears evidence of the most beautiful drawing and accomplished carving. The relief is of delicate low quality with carefully drawn detail and fine modelling of the surfaces (the fragments are in Boston. See Pl. 38).

Until the excavations recently undertaken by Selim Bey Hassan none of the Dyn. IV funerary temples showed definite evidence of having been decorated with scenes or figures in relief. There should be mentioned, however, a block found in the excavation of the temples of the Second Pyramid (Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, p. 110) showing a bound captive attended by an Egyptian, and the feet of a row of four figures proceeding to the left in the register above. The type of scene resembles that found in the causeway corridor connecting Valley Temple and Pyramid Temple in the Dyn. V pyramids at Abusir and in that of Pepy II at Saqqarah South. The scene at the lower end of the corridor, adjoining the Valley Temple, usually shows the king as a griffon trampling upon enemy peoples and processions of gods leading captives (*Sa-hu-re*, pls. 3, 5-8, *Ne-user-re*, pls. 8-12). The Giza piece suggests that a similar decoration was to be found on the walls at the lower end of the destroyed Chephren causeway. Prof. Steindorff (*l.c.*, p. 110) noticed the resemblance in style to the Sahura reliefs and assumed that the block had been dragged over from Abusir to use as building stone. It seems to me that with the many constructions in the neighbourhood of the Chephren Temple from which fine stone could have been quarried this is most unlikely. On stylistic grounds the fine low relief with which the block is carved closely resembles the low relief of the reign of Cheops and the reliefs of Ankh-haf (G 7510) and Merytyetes (G 7650) of the reign of Chephren, a type of relief of which the Sahura reliefs are a later survival. It is perhaps relevant to mention here that Herodotus speaks of the decoration of the Cheops causeway as follows: 'It took ten years' oppression of the people to make the causeway for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior, in my judgement, to the pyramid itself. This causeway is five furlongs in length, ten fathoms wide, and in height, at the highest part, eight fathoms. It is built of polished stone and is covered with carvings of animals.'<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the list of 'radishes, onions, and garlick' for the workmen which Herodotus saw on the face of the pyramid was probably an offering-list on one of the temple's walls (*Herodotus*, II, 125).

The granite facing of the Chephren temple shows a sparing use of monumental inscriptions in sunk

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, Book II, Chap. 124; Everyman edition, p. 178.

relief, both in the great court of the Pyramid Temple and on the façade of the Valley Temple.<sup>1</sup> At Bubastis (Naviile, *Bubastis*, pl. XXXII) was found a block, presumably of granite like that of Cheops, bearing the names of Chephren inside a frame. A block of hard stone bearing the name of Chephren was also found re-used in the construction of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, while at Tanis a door-jamb inscribed with Chephren's name has recently been found (*Chronique d'Égypte*, 1936, p. 387). The unfinished Pyramid Temples of Mycerinus and those of his queens seem to have had no decoration of reliefs, although the great courts of the Mycerinus Pyramid and Valley Temples were lined with mud-brick palace-façade panelling which was used also in the chapels of the Queens' Pyramids. The chapel of Shepseskaf at Saqqarah South seems to have been similarly bare of decoration. The last important person of the royal house of Dyn. IV to be buried at Giza, Queen Khent-kauw-s, who lived on into Dyn. V, had, in addition to the inscriptions incised in the granite of the door-jamb and on the granite palace-façade stela, some limestone reliefs, but these had been badly smashed and only small fragments were recovered.

#### b. Private Reliefs

In dealing with the private reliefs of the period from the reign of Cheops to that of Shepseskaf it must be remembered that the royal cemetery at Giza was planned and laid out by the king and that the chapels of the princes and princesses of the time of Cheops, and some of those of the following reigns, were made at the order of the king. The great works of the kings of Dyn. IV provided at Giza a training school for craftsmen which brought the work of the average artist to a high level never before known in Egypt. It is no longer possible to distinguish as clearly as in an earlier period between royal workmanship and that at the command of private persons.

The earliest reliefs that were executed at Giza in the reign of Cheops were slab-stelae which were given to certain persons for the decoration of their mastabas by the king as a mark of royal favour. These slab-stelae are found only at Giza, and in that cemetery they were set in the retaining walls of the mastabas near the southern end of the eastern face. They are found in the earliest mastabas of the Western Field. The representations on these stones correspond to the scene on the tablet of the early false-doors and on the primitive niche-stones. They show the owner seated at a table of bread, accompanied by his name and titles, and by offering-lists which are grouped in three different forms. These are the old compartment-list, including food, drink, a linen list, and sometimes articles of furniture, which we have found in its earliest form in the cupboard-list of the chapel of Hesi-ra, and later in the primitive niche-stones and on the false-doors of the early stone-lined niches and cruciform chapels; a short list of food and drink inscribed over the table of bread; and an abbreviated list in ideographic form which appears under the table. The position of the figure is always the same, left hand on breast and right arm half extended towards the table. The right arm is always provided with a left hand and both feet are left feet, a convention that endures until the close of Dyn. XVIII when, for the first time, the toes of the right foot (or near foot, left if the figure is facing to the left) are drawn correctly. The slab-stelae present two forms, one which includes the compartment-list mentioned above, and a second, wider slab in which the short list over the table is increased to form long horizontal lines extending to the right between the table and the compartment-list. The two examples of this wider form of slab-stelae were found in the mastabas of Princess Merytyetes (G 4140) and Prince Seshat-sekhentyuw (G 2120).

There are preserved complete or in a fragmentary condition, fifteen of these slab-stelae (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. 17-20, 39, 57). All are carved in low relief of fine quality resembling that from

<sup>1</sup> See Chassinat, *Monuments Piot*, vol. 25, p. 55, for a column fragment inscribed with the name of Radedef at Abu Roash

the queen's chapel G I b and display the same excellent draughtsmanship. The three most perfectly preserved, those of Nefert-yabet (G 1225 now in the Curtis Collection in Paris; *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 19), Wepemnofret (G 1201, in the University of California Collection, Pl. 32), and Iwnw (G 4150, in Hildesheim; Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XXVII), still retain their painted surfaces with inner detail produced by the most delicate brush strokes. The carving is simple in treatment. The human figure shows very little modelling, the forms being indicated by the outlines and the lightly rounded surface which grades off gently to the background. The modelling is concentrated on the face, in the lines of the eye, nose, mouth, and cheek. The faces do not display any strong individuality. They have the conventionalized outline of the 'ideal' Dyn. IV face. The slightly rounded forehead joins with the straight nose. Nostrils and lips are delicately rounded. The small chin with a squarish angle in the mens' faces, more rounded in those of women, is joined to the rather short neck by the full outline of the throat. The cheek is full, the eye fairly deep-set. The ear is well drawn when not hidden by the wig. There is none of the delineation of personal characteristics which is to be found in certain Dyn. IV portraiture. The line of the jaw, the collar-bones, and the ankles are not indicated. Curiously enough the modelling of the bull- or lion-legs of the chair receives a detailed treatment not accorded to human figures. An unusual convention is the cord in relief that cuts across the muscles and tendons of the back leg. It can be seen clearly in two of the stelae (Nofret, G 1207 and Sethy-hekenet, G 1227), on the leg of a bull in the reliefs of Ankh-haf (G 7510), on three chair-legs in the chapel of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140), and in a number of later examples. The inner drawing of the hieroglyphs is relatively simple in the relief, but the painter added the most elaborate detail and even broke up his areas of flat colour with fine lines of a different hue, as we can see in the slab-stela of Wepemnofret where the paint is particularly well preserved.

The low-relief style of the slab-stelae is exemplified in the reliefs of four chapels at Giza, two of the reign of Cheops (Hemyuwnw, G 4000, and Khent-ka(?) G 2130; *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 36 and fig. 248), and two of the reign of Chephren (Ankh-haf, G 7510, and Merytyetes, G 7650). The quality of these reliefs is very similar to those of Pyramid G I b, the earliest of the Old Kingdom reliefs found at Lisht, and the block found in the debris of the Chephren Temple (Hölscher, *l.c.*, p. 110).

The two Cheops chapels are badly destroyed and give only a hint of the scenes which they must have contained. A fragmentary portrait head of Hemyuwnw (the best of two found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in the debris of a lime kiln south of the mastaba and now in Boston) shows strong individualization (Pl. 48) and the fragmentary inscriptions from the tomb are composed of beautifully drawn hieroglyphs. The legs of the large figure on the door-jamb (Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XVII) are in higher relief, but it is characteristic of the chapels of low relief type at Giza that the large figure of the owner is carved in a somewhat bolder style than the small figures and inscriptions. The chapel of Ankh-haf was very badly damaged and has left us no large head of the owner (Pl. 40). Again, the large figure has a higher plane of relief, but this grades off gently to the background. The drawing of the hieroglyphs and animals shows the greatest accomplishment. The same is true of the slightly better preserved reliefs of Merytyetes. Here the small figures have a vivacity and grace seldom equalled. The movements of the running figure north of the northern false-door, the men carrying fish on the east wall, and those slaughtering a bull on the west, are shrewdly observed. In a figure in the slaughtering scene the artist has captured an aspect of the body almost in true profile (Pl. 41), but the device of folding over the shoulders is still common both in this chapel and in that of Ankh-haf. The low relief is of the most beautiful quality as can be seen in fragments where the surface is well preserved, such as the fine piece with the figures of two daughters from the west wall in the Gulbenkian Collection (recently loaned to

the British Museum, Pl. 41), or the head of the Princess Merytyetes from the east wall (now in Boston, Pl. 41) which shows a strong face evidently intended for a portrait. The head of Akhet-hetep (Pl. 42) on the north wall has been one of the finest in the necropolis but is now badly weathered. Another head of a man named Akhet-hetep with similar titles, in the Barracco Collection in Rome, bears such a strong stylistic resemblance to the Merytyetes reliefs that I feel that it must also come from this chapel (Pl. 42). It is too small to fit suitably into the space south of the southern false-door, but it could be one of the back panels of the outer niche of the missing southern false-door. However, there is a very strong probability that this southern stela was the famous one belonging to Queen Merytyetes, found by Mariette. The measurements given by Mariette fit the empty emplacement, and there seems to be no other mastaba in the cemetery which could have contained this stela. Two women are shown throughout the chapel, and it is possible that these may be Queen Merytyetes and her daughter the Princess Merytyetes (in whose name the northern false-door was inscribed) who was married to Akhet-hetep. Mariette's description (*Mastabas*, p. 565) of the stela of Queen Merytyetes allows no possibility that the Barracco panel of Akhet-hetep could form a part of this piece. It is certain therefore that if the Mariette stela was in this chapel another position would have to be found for the Barracco panel. The occurrence of both pieces in the same chapel seems incompatible, but the evidence at present does not allow a definite solution of the problem.

There is another style at Giza which is to be found occurring beside that of the slab-stelae. Whereas the low type of relief has already been found perfected by the craftsmen of Zoser, this style is a continuation of the heavy bold reliefs of Medum, Dahshur, and Saqqarah. As it appears at Giza it is developed and refined. It retains the high, bold aspect of the older reliefs, but the surface never attains such a great height, the edges are more gently rounded off to the background, and the inner detail is more complicated and delicate in execution. The modelling of the faces, in particular, has attained a smooth finish. In general the bodies show more modelling than is to be found in the low reliefs. The inner detail of hieroglyphs may be of a complicated nature. Relatively this decoration of the surfaces is simple, though, and large in scale, as can be seen by comparing these reliefs with Dyn. VI work where very bold masses are sometimes entirely filled with detail which seems over-fine and rather mars the effect of the whole.

The finest example of this type of relief is the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf (G 7130 : G 7140) (Pls. 42-44). The other chapels of the Eastern Cemetery cannot be so clearly assigned to either the high or low style, but show a mixture of both types of relief. It should be noted that even in the chapel of Khufuw-khaf the offering-bearers on the west wall are carved in low relief. The large figures still remaining on the west wall of the chapel of the Crown Prince Ka-wab (G 7110 - 7120) are in low relief, but while some of the other fragments from this tomb show similar low relief, others are in a high, bold style. The fragmentary condition of the chapels of the sons and daughters of Cheops in the Eastern Cemetery makes it very difficult to form an accurate impression of their style. The reliefs on the false-door of Prince Hordedef (G 7210 + 7220) are very low, but other fragments from this chapel, while low, show less able workmanship and do not approach in quality the fine drawing of the Ankh-haf chapel. Only fragments of inscriptions were found in the chapel of Prince Ra-bauw-f(?) (G 7310 - 7320) and these again, while comparatively low, show the slight irregularities of outline and unevenness of surface which marks them as inferior to the finest low relief. The same rather contradictory quality is shown by the very small fragments of relief that were recovered in the chapels of the wives of these princes. The material from the tomb of Queen Meresankh II (G 7410 - 7420) is similarly contradictory and very meagre. A few hieroglyphs are in a bold style of relief, while a figure of the queen in a boat is

comparatively low. The latter piece is badly weathered, but sufficiently preserved to show that the workmanship of neither style equals in quality that of Khufuw-khaf or Ankh-haf. One mastaba in the Western Field, of the reign of Cheops, was decorated in bold relief of very fine quality. This is the chapel of G 4260. The name of the owner is destroyed and the reliefs are preserved only in a few fragments (Junker, *Giza*, I, pls. XXIX, XXX). The other chapel of the reign of Cheops in the Western Cemetery which has preserved a portion of its unfinished decoration is that of Sneferuw-Seneb (G 4240). The tablet from this tomb (in Cairo) is carved in fairly low relief resembling that of Ra-bauw-f(?) and Hordedef. The surfaces are irregular and the hieroglyphs badly aligned and uneven in outline (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 57). The tiny fragments from the chapel of Princess Nefert-kauw (in the Eastern Cemetery, G 7050) are too small to give any very conclusive evidence. They appear to have been in relief of medium height. Some other very small fragments found in the badly destroyed chapel of G 2000 seemed to represent the bold style of relief.

From the end of the reign of Cheops to the close of the Fourth Dynasty, the problem of style is further complicated by the introduction of two other types of relief. In the chapel of Prince Min-khaf, probably decorated in the reign of Chephren, while the figures on the southern false-door are in comparatively low relief, most of the large inscriptions are executed in sunk relief (Pl. 46). We have found this already in the granite inscriptions of Cheops and Chephren, but here the inner details are worked with particular care in the softer material (limestone). In this technique a figure or hieroglyph is sunk below the surface of the stone and the inner detail worked out in relief. The use of sunk relief was from now on to play an important part in the decoration of private chapels, particularly in the cutting of inscriptions. The other factor which influenced the type of carving was the use of nummulitic stone to line the chapel walls instead of the fine white limestone. This appears in the mastabas of the Eastern Field towards the end of the reign of Chephren or the beginning of the reign of Mycerinus. The rougher quality of this stone did not permit working in the delicate type of low relief, nor was it particularly suitable for the projecting surfaces of high relief. The result was that there was developed a medium kind of relief neither very high nor very low. The quality of nummulitic stone used in the earliest of these mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery is very good and permitted a considerable degree of finish, but when the sculptors came to work in the bad stone of the rock-cut tombs towards the end of Dyn. IV, frequent patching and washing of the wall with plaster was required to gain a suitable surface for the carving. Sometimes it was necessary only to apply a thin coating of plaster to obtain a smooth surface upon which to apply the pigment, but usually small details were cut in the plaster, and often the entire wall decoration was cut in the sized surface. Craftsmen who had worked in this style naturally were inclined to modify their technique even when they could make use of the good surfaces of white limestone. In the Western Cemetery the chapels of the more important tombs continued to be lined with fine white stone, but an increasing number of wall surfaces consisted of nummulitic masonry. After the reign of Chephren we find that the medium style of relief was prevalent with only a few brief reversion to the high or low type of relief. Towards the end of Dyn. IV and in Dyn. V a modification of the medium relief was adopted as a labour-saving device. This could only be executed in a surface of good quality and is found in the white limestone reliefs of Dyn. V at Saqqarah, but it was probably invented in the thick plastered surfaces of the walls of rock-cut tombs. Previously, in all types of relief, the background was completely cut away, leaving the figures and inscriptions raised at varying heights according to the style of relief. In this new technique the background was largely left at its original level, graded off imperceptibly to the outline of the figures where the cutting is deep. This amounts to a finely graded incision around the figure which is raised well

above the background which adjoins it. This is only possible for figures in low relief, and when the execution is good the gradation is so little noticeable that the fact that the background projects in large surfaces to the height of the figures themselves is not readily visible. At a casual glance the impression is that of the fine early low relief, but closer examination shows that this is really slovenly craftsmanship saving the labour of cutting away the background. Thus when we speak of the fine low reliefs of Dyn. V, we should be careful to apply this description to the royal reliefs of the first half of the Dynasty which really are of a quality to be compared to Dyn. IV work, and not to much of the work in the private tombs in which the background has not been completely cut away. We find this type of relief beginning as early as the reign of Shepseskaf in the rock-cut tomb of Queen Meresankh III (Pl. 44).

The chapel of Nofer (G 2110) probably was decorated in the reign of Chephren. We find here a mixture of different types of relief. The southern door-jamb (in the Louvre) is of the high bold type, while the height of the carving on the northern jamb (in Boston) is less pronounced. It should be noted, though, that while the figures on the north jamb are in fine fairly low relief, the hieroglyphs show a coarseness of treatment which increases inside the room, the carving of the signs on the west wall (in Copenhagen) being particularly bad. Most of the reliefs inside the chapel can only be classed as of the medium type. The Nofer chapel and a few fragments from the chapel of Prince Ka-wab show us that this relief of moderate height did not originate entirely in the nummulitic chapels, but rather that the continuation and spread of its use was due to these chapels and to the rock-cut tombs. The work in the chapel of Nofer, in its entirety, falls below the level of the finest reliefs of the Cheops period, and the two low-relief chapels of the Chephren period already mentioned, Ankh-haf and Merytyetes. Nevertheless, the table scene on the south door-jamb (Louvre), the standing figure on the north jamb (Boston), the heads of the standing figures on the south wall (Boston), and the decoration of the tablet of the false-door (Barracco Collection, Rome) are of fine quality. The unevenness of execution may be due in some part to the fact that the chapel is not entirely finished. Attention should be called to the remarkable portraiture displayed, particularly in the heads of the tablet and the north door-jamb (Pl. 48). The depression between forehead and nose, the curve of the latter ending in a beak-like point, and the set of the chin and lips are repeated in the reserve head found in the burial-pit. The characteristics are less pronounced on the south door-jamb, and disappear in the conventionalization of the heads on the south and west walls.<sup>1</sup>

The chapel of Min-khaf (G 7430 ÷ 7440) has been mentioned above as belonging to the reign of Chephren. The chapel of Hetep-heres (G 7540), dated to this time very probably by a quarry mark of the year 13 on one of the casing blocks of the mastaba, is badly destroyed and presents fragments of

<sup>1</sup> The reliefs of Nofer are scattered throughout a number of Museums in Europe and America. I give the following references to their present location. The date of the demolition of the chapel is unknown but was prior to 1903. The fragments are shown restored to their proper places in the drawings in *Giza Necropolis*, I, Figs. 241, 242, and pls. 30-33. The north door-jamb, the upper part of the south wall, and some small fragments were found displaced in the debris by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1906. Capart, *Documents*, II, pl. 23, illustrates the Louvre and Boston entrance jambs. The tablet of the false-door in the Barracco Collection in Rome is illustrated by Weill, *II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Dynasties*, pl. IV. The figures of man and wife at the northern end of the east wall are still in place (headless), but two registers of the figures in front of them are in Copenhagen, Mogenson, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La Collection Égyptienne*, pl. XCIV. The same is

true of the west wall south of the false-door where the large figures are still in place and the north half of the wall is in Copenhagen (*loc. cit.*, pl. XCIII). A small fragment of the slaughtered bull in the lower right-hand corner of the Copenhagen piece is still in place on the wall. The upper part of two large figures from the south wall is in Boston (put together from several fragments; *M.F.A. Bulletin*, XXIX, p. 120). The north wall was undecorated as were the lower portions of the false-door. The drum of Nofer in Philadelphia which Capart (*loc. cit.*) attributes to this tomb was found by Fisher in the Far Western Cemetery (re-used in the burial-chamber of G 3015 A. Fisher, *Giza, The Minor Cemetery*, pl. 50) and has no relation to this tomb nor has a similar drum found in a neighbouring portion of the Far Western Cemetery in G 1461 (Boston, M.F.A. No. 213080).

relief of medium type with no remarkable features. The same is true of the false-door of the Princess Weneshet (G 4840; Junker, *l.c.*, pl. XL) and the reliefs from the chapel of Akhy (G 4750, Junker, *l.c.*, pl. XXXIX) which probably also belong to the Chephren period or a little later. The nummulitic chapels of the Eastern Cemetery, all bearing a close resemblance to one another in style, probably began at the end of the reign of Chephren and were continued into the reign of Mycerinus. They are the chapels of Neferma'at (G 7060), Sneferuw-khaf (G 7070), Duwa-ne-hor (G 7550), Min-dedef (7760), Ka-m-sekhem (7660), Iy-nefer . . .? (G 7820), and Zaty (G 7810). These all show the medium type of relief with here and there the background not completely cut away, but one of the chapels, G 7750, the owner of which is not known, has the entrance jambs decorated with very high relief, ranging from 5 to 10 mm., although the relief on the false-door is as low as 3 mm. The back of the false-door is carved in a block of white limestone set into the nummulitic masonry of the rest of the chapel.

The most important chapel of the time of Mycerinus was probably decorated toward the end of the reign. This is in the mastaba of Prince Duwanera (G 5110), who was probably a son of Queen Meresankh III. The work is not completely finished. The west wall, with the lower part of the two false-doors, is partly uninscribed. The southern end of the east wall, and the chief figures on the south wall, remain in the one-plane stage. The finished work shows a high, bold relief of the best quality (Pls. 58, 59). The drawing is vigorous and the modelling distinctive. In certain respects, for example the over-large heads of the subsidiary figures on the east wall, the work resembles that of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140) and equals it in excellence. Another chapel decorated with bold reliefs is that of Sennuwka (G 2041, Pl. 45) which probably also dates to the Mycerinus period. Only the west wall was decorated and the work is not completely finished. The quality of the carving is good, but the delineation of form is less expert than is shown by the draughtsmanship in the princes' tombs (Sennuwka is probably the same man as the scribe who appears in the chapel of Nofer (G 2110)). Note, for example, the heavy, clumsy shoulders of the lowest female figure adjoining the northern false-door. The hieroglyphs are not so carefully aligned as they are in work of prime quality. There is a mixture of proportions for the human figure. Compare with the slender well-proportioned figure pulling at the leg of the slaughtered bull (which nevertheless is not so skilfully rendered as the similar figure on the west wall of Merytyetes' chapel (G 7650, Pl. 41)) the clumsy man with the over-large head and top-heavy torso who presents a haunch of beef in the same register. Sennuwka's reliefs are in white limestone, like those of Prince Duwanera. Nevertheless they show the inequalities of workmanship to be expected in a subsidiary tomb. The reliefs of still a third chapel are very high and bold, but these had only been commenced and only the east wall had received partial decoration. This was in the mastaba of an unknown man, G 2220, which is perhaps to be dated as late as the reign of Shepseskaf. Most of the carving has been left in one plane with sharp, unfinished edges, and the central part of the wall remains blank like the other walls of the chapel (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 41). One other chapel is probably to be assigned to the reign of Mycerinus, that of Khufuw-dedef (G III-S) in the line of mastabas south of the pyramid of Cheops. The reliefs are of medium height, tending toward the high, bold style.

The chapel in the mastaba (G 7350), which was probably built by Queen Hetep-heres II to replace the other tomb (G 7530 + 7540) which she had turned over to her daughter Queen Meresankh, is to be dated to the reign of Shepseskaf. The fragment of wall which has preserved the heads of the two queens, mother and daughter, is in relief of medium height, but bold in mass and simple in modelling (Pl. 45). There is evidently an attempt at portraiture in the faces, although it must be admitted that there is no striking similarity to the faces of the two ladies as they are represented in the chapel of Meresankh III.

The chapel was lined with white limestone, as was the northern subsidiary niche which has unfinished male figures, perhaps representing a son of Hetep-heres.

Another white limestone chapel in the Eastern Cemetery was probably decorated at about this time. This was in the mastaba G 7560 from which were recovered two badly damaged reserve heads. The reliefs were low and excellently worked, but exceedingly fragmentary. An unusual use of a swamp scene seems to be indicated by the line of water and the figures carrying bird trapping equipment on the north wall. Three chapels (G 5080, G 4940, G 2150) in the Western Cemetery are probably also to be dated to the end of the Dynasty, one of them certainly, as the burial-chamber contained a sealing of Shepseskaf (G 5080), and a second (G 2150) not earlier than Mycerinus from the estate names. The chapel of G 5080 was lined with fine white limestone and the reliefs of the offering-room belong to the old conventional simple type. The elaborate panelled serdab, and the white limestone statue of the owner now in Leipzig, belong, however, to an archaeological group more characteristic of Dyn. V and I should like to place these three chapels (G 5080, G 4940, G 2150) as the first of a group of transitional chapels (mostly decorated in nummulitic reliefs) which extend from the reign of Shepseskaf into the first half of Dyn. V. The reliefs of Seshem-nofer (G 5080) are of good medium quality. The entrance jambs (Pl. 47) and the east wall show particularly careful draughtsmanship and finish, especially in the delineation of the animals. The north wall is more uneven, and on the west wall the tablet and inscriptions of the southern false-door, the compartment list in the middle of the wall, and the architrave of the northern false-door are in sunk relief, but without inner detail. The reliefs of a second man named Seshem-nofer (G 4940), whose relation to the last is not exactly determined, are carved in a mixed type of masonry, partly fine white limestone and partly in a good quality of nummulitic stone (east wall, south wall, and door-jambs). The carving is of medium height with a leaning toward the bold style in the chief figures of the north (Pl. 50) and south wall and particularly in the very large hieroglyphs of the titles. The attractive group of children on the west wall is, however, in low relief (Pl. 50). The chapel of Kanofer (G 2150) was lined with white limestone, but the reliefs are very uneven in quality. The entrance jambs are well carved, bold in style although not very high, and with simple masses little broken by inner detail. The west wall has a large figure in high, bold relief, well modelled; but the other reliefs are hastily executed. The east wall has figures indicated by little more than incised outlines, roughly drawn and with uneven surfaces. Perhaps the work is unfinished, certainly the evidence points to a hasty completion of decoration which had been begun with the carefully executed work of the entrance doorway (see *Giza Necropolis*, I, figs. 257-264, pls. 39, 40).

The traditional simple decoration of the inner L-shaped offering-room continued in a group of chapels which are difficult to date, but some of which certainly belong to the first half of Dyn. V. Their resemblance to the chapels already described makes it practical to include a discussion of them here under the reliefs of Dyn. IV. Some of them may be as early as the end of Dyn. IV, and one, that of Prince Mer-ib (G 2100 Annex), may even be as early as the reign of Mycerinus. One only, that of Prince Kaninesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II), was a chapel of white limestone. The others were all of nummulitic masonry, although G 4710, Mer-ib (G 2100 Annex), and G 5010 have a few blocks of white stone inserted here and there among the coarser stones of the walls. Two of the chapels, those of Mer-ib and Seshat-hetep (G 5150, Junker, *Giza*, II), in the distribution of their scenes, the similarity of execution, and the band around the base of the walls painted to represent wood-graining, are closely related and may be the products of the same workmen. The chapel of Nesuwt-nofer (G 4970, Junker, *Giza*, III) is also very similar, but all these chapels belong to a common type. The list consists of the chapels of Mer-ib (G 2100 Annex, Pl. 46), Kaninesuwt (G 2155), Seshat-hetep (G 5150), Nesuwt-nofer (G 4970),



Seshem-nofer (G 5170), Sethuw (G 4710, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. 74, 75), Thenty (G 4920), G 5010, G 5030, and Ka-seza (G 5340). The chapels of Nensezerka (G 2100 Annex II; Junker, *Giza*, II) and Khemten (G 5210) also belong with this group, although different in type. All have reliefs of medium height and mediocre execution, and some of them show evidence of a use of plaster washes to give a smoother finish to the relief for the laying on of the colour. This can best be seen in the reliefs of Nesuwt-nofer where the colour on the plaster layer is well preserved, but it is also evident in the reliefs of Seshem-nofer (G 5170), Mer-ib, and Sethuw. It should be noted that in Seshat-hetep the colour is sometimes laid down on a very thin coat of white-wash so that the irregularities of the stone show through. This can be seen on the west wall, in the red paint of the chief figure, the green of one of the border lines, and the pattern of the wood-graining in the dado below. It would seem that in none of these reliefs was the carving actually executed in the plaster (except in a few cases such as occur in all reliefs where coarse pink plaster has been used to fill a joint or to mend a break), but that the plaster wash was laid on after the carving to smooth out the irregularities of surface. The fine white limestone reliefs of Kaninesuwt show a certain falling off in technical skill as the background is left to a great extent on these walls, being cut away to the proper depth only in immediate proximity to the figures. This is true particularly of the low relief of the small figures on the east wall (Junker, *Giza*, II, pl. IX). The chapel of Nensezerka has the false-doors and the architraves of the inner room decorated in sunk relief, although the pillars of the portico have figures in relief. Sunk relief inscriptions play an important part in the decoration of the Khemten mastaba, and both these last two examples are probably of the early part of Dyn. V. The false-door of the Princess Iabtyt (Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XXXVI), prepared for her by the funerary priest Kay (G 4650), is probably as late as the beginning of Dyn. V.

Of the rock-cut chapels, which can be dated to the end of Dyn. IV, the only two which bear certain indication of their date, are that of Debehen which was inspected by Mycerinus while it was being prepared, and that of Meresankh III which bears an inscription referring to the years 1 and 2 of a king who was probably Shepseskaf. The tombs of the members of Chephren's family probably range from the reign of Mycerinus to the early part of Dyn. V. Those which contain important decorations are the chapels of Prince Nebemakhet a son of Meresankh III (two tombs, Lepsius Nos. 12 and 86), Prince Nekawra, Prince Sekhemkara, and Princess Hemet-ra. Belonging to the family of Mycerinus is his eldest son, Prince Khuwnera, who was probably buried in his tomb in the quarry south-east of the Third Pyramid during the reign of his father. The chapels of the other princes of Chephren and those of the Queens Per-(senet), Rekhmet-ra, and Kha-merer-nebty were very sparingly decorated with inscriptions. The reliefs in these chapels are generally poor in quality, due to the bad rock in which they were carved, and they are difficult to judge as they have been badly weathered, and the plaster which covered their surfaces has largely fallen away (the worst preservation is shown by the tomb of Nebemakhet west of the Chephren Pyramid, No. 12, where the subject-matter of only part of the scenes can be made out). Occasionally the carving attained a better quality as in the swamp scene in the outer room of Nebemakhet's second tomb (No. 86), or in the reliefs of Khuwnera (Pl. 47). In the chapels of Queen Meresankh III and Princess Hemet-ra the walls were liberally sized with plaster and the reliefs were partially cut in this plaster (Pls. 44, 49). I would suggest that these chapels represent the condition of all the finished rock-cut tombs which due to accidents of preservation seldom retain their plastered and painted surfaces as well as these. Where the colour remains, the quality of the painting is shown to be very good, with the details very carefully executed. In the chapel of Debehen a cross wall between two rooms was built of stone, and the east wall was also lined with stone which provided a better surface for the carving of the

reliefs. These were executed in sunk relief and provide us with the earliest large wall surfaces decorated in this technique (Pl. 47). The jambs of the entrance to the chapel of Meresankh III were also decorated in beautifully executed sunk relief (Pl. 47).

The chapel of Khufuw-khaf gives us the type form for the occurrence and distribution of scenes in the L-shaped chapels of Dyn. IV. Here we find large figures of the owner and his family accompanied by their titles and names, standing reviewing the presentation of animals, food offerings, and the sealed equipment prepared for the tomb. Scribes accompany the offering-bearers and record the material presented. The men and women who personify the property given over for the endowment of the tomb also appear. The owner is shown seated at a table of bread on the tablet of the false-door, and usually again on the south wall where he is generally accompanied by the funerary priests who perform the ceremonies connected with the funerary meal. The jambs of the false-door usually show men bringing the equipment for the meal. Often a slaughter scene appears in connexion with the funerary meal. This scene and that on the tablet is accompanied by the great lists of objects required by the owner in after life, and the architrave of the false-door and usually that over the entrance (sometimes the jambs of the entrance) contain the formulae and prayers which were to insure the dead man of the continuation of his life as on earth. This limited body of scenes was retained with strict conservatism in the offering-rooms of the chapels in the Eastern and Western Cemeteries at Giza well into Dyn. V. There were two additions to this repertoire. The first was the inclusion of the boats which generally appear over the entrance on the east wall, and which represented the journey to the sacred cities or the voyage of the soul to the fields of the west. Second was the insertion of musicians and dancers under the figure of the man seated at his funerary meal (two examples; Nefer-ma'at (G 7060) and Seshem-nofer (G 5080)). There are two variations from the conventional body of scenes. In the chapel of Merytyetes (G 7650), on the east wall, there was certainly a representation of men pulling in a fish net (Fig. 66) and probably also a bird-netting scene. On the north wall of G 7560 were boats and men coming back from the swamp with objects connected with bird trapping. This seems to be part of a swamp scene rather than the usual boating scene of the L-shaped chapel. The scene in G 7560, occurring as late as it does, in the reign of Shepseskaf, may have been influenced by the scenes in the rock-cut chapels. The Merytyetes fishermen belong obviously to a scene usually limited to the exterior chapel, but known as early as the Medum tombs.

There is not a great deal of evidence in the early part of Dyn. IV at Giza for the use of scenes from life such as we have found at Medum, but enough is preserved to suggest that these scenes were limited to the outer rooms of the chapel and were not ordinarily used in the offering-room itself. As we have seen at Medum this was partly due to the factor of space, for the cruciform rooms at Saqqarah and Medum and the L-shaped chapels at Giza were badly suited to the expansion of scenes from life which required large wall surfaces. At Giza as early as the chapel of Ka-wab, which must have been one of the first if not the first chapel in the Eastern Cemetery to be decorated with reliefs, we find evidence for a swamp scene (Fig. 62) and other figures engaged in actions which do not fall within the range of the offering-bearers, scribes, and funerary priests of the ordinary offering-room. The chapel of Queen Meresankh II has preserved a fragment of the queen seated on a throne in a boat as in the chapel of Meresankh III (Fig. 63). A papyrus flower with the tip of a bird's wing above it indicates the occurrence also of a swamp scene. A fragment which probably came from the exterior chapel of Prince Min-khaf shows a man squatting in the attitude of the huntsman with a leash in hand by which he must be restraining a hound (Fig. 65).

With the introduction of the rock-cut tombs in the reign of Mycerinus, the greatly increased wall



FIG. 62. Fragment from swamp scene in chapel of Prince  
Ka-wab (G 7120); Boston.



FIG. 63. Two fragments from a swamp scene showing Queen Meresankh II in a boat  
(G 7410+20); Boston.

space gave opportunity for the expansion of the scenes from life. A new<sup>1</sup> scene is found fully developed in three of these tombs. This is the representation of the craftsmen at work which is shown in the chapels of Khuwnera (MQ 1), Nebemakhet (LG 86), and Meresankh III (G 7530). We see men at work upon the sarcophagus, the statues and false-doors for the tomb, wooden furniture, gold ornaments, and metal vessels. In the tomb of Khuwnera this is accompanied by an elaborate boat-building scene (Pl. 49). In Nebemakhet is shown the preparation of oil and the sealing up of the fluid in stone vessels. In Meresankh III the sculptor and painter have their names written above them in a scene where they are working on statues. The swamp scene is found now in two different forms. The main scene is

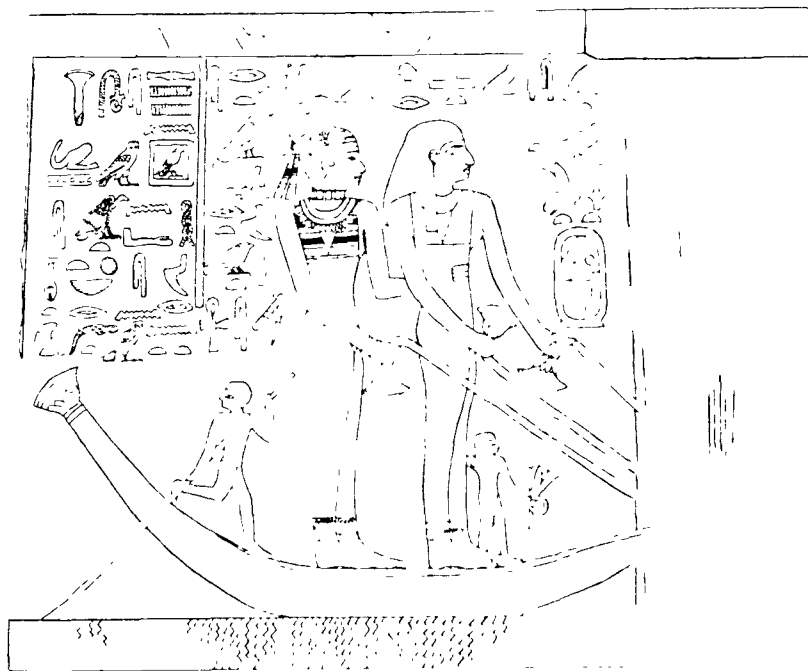


FIG. 64. Swamp scene on east wall of chapel of Meresankh III (G 7530).

accompanied by a number of subsidiary elements, fighting boatmen (Meresankh III), bird trapping, agricultural pursuits, cattle crossing the water (Nebemakhet), boat building, and mat-making (Meresankh III). In the chapel of Meresankh III, the queen and her mother are shown being punted in a small skiff, pulling papyrus flowers (Fig. 64). The thicket of papyrus is in this case placed on the right of the boat, and the subject is an unusual one which only occurs rarely later on. The artist in Nebemakhet's tomb has given us the earliest example of the scene which was to become more popular, the prince standing in a light craft hunting birds (in this case with a split spear and not a throwing-stick). The boat is set in front of a papyrus thicket above which flutter various kinds of birds.

The distribution of the scenes is apparently still a matter for experiment. Only the scene of craftsmen at work has received its fully developed form, although the central *motif* of the papyrus swamp, accompanied by its various associated scenes, is beginning to assume a conventional aspect. The bird-trapping scene appears in the chapels of Nebemakhet and Meresankh III, but it is not associated with

<sup>1</sup> That it was not entirely new is shown by the representation of boat building at Medum and by fragments from the interior chapels of both Hemyuwnuw (G 4000) and Duwanera (G 5110). The meaning of these small pieces became clear only recently in the study of the fragmentary reliefs from the destroyed Giza chapels. The hand of a figure holding an adze indicates a craftwork scene for G 4000, which forms an

important exception in the reign of Cheops to the statement made above that scenes from life do not often appear in the interior chapel. The same is true of G 5110, probably of the reign of Mycerinus, where boat building and other crafts seem to have been shown on the upper part of the destroyed east wall.

the fish netting as is customary later on. In fact the fish netting is not preserved in these rock-cut tombs (although it had appeared at Medum long before this time, and in the chapel of Merytyetes (G 7650)) unless the fragment on the east wall of Debehen (LG 90), showing fish in the water and a hippopotamus, is a remnant of such a scene. In Nebemakhet men are seen cutting up fish and carrying large specimens on poles, in the space adjoining the swamp scene, but if the netting ever appeared it is now destroyed. In the chapel of Meresankh III, the two actions of the bird trapping, the signalling to the waiting men that the trap is full, and the pulling of the rope to close the trap, which ordinarily are portrayed by two groups of figures, are telescoped into one group. The men stand ready to receive the signal from the watcher who raises his scarf, but at the other end of the rope, a man is taking birds from the trap which

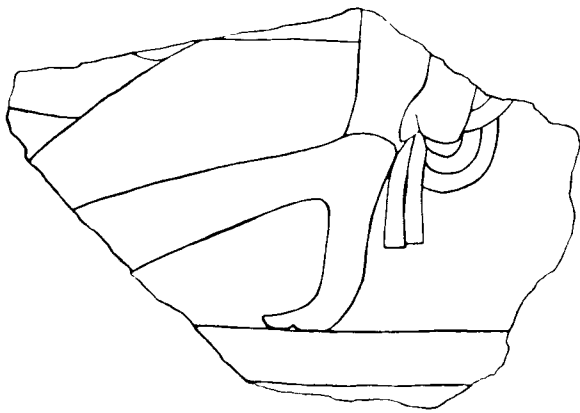


FIG. 65. Fragment of man holding leash of hunting dog from chapel of Prince Min-khaf (G 7430).



FIG. 66. Fishing scene from chapel of Merytyetes, G 7650.

is already closed (Pl. 49). In the chapel of Nebemakhet the two stages of the action are shown, but these are separated from each other by a register of agricultural pursuits.

The agricultural scenes show, it seems to me, the influence of the early representations in small panels. In Meresankh III, on the east wall, a strip of men driving sheep behind the sower to trample in the grain is inserted as an accompaniment to the swamp scene, as is the ploughing in the chapel of Neferma'at at Medum. On the east wall of the inner room, a faintly preserved sketch delineated the winnowing and piling up of the sheaves or grain. As has been noted above, a scene of men ploughing, sowing, and driving sheep to trample the grain appears in Nebemakhet's chapel, separating the two elements of the bird trapping. On the narrow east wall of the chapel of Sekhemkara (LG 89), adjoining the entrance, is a scene of winnowing in proximity to a group of men building boats. Exigencies of space continually caused the artist to rearrange the customary order of his scenes and frequently to leave out elements for which there was no space. The later examples present, however, a more orderly scheme of representation, and seldom show such arbitrary combinations of different scenes as do these rock-cut chapels.

The hunting scene is preserved at Giza only in three late examples (G 2184, G 2097, LG 53), but in the tomb of Nebemakhet, a line of men bringing desert animals and a gazelle suckling her young accompany the swamp scene and appear to be a detached element from a hunting scene. The position of the suckling young animal may have originated here in this chapel (Fig. 237). It was to become one of the most popular motifs in Old Kingdom art. A number of other new subjects appear in the rock-cut tombs. The most

remarkable is the representation of the ceremonies at the grave which is found in the chapel of Debehen, where men ascend a ramp to the top of the mastaba to burn incense in front of the statue set up there (Pl. 47). Dancers and offering-bearers appear at the foot of the ramp. An elaborate representation of furniture and funerary equipment in the chapel of Meresankh III is accompanied by the bed of the queen standing under a canopy with servants arranging the mattress and linen (Fig. 67). A similar bed

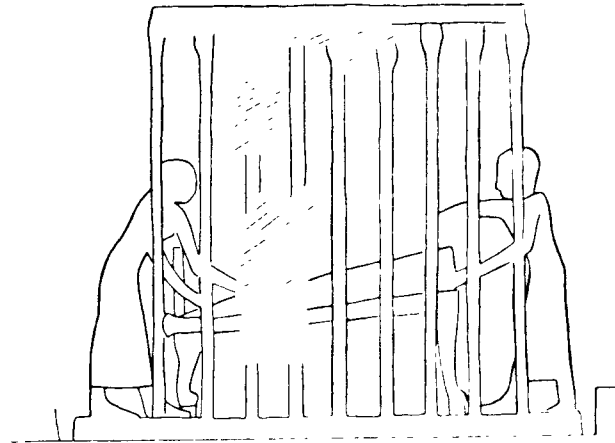


FIG. 67. Men making up bed under canopy: chapel of Meresankh III, G 7530.

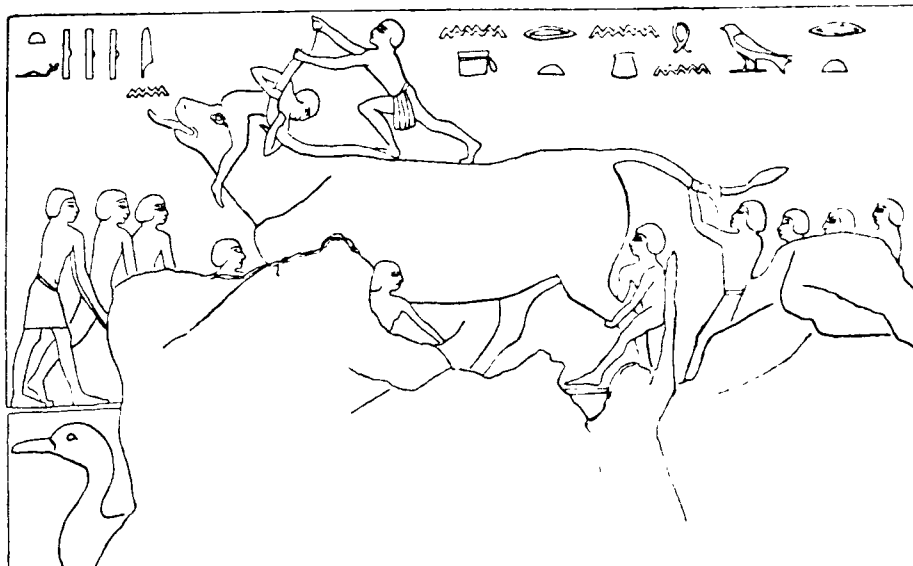


FIG. 68. Men throwing bull for slaughter; chapel of Prince Nebemakhet (LG 86); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 14.

under a canopy is shown in Nebemakhet's chapel. A lively new element is introduced into the slaughter scene on a door-jamb of Nebemakhet's tomb, where small figures struggle to throw down a recalcitrant long-horned bull (Fig. 68). The rare representation of the capture of song birds appears in a badly damaged example on a wall in the chapel of Sekhemkara (LG 89). Scenes of cooking, accompanied by musicians and dancers, are found on the north wall of the inner room of Meresankh III, and upon the south wall of the chapel of Khuwnera. Belonging to the same cycle of scenes is the first appearance of the seated figure in the pavilion (*sh*) (formed by light columns with lotus capitals) accompanied by picture lists and musicians which we find in the tomb of Nekawra (LG 87). In Nebemakhet the dancers are shown being presented with gold ornaments, an unusual detail which appears only rarely in later

examples (Sahura reliefs, Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep, and Khufuw-khaf II). In the inner room of Meresankh III, on the south wall, the first<sup>1</sup> representation of peasants brought for judgement before the overseer of the queen's estate is inserted under a large compartment list in a scene where the seated queen is accompanied by men with the articles of the funerary meal (there is no table of bread, simply the offering list). This, incidentally, is another curious example of the arbitrary combination of two scenes with widely differing subject-matter.

There is no decorated chapel preserved at Abu Roash which can be dated to the reign of Radedef or even to Dyn. IV. What fragmentary reliefs remain from the chapels there are mediocre in workmanship and show a type of relief of medium height. Only one fragment,<sup>2</sup> that of a man with his hands on the muzzle and ears of a donkey, seems to be better in style. This piece must at least date to Dyn. V. The representation of loaded donkeys which received such a happy and frequent treatment in the scenes of Dyn. V is conspicuously absent in Dyn. IV.

At Saqqarah, the material for Dyn. IV is not very well known and is difficult to date. The tombs there represent a line of development subsidiary to the main line of important tombs at Giza. The chapels are based on the old cruciform type (not on the Giza L-shaped form) which shows generally a flattening of the deep niche in the west wall, or a treatment of this wall with a decoration comprising elements of palace-façade panelling. A good example of the type with uninscribed palace-façade panelling is the west wall of the chapel of Ka-m-heset (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, p. 5). The only inscriptions in the chapel are two vertical lines of titles and name on the south entrance jamb. The simplicity of the decoration and the good quality of the work suggest that the tomb may be as early as the latter part of Dyn. IV. The similarity of decoration of a number of tombs which are as late as the second half of Dyn. V makes the dating of these modified cruciform chapels very difficult. In general, the limited wall space seems to have influenced the limitation of the scenes as was the case at Giza. It is impossible to assign tombs to the different reigns of Dyn. IV, but certain chapels can be selected which seem to belong to the period viewed as a whole. A dependence upon the descriptions in Mariette's *Mastabas* makes it hard to ascertain the style of many of the reliefs, and conservatism in the retention of the simple offering-room throughout Dyn. V further complicates the study. I have mentioned above the possibility that some of the cruciform chapels of the transition period may overlap into the reign of Cheops.

I should assign to Dyn. IV the beautiful little wooden panel of Mer-ib in the Louvre (Capart, *Documents*, II, pl. 25). This shows a man standing facing left with staff and wand. He is accompanied by his small son. In front of the face of the chief figure is a *kbh*-vase, and across the top of the panel is written in large hieroglyphs, *rh nswt Mr-ib*. The relief is high and the forms are simple. There is an archaic feature in that the eye has been lined with green paint. But the panel seems to me to show instead of careful, painstaking workmanship hampered by primitive deficiency, rather the less skilful carving of the private craftsman of the reign of Cheops or Chephren. I should characterize similarly the reliefs on the false-door of Mery, also partly in the Louvre Museum.<sup>3</sup> The relief is again high, the

<sup>1</sup> The peasant led by a man on the west wall of G 7560 may be a little earlier. There the group is preceded by a squatting scribe and followed by a herd of goats.

<sup>2</sup> Bisson de la Roque, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français du Caire, Abu Roash*, 1922-1923, pl. X.

<sup>3</sup> The tablet of the false-door, the façade panel south of the niche, and the thickness of the adjoining outer niche are in the Louvre (Weill, *II<sup>me</sup> et III<sup>me</sup> Dynasties*, p. 300), as well as a fragment from the façade panel on the north side (?) (Weill, *Sphinx*, XV, p. 6). A panel in Cairo (No. 2661, Abusir 1858) with the figure of Mery's wife, N1-wazet-anekh, seems to belong

to the southern side of the inner niche and shows part of the back of the outer niche (see Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, fig. 99, where a detail of the figure is labelled Gemnikai). A corresponding piece with a similar figure of the wife is in the Metropolitan Museum. Still another fragment in the Field Museum in Chicago fits with the Cairo piece to show an adjoining surface at right-angles (back of outer niche?) with Mery leaning on a staff. There is no doubt that these pieces all belong together, but a reconstruction of the false-door presents certain difficulties. I hope in the future to make a separate study of this material.

surface rather flat with little inner detail. The figure on the façade shows an unusual pose awkwardly treated. The man stands facing right leaning on a staff. Since he holds a *shn* wand in his right hand, the staff, wand, and left hand (in which he holds also a small piece of cloth) all meet at the same point. The wand passes behind the far hand resting on the staff, although it should be on a plane in the foreground.<sup>1</sup> Similarly clumsy are the small figures on the south side of the outer niche which show heads too small for their bodies, emphasized all the more by the heavy shoulders. The enormous thumb of the lowest figure, a writing scribe, is out of all proportion to the other slender fingers of the hand (Clère, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, p. 753). The women's figures in Cairo and New York are well drawn in high relief with good 'idealized' faces. The tablet has a linen list and elements of palace-façade panelling on the flanges.

Of a somewhat similar type and probably also of mid-Dyn. IV date are the well-known reliefs from the mastaba of Shery. The provenance of the two monuments previously considered is conjectural, although they belong almost certainly to the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah. The reliefs of Shery certainly come from that cemetery as the lower part of one of the false-doors was excavated there by Mariette (*Mastabas*, No. B 3, p. 92). Unfortunately the exact place of finding is not stated. The reliefs from this chapel are now to be found in Cairo, Aix-en-Provence, Florence, London, and Oxford (Moret, *Monuments Piot*, vol. XXV, pp. 280-1). The existence of two tablets, one in Florence and one in Oxford, suggests that the chapel may have been of the two-niched type, although the second tablet could have come from a subsidiary niche in the face of the mastaba or even from a second chapel. The Oxford tablet, like that of Mery, has palace-façade panelling on the flanges. The workmanship of the different pieces varies. The Aix-en-Provence reliefs, which fit together and seem to have formed the south entrance jamb (unusual in having two large figures presumably both representing Shery), the Oxford tablet, and the British Museum piece (which formed a side of one of the false-doors) are more carefully finished than the Cairo false-door (I have not been able to examine the Florence tablet). The latter is rather clumsily carved and the inscriptions of the upper part are in incised hieroglyphs while the lower part is in heavy, raised relief. The heads of the two large figures on the Aix-en-Provence jamb are well worked and belong to a limited class of beautifully sculptured Dyn. IV heads in good preservation.

A cruciform chapel of a man named Thenty (MM B 1) was found by Mariette at Saqqarah. It is probably to be grouped with these other Dyn. IV reliefs. The pieces of the false-door are in Cairo, and Mariette also found on another wall the partially completed large figure of a man. Thenty had the title, *hm ntr Hwfw*, which is no very certain indication of his date, but combined with the style of the reliefs suggests that the chapel may have belonged to the reign of Chephren. The figures are in bold, high relief, and the forms are simple, with inner detail carefully drawn on a large scale. One other stone monument at Saqqarah might be of the end of Dyn. IV, although I should prefer to place it early in Dyn. V. This is the monolithic granite stela of Ka-aper which still stands in the simple crude-brick chapel where Mariette found the famous wooden statue of the Sheikh el Beled (see *Tomb Development*, p. 400, No. 36). The red granite is beautifully worked with carefully smoothed faces. The only decoration is a line of large hieroglyphs in sunk relief on the cross-bar.

A fine example of the painting of Dyn. IV was preserved at Saqqarah in the Northern Cemetery on a wall of a crude-brick mastaba found by Mr. Firth (FS 3080). This has the remains of a swamp scene.

<sup>1</sup> This is again shown in the Field Museum piece (plus the fitting strip on the thickness of the Cairo slab) and a similar representation is found again on a panel of relief in Copenhagen

belonging to a man named Sekhent-ka (Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, II (1911), pl. 121).



The large figures above were destroyed above the waist, but they are ordinary standing figures evidently surveying the scene and not engaged in it in any way. Below on the right is a group of hippopotami, not represented in a strip of water as usual but apparently separated (by a register of cattle above them) from the swamp, if this were present originally on the upper part of the wall. On the left of these animals a group of men are engaged in occupations usually associated with the papyrus thickets—carrying articles of the chase and the implements of bird trapping, tending cattle, cooking, and making mats (suggested by a fragmentary inscription). The paint has largely flaked away leaving the original red lines of the first sketch. The draughtsmanship is accomplished. Particularly pleasing is the swing of a slender figure who turns back his head while lowering one of the boxes slung on a yoke over his shoulders (pl. 51). Equally attractive are three little figures who sit around a fire framed by great curving clumps of papyrus (Figs. 181, 182). They are evidently cooking cakes as one man appears to be stirring dough in a jar. A very close approximation of true profile is achieved in the seated figure on the right as well as in a standing figure nearby. In the latter are shown the smaller curves of breast and abdomen which are ordinarily lost in the generalized outlines of Egyptian drawing, where smaller variations of surface are usually blended in long curved or nearly straight lines which summarize the form. Equally notable is the cow which has turned back its head to lick a feeding calf. This is a definite piece of fore-shortening which, once established, occurs frequently in Old Kingdom drawing. It is worth noting that in general arrangement this wall corresponds to the rather haphazard grouping of subject-matter which we have found in the rock-cut tombs, and that the swamp scene does not appear to have assumed its traditional form here as yet.

In this survey of the reliefs and paintings of Dyn. IV we have seen the technical skill of the craftsman reach a height which, throughout the rest of the Old Kingdom, was only to be equalled by the royal work of the first half of the following Dynasty. This finest quality of craftsmanship is only embodied in the very few royal works preserved: in those blocks from Lisht which can be assigned to Dyn. IV, in the fragments from the Cheops Pyramid temple and the Queen's chapel G I b, in the slab-stelae, and in the reliefs of a few chapels of princes and princesses. The other reliefs of the period are of fine quality but display less consummate craftsmanship. We find the important monuments all centred in the great Cemetery at Giza. Only a very few examples of Dyn. IV work remain at Saqqarah and these show a certain tendency to retain the style of the preceding transition period in their bold, heavy reliefs. The conservative nature of the decoration of the inner offering-room, both at Giza and Saqqarah, has been noted and the gradual spread of scenes from life, first in the exterior chapel of the mastabas of the princes in the Eastern Cemetery, and then greatly accelerated on the expanded wall surfaces of the rock-cut tombs of the Chephren family. The great contribution of the next Dynasty was to be the further development and increase of these scenes picturing the various aspects of the daily life of ancient Egypt. We have been able to point out, too, a gradual development in the treatment of the background of the scene which is now more definitely localized. The owner appears in his boat against a papyrus swamp, a columned kiosk shelters him when seated at his funerary meal, and even the superstructure of the tomb is shown in the ceremonies at the grave of the chapel of Debehen.

The craftsman, now a master of his material, is able to represent without technical difficulties the forms that he chooses to portray, limited only by a point of view which was to prevent him from development in certain directions. In painting we have the delicate execution of the slab-stelae of Iwnw and Nefert-yabet, and particularly that of Wepemnofret, to place beside the superb workmanship of the painters at Medum who worked slightly earlier in the corridor of Atet. Here we can hardly speak of an advance in technical ability. There is rather a tendency toward refinement and the perfection

of small detail. The work in the chapel of Meresankh III is somewhat rougher in quality, but shows the same careful attention to the rendering of detail and a pleasing sense of the effect of colour combinations. There is a wider range of tones than we are familiar with later, as has been found characteristic of the Medum paintings. Note, for example, the various ochre and brown shades, and the use of an ochre yellow background for the inscriptions of the small architraves of the north wall. The Saqqarah painting in FS 3080 must be considered more as a drawing, for its colour is almost entirely destroyed.

## X

### THE RELIEFS OF DYNASTY V

#### a. The Royal Reliefs

**I**N Dyn. V we have for the first time a large body of reliefs from the funerary temples of the kings. The royal carvings continued into Dyn. VI at the Wady Maghara and in the quarries of Hat-nub, but these resemble the earlier reliefs of the same type, and with the increased material provided by the temple reliefs no longer have the same importance for the development of Egyptian art that they assumed at an earlier time. The scanty material that remains from the temples in the Valley is of an inscriptional nature. A block of Weserkaf found recently at Tod, and an inscription giving the name of Unas built into the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht might be mentioned, but these again assume little importance beside the full material from the funerary temples. The Lisht Old Kingdom fragments continue through Dyn. V, and seem to be the only evidence which we have for the decorations of a temple not of a funerary character, before Dyn. VI, when there are some fragments from Coptos and Abydos.<sup>1</sup> The Dyn. II-III material from Hierakonpolis, Heliopolis, and Gebelein was of such a fragmentary character that it provided us with little for comparison with later reliefs. The Lisht reliefs, however, present special problems as yet not solved, and their source is doubtful. I shall mention them briefly below when they present comparative material, but a full consideration of them must await Mrs. Williams's publication.

The finest workmanship is at the same time the earliest and lies in the fragmentary scenes from the temple of Weserkaf at Saqqarah. These reliefs are of a quality comparable with the best reliefs of Dyn. IV. They are low relief but some of the best fragments have a bolder quality than the extremely low relief of Sahura (Pl. 53), in whose reign a similar high degree of excellence was maintained. In the decorations of the Ne-user-ra temple a more careless and less finished type of relief begins to appear, and this is particularly evident in the Abu Gurob reliefs from Ne-user-ra's Sun Temple and continues into the reign of Unas. Some of the Abu Gurob reliefs are very carelessly worked in spite of the beauty of the drawing (see for example the Nome personifications (Pl. 52), presenting offerings on several blocks in Cairo, Nos. 57117, 57118, 57116), resembling the poorer workmanship of private tombs. The background is largely left in place, and in the deeper cutting around the figures the transition to the background is not smoothly blended as it is in the best of the private work (Pl. 53). The Figure of Unas suckled by a goddess in Cairo (No. 39133, Pl. 54) is one of the most beautiful pieces of Old Kingdom carving and betrays none of the faults that are evident in some of the other reliefs of this king. Even in this fine piece, however, there is a tendency toward labour-saving in the omission of the fine detail in the necklaces of the king and goddess. In the delicate working of such detail the reliefs of Weserkaf and Sahura are superior to all the other Dyn. V wall decorations.

In examining the royal reliefs it must be remembered that a much larger body of material has been destroyed than that represented by the fragmentary scenes in the funerary temples. Certain scenes concerned with the private life of the king resemble similar subject-matter which is found portrayed in the private tombs. A large part of the representations could only be found in a royal temple, however—scenes in which the public life of the ruler is shown, and where the deified king consorts with the other

<sup>1</sup> See, however, p. 134, Footnote 1, for two reliefs of Ne-user-ra found at Tanis.

gods. Thus we have certain subjects with which we are already familiar such as hunting, fishing, and bird-catching scenes, or presentation of offerings by personified estates (in the case of the king by Nome gods and minor deities), the preparation of the sealed equipment for the tomb, the portrayal of great picture lists and compartment lists of offerings, the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals,<sup>1</sup> and great numbers of personal attendants and followers. All this we find reflected in the private chapels. We know also from earlier royal examples the representation of the king striking down his enemies with the ceremonial mace, and we have found the Heb-Sed scene portrayed already in the First Dynasty on ivory tablets, sealings, and on the great Hierakonpolis mace-head.

The representation of the gods is completely absent from the private tombs of the Old Kingdom, except when these occur as hieroglyphs in inscriptions (if we discount the larger figures of Anubis on the door-jambes of Khufuw-khaf, Ka-wab, and Meresankh III which, like the similar figure on the coffin lid of Meresankh II, form a part of an inscription as well as apparently serving as guardian genii). Hitherto representations of the gods are few in number and mostly on a small scale. Seth is found personified as a human figure with an animal head already on a sealing of Peribsen (Fig. 40). The goddess Seshat is shown in her familiar garb on the granite block of Khasekhemuwy, Thoth in human form with ibis head appears with Cheops on the Wady Maghara relief, while Ptah in his shrine is shown on an early Dynastic bowl from Tarkhan (Fig. 40). The gods Horus, Seth, Anubis Wep-wawt, and the goddesses Nekhbet, Buto, and Heqet are known in their animal forms, and Min by his symbol (as early as the Predynastic period), or in human form from the Coptos statues. Neith appears to be only represented by her emblem throughout the Old Kingdom, but we have found Ma'at in human form as a hieroglyph in inscriptions. We have seen, too, that it is possible that the Zoser relief in Turin represents the Ennead of Heliopolis. Thus the traditional forms of most of the Old Kingdom gods appear to have been developed already, but it is only in the royal reliefs of Dyn. V that we find them frequently portrayed. One of the most skilful creations of the Egyptian artist was the convincing fusion of plant, animal, and human forms to embody supernatural beings. The sculptors of Dyn. V contributed largely to this end.

One of the difficulties presented by the fragmentary pictorial representations of the Old Kingdom is in the attempt to trace the origins of scenes, to discover an original example in which a subject was created, or at least an early treatment which gives an indication of how the scene was developed. It is natural to assume that in many cases a new type of scene was created for a royal patron and afterwards repeated in private chapels, but in the reliefs and paintings of Dyn. III and IV we have little in the way of royal examples which might have set the precedent. Certainly the first step in all development was made by the best craftsmen, who would have been in the service of the king. On the other hand, there are certain subjects in a private tomb which do not seem suitable for representation in a royal temple, and some of the development of pictorial representation must have continued privately. When we turn to the reliefs of Dyn. V we are confronted by the same difficulty which we have met before. We can never be entirely certain that we have before us actual new creations, for accidents in preservation may easily have deprived us of earlier examples. Also there is a very limited body of material that can be traced to later private tombs. Another obstacle to the study of these reliefs is the fact that those of Unas and Weserkaf are not yet published.<sup>2</sup> It may be possible one day to fit some of the Weserkaf fragments

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the usual presentation of animals a block in the Weserkaf Temple and a fragmentary scene from Sahura (Borchardt, *Sa-hu-ré*, II, pls. 55 and 56) show orderly lines of ducks and geese, as well as cranes and other animals (Sahura), each with its name above it, arranged as became the custom in private tombs of Dyn. V for these live animal offerings.

<sup>2</sup> Brief references to the Weserkaf reliefs can be found in Firth, *Annales*, XXIX, p. 64, and to those of Unas in Barsanti, *Annales*, II, p. 255, and Firth, *Annales*, XXX, p. 186; recently a whole new body of reliefs of Unas has been discovered by Selim Bey Hassan, *Illustrated London News*, June 4, 1938, p. 1000; *Annales*, XXXVIII, pls. XCVI, XCVII

together to make comprehensible certain unintelligible fragments and to clarify the subject-matter of some of the scenes. The Unas reliefs have been largely increased by recent excavations. At present I can only refer briefly to certain outstanding pieces from the mass of material which I have been allowed to examine at Saqqarah. Similarly the scenes of the 'Seasons' in the Ne-user-ra Sun Temple are only provisionally published (Borchardt, *ÄZ*, XXVIII, pl. V; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 378-380, III, pls. 58, 60, 84, 102; Schäfer-Andrae, *Propyläen* 2<sup>2</sup>, pls. 256, 257; Steindorff, *Kunst der Ägypter*, pl. 198; Klebs, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, Figs. 49, 57 b) and I shall have to rely on notes made on the reliefs as they are exhibited in the Berlin Museum.

In the Pyramid temples of Weserkaf and Sahura, and in the valley temple of Ne-user-ra, there were fragments of large scenes where the king was shown engaged in hunting birds with the throwing-stick and spearing fish. In Sahura there appears to have been also a representation of the harpooning of hippopotami. In Ne-user-ra there are only fragments showing the papyrus thicket with birds flying above and a mongoose climbing up a papyrus stalk to rob the nests of their eggs and young birds. In a fragment from Sahura, a long-tailed cat-like animal is also shown on a papyrus stem. The Weserkaf and Sahura fragments show the king grasping several birds in one hand, suggesting that in his other hand was held the throwing-stick. The delineation of the different forms of birds above the papyrus thicket on a piece from the Weserkaf temple now in Cairo (Pl. 52) makes this the most beautiful example of this type of representation that has been preserved. Small details familiar from later scenes are found for the first time in these fragments. Thus on a Sahura piece is shown the frog seated on one of the swamp plants, while on another from the Ne-user-ra group is a grasshopper poised on the characteristic long spray with pod-like shoots or leaves which later is used invariably to fill the space between the upturned ends of the papyrus canoe and the water-line. Schäfer has recognized a very early example of the fish-spearing scene on a plaque of Dyn. I (Fig. 37), but the Weserkaf scene (represented by a fragment in Cairo, Pl. 52, and another still in the court of the temple) is the earliest monumental composition. The detail of the king's plumed head-gear is marvellously worked. The hunting of birds with a split spear has been found in the rock-cut chapel of Nebemakhet. These scenes, where the large figure of the owner himself takes part in fishing and bird hunting, were to become very popular in the private chapels of Dyn. V and VI.

Another scene appears fragmentarily in the Weserkaf temple, and is suggested by a small bit from the Sahura reliefs (Borchardt, *Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 15: song-birds in a cage; the two birds with their beaks touching are repeated from a Weserkaf fragment now in Cairo). This is the trapping of song-birds by means of a net which has been thrown over one of the trees in an orchard. The scene appears to have received a full representation here in accompaniment with groups of men picking figs and the various operations of the vintage. The delicate drawing of the branches of the trees, the variety of the types of birds, and the beauty of the detailed forms of the bunches of grapes and vine tendrils show that this must have been one of the most attractive of all these representations. The scene is preserved intact in two private chapels (in Leiden and the Louvre) and in numerous fragmentary examples, the earliest of which is the much abbreviated scene with song-birds in a trap in the Giza rock-cut tomb of Sekhemkara (L G 89). The Weserkaf fragments preserve the name *gnw*, which was usually applied to these small birds. The Sekhemkara scene differs from the usual method of representation, resembling more the little panel in the 'Seasons' relief at Abu Gurob or the similar Unas example where men are catching song-birds in an ordinary clap-net. The Weserkaf temple seems to give us the first example of the occupations connected with the orchard and vineyard. Two earlier scenes, in the corridor of Atet at Medum and the rock-cut tomb of Nebemakhet at Giza, seem rather to show men engaged in pressing oil than in working

at the wine-press. The fig-picking scene appears alone in the Abu Gurob reliefs. The usual scene of the capture of water birds with the clap-net is found in the reliefs of Sahura and Ne-user-ra (both in the valley temple and at Abu Gurob).

Another scene from life which appears here in the royal reliefs in its first preserved example (although it is found on a Lisht Old Kingdom temple fragment and is implied in the winnowing scene in Mersankh III, and in the sowing scenes in several tombs) is the harvesting of the grain. This is found on a fragment from the Ne-user-ra valley temple which shows men cutting grain (*Ne-user-ra*, p. 38, Fig. 17, and again in the Abu Gurob and Unas 'Seasons' reliefs). The cultivation of green plants in small irrigation plots (imitated soon afterwards in the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir) is found in the Ne-user-ra Sun temple. The sowing and ploughing scene appears on a Lisht fragment (09.180-25) which I should like to include among the Dyn. IV pieces. But the most important of all these scenes from life is the great representation of the hunt in the Sahura temple. It is not a new scene, and the battered paintings from the outer corridor of Atet (*J.E.A.*, 1937, pl. V) and the reliefs of Rahotep, Neferma'at, and Atet anticipate certain details, but here it has been preserved in its most complete and monumental form. That this was an original conception of the artists of Sahura is a matter open to doubt since several of the Lisht pieces of the finest workmanship preserve details from a similar scene.<sup>1</sup> Whether they were first invented here or not, we find in this great wall decoration the general type of composition and many of the details which were followed by private imitators throughout Dyns. V and VI. One figure, that of the rearing hyena which paws at the arrow in its muzzle, was to endure for a long time, appearing again in the Middle and New Kingdom hunting scenes (Fig. 70). The wavy desert ground with its varied plant forms<sup>2</sup> became the recognized accompaniment of the scene and is found soon afterwards in the Abu Gurob reliefs. The fragments of another great hunting scene have recently been found in the causeway reliefs of Unas. This is remarkable in that it included a giraffe amongst the hunted game. Of the private scenes, that which approaches closest in spirit to the Sahura representation is the beautiful relief of the hunt in the chapel of Ptah-hotep at Saqqarah. The shooting of game with bow and arrow does not appear in Ptah-hotep, nor is it found in any private tomb until the very end of the Old Kingdom when it occurs in the rock-cut tomb N 3737 at Naga-ed-Dér (Fig. 148) and in the chapel of Iby at Deir el Gebrawi. It is well known in private tombs of the Middle Kingdom. A section of the 'Seasons' relief in the Ne-user-ra Sun temple (repeated again partly in the 'Seasons' scene from the Unas causeway) should be considered in connexion with the hunting scene. A long register shows desert animals giving birth to their young in a setting of sandy waste, small plants, and shrubs. At the left end of the register a man carries a game bag decorated with a gazelle head and slung from a yoke on his shoulders, while naturalistically drawn hunting dogs stand as though ready to spring upon the game. On another block a man skins a gazelle which has been hung from the branch of a tree (a *motif* as old as the tomb of Neferma'at at Medum), while another man sits before a pile of provisions and a third drinks from a bowl.

The representation of the different seasons in the Abu Gurob Sun temple with its animals, birds, and plants, accompanied by inscriptions extremely difficult to understand, is reflected in several blocks from the Unas causeway and in a few fragments that seem to represent similar material found in the Ne-user-ra valley temple (*l.c.*, p. 38, fig. 17). A trace of the idea motivating these reliefs can be found

<sup>1</sup> Frag. 09.180-29: hand of king steadying arrow; 09.180-28: hound and lassoed animal; 09.180-24: lioness and hind-quarters of another. The men with bow cases and staffs on several fragments may belong to another scene.

<sup>2</sup> This has appeared as early as the painted hunting scene

of Atet, but no desert plants are preserved. An even earlier example is probably to be seen in the dots marked on the ground line under the feet of the figures on the Wedyuw tablet from Abydos in the British Museum (Amelineau, *l.c.*, vol. I, pl. XXXIII).

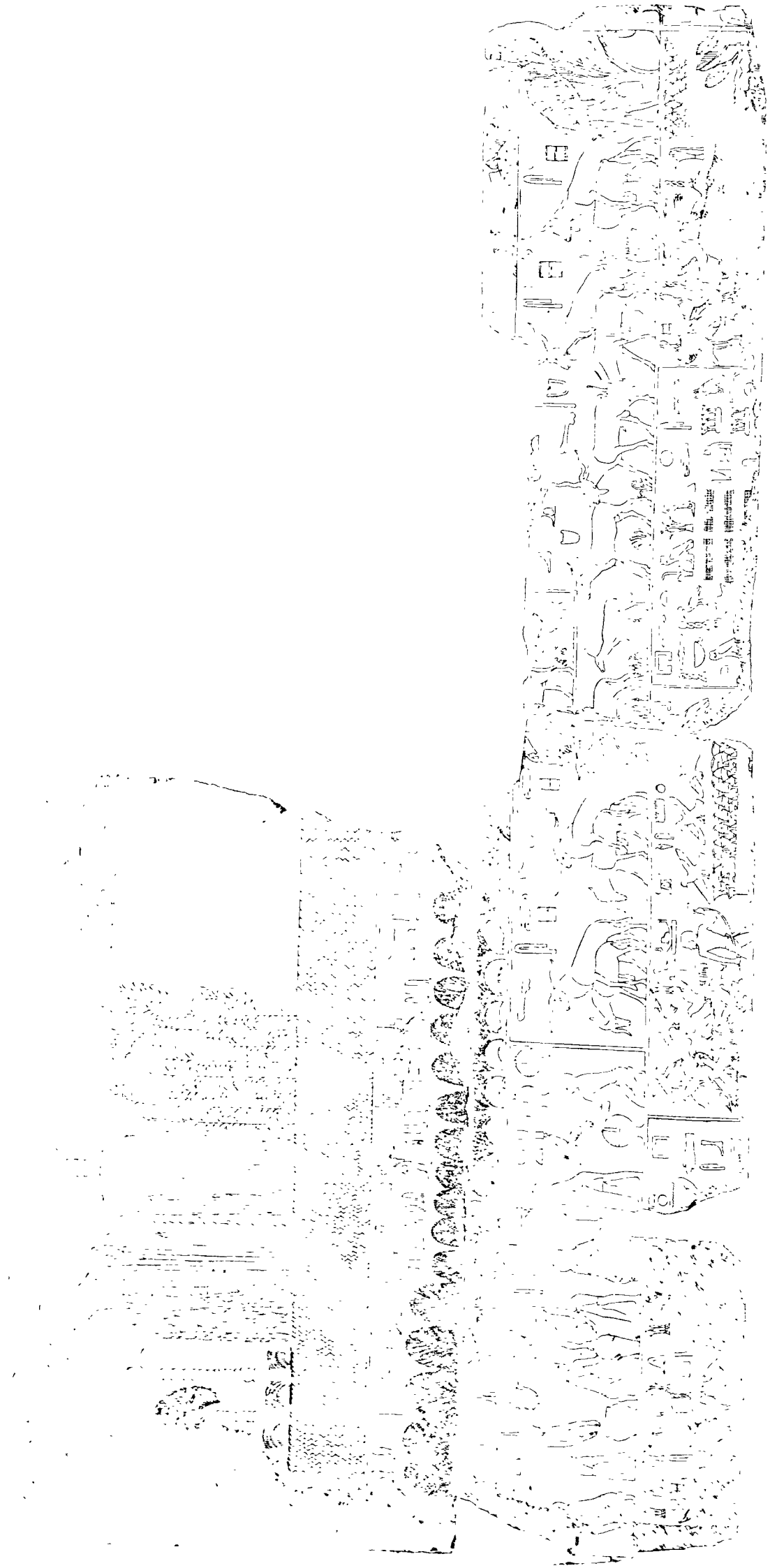


FIG. 69. Part of the 'Seasons' scenes from the Abu Gurob Sun Temple; *AZ*, XXXVIII, pl. V.

in private tombs in two very similar reliefs of Dyn. VI, one at the entrance to the tomb of Mereruwka, and the other obviously copied from this in the neighbouring chapel of Ikheky. Here a large figure of the owner is shown, seated at an easel, painting the three seasons which are personified by three human figures, in one case seated on thrones and in the second squatting on the ground, holding cartouches each containing four month signs and with the name of each of the three seasons written above (Fig. 231). The Abu Gurob reliefs have preserved the large figures of two personifications of the seasons (Shemuw and Akhet) bringing offerings to the Sun god or to the king, and accompanied by a crowd of minor deities and personifications of Nomes also bringing offerings. Actions appropriate to the various seasons are shown by other registers of small figures, reminiscent in part of the scenes from life in the private chapels, but presenting many curious details (Borchardt, *AZ*, XXXVIII, p. 94, pl. V). Harvesting grain (Ne-user-ra, Sun temple and Pyramid temple, Unas), picking figs (Ne-user-ra, Unas), and the

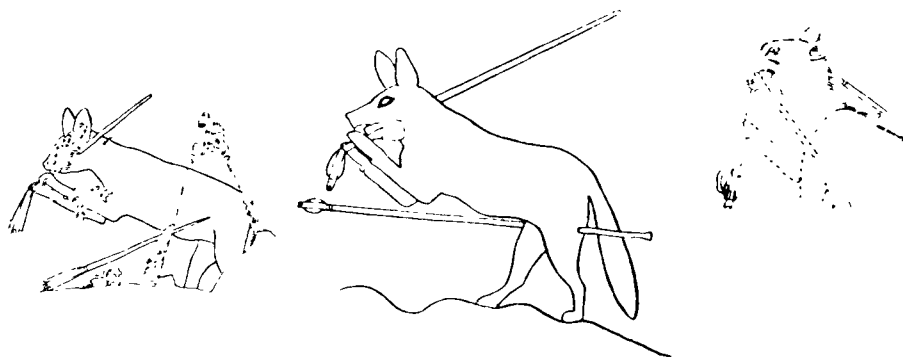


FIG. 70. The hyena clawing at an arrow: (1) Sahura reliefs (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 17); (2) *Meir*, I, pl. VIII, Middle Kingdom; (3) New Kingdom example, chapel of Intef (*Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, 1930-1, Fig. 6, p. 56).

vintage (Unas) are represented. In one place (also in Unas reliefs) men are shown sealing up honey in jars, while on another part of the wall a huge drag-net filled with fish is being towed by men in a little boat. The strip of water upon which this is taking place extends along the wall. It is divided by a horizontal line painted light red and flecked with dark red spots like desert ground. This line expands forming an island in the water on which is shown a curious shrine of the crocodile god (Fig. 216). On a rectangular area of desert ground in the midst of the water are birds sitting on rows of eggs. Men building papyrus barks, other men tending pelicans, and several registers of curious representations of birds, animals, and plants, in addition to the scenes already mentioned above complete what must certainly be one of the most unusual and interesting creations of the Egyptian artist (Fig. 69).

In the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 54) are some small fragments with women performers which evidently anticipate the vigorous dances, the games, and acrobatic feats of such private tombs as Ptah-hotep, Mereruwka, and Kagemni. More conventional dancers appear in the reliefs of Unas. There is also in the Sahura temple a scene showing the presentation of gold ornaments (*l.c.*, pls. 52-4). This has been found already in the chapel of Nebemakhet, and it appears in its most complete form on the entrance jamb of the chapel of Akhet-hetep in the Louvre (*Sa-hu-ré*, p. 63, fig. 9). The representations of boats in the Sahura temple are of a kind limited to royal reliefs. They show the elaborately decorated state ship of the king and very large sea-going vessels. The last are shown departing and returning from a voyage presumably to the coast of Palestine or Syria, and the home-coming boats are filled with Asiatic-looking foreigners brought back as prisoners, captured in a raid or purchased as slaves (this can be paralleled by two boat loads of bearded men in the Unas causeway reliefs). Even more remarkable are the freight boats from the Unas causeway which are loaded with columns with palm capitals like these



in the court of the temple and with the granite cornices of the building. The inscriptions state that these are of granite brought from Assuan. A craftwork scene also appears among these reliefs showing men at work on gold and silver vessels (*Annales*, XXXVIII, pl. XCVI). Adjoining this is a market scene, like those in private tombs, where men are bartering articles (a chest, &c.) for food (fish, cakes). In the midst of these traders is an odd little group reminiscent of a famous relief in Cairo from the chapel of Tep-m-ankh (Mariette D 11) (Fig. 225). Here we have the same great basket of offerings with a man selecting a head of lettuce from it, but instead of the baboon grabbing at his leg he holds a monkey on a leash. A boy facing the first figure, however, holds back a leashed baboon which is moving towards the man. All the elements of the Tep-m-ankh scene are present, but the treatment is slightly different.<sup>1</sup>

The temple reliefs which are concerned with actions restricted solely to the life of the king can be divided into four different groups. These are the scenes which show the king in a procession accompanied by his courtiers or functioning at some ceremony; the king engaged in sacrificing prisoners or witnessing the spoils of a conquered people; the various ceremonies concerned with the king's jubilee (Heb-Sed); and the king in his relations with various gods. The artists of Sahura and Ne-user-ra (and probably also Unas) have given us a new representation of the king striking down enemy chieftains. Instead of the single man kneeling before the king, we now find the monarch grasping a whole group of victims by their hair. This was to become a favourite subject for later temple reliefs. The king as a griffon trampling on his enemies may also be a new idea introduced in Dyn. V, but the block from the Chephren excavations suggests that such a scene may have already occurred in the causeway corridor of Chephren. In accompaniment with the scene of ceremonial slaughter is now portrayed the family of the captive chieftain, his followers, and a profusion of booty. The finest example of this scene is that of the Libyan booty in the Sahura temple (*l.c.*, pl. 1) where the goddess Seshat is shown recording the spoil, but an earlier example apparently was to be found in the Weserkaf temple, for we have the legs of the seated goddess and the word *škr-nh*, 'prisoners', on a broken fragment. Fragments with similarly represented Libyan prisoners show that this scene also occurred in the Unas temple. An actual battle scene was also shown in the causeway reliefs where a fragment portrays an Egyptian struggling with a bearded Bedouin, while another shoots with bow and arrow at an enemy figure drawn upside down with feet in the air as though falling (*Annales*, XXXVIII, pl. XCV). Here apparently is a royal precedent for the battle scene which appears in a Dyn. VI tomb at Saqqarah and another at Deshasheh (see Figs. 85, 86). Another fragment shows officers armed with axes who are called 'captains' (*imy-rj*) of 'fives' and 'tens'. The Syrian spoil, including a number of bears, is partly preserved in the Sahura reliefs. Bound captives led by various gods are also deployed in long lines (usually at the foot of the causeway corridor) as an accompaniment of these scenes of triumph over the king's enemies.

The Heb-Sed scenes have received the most complete treatment that we know in the Old Kingdom on the walls of the Sun temple at Abu Gurob. The earlier examples of these scenes have been mentioned in discussing the reliefs of Dyn. I-III. One of the blocks built into the Lisht Pyramid shows a part of the ceremony and may possibly be as early as Dyn. IV, and there is now an example of the king seated on

<sup>1</sup> I think it is very probable that a scene of barter in University College fits under the Cairo fragment with the baboon, and that a judgement scene in Cairo fits in the register above. Another fragment in University College has part of a craftwork scene which must have come from some neighbouring portion of the wall. Thus all the parts of the Unas scene seem to be present in the chapel of Tep-m-ankh. The last king

mentioned in this chapel is Sahura and I am of the opinion that the reliefs are to be dated to the first half of Dyn. V and certainly earlier than Unas. This raises an interesting point as to the origin of the group with the baboon. Both the artists of Unas and Tep-m-ankh must have been imitating an earlier model. For references to the reliefs of Tep-m-ankh, see p. 187.

the Heb-Sed throne on a relief in the Cheops Pyramid temple. There are several fragments from the Sahura temple which are probably concerned with the king's jubilee, but they may represent other temple ceremonies. Thus we find the ceremonial painting of the eyes of cattle before the king seated on a throne, or the *sm* priest accompanying the standing or striding king. A scene which is found in the later temple reliefs is the presentation by the king of four differently coloured calves which are restrained by ropes held in the king's hand. A fragmentary example of this scene is found in both the temples of Sahura (Fig. 72) and Unas.

The Sahura reliefs show a wide representation of the great gods and various supernatural beings, and fragments of Weserkaf, Neferirkara, Ne-user-ra, and Unas show that the gods appeared often in

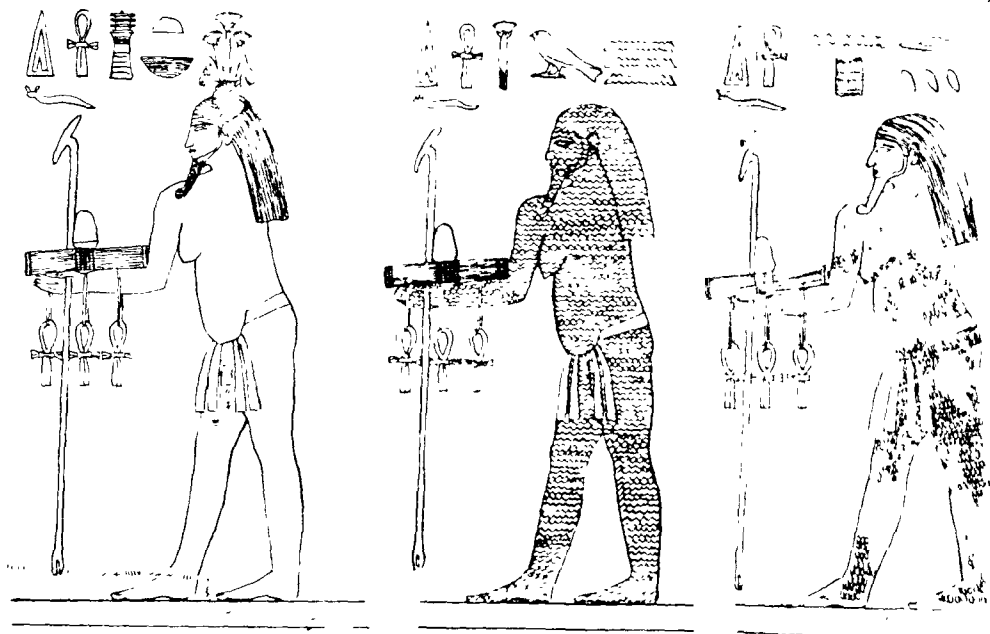


FIG. 71. Minor deities (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 30).

these reliefs. The king is shown suckled by the goddess Nekhbet, accompanied by Khnum, in the Sahura temple. The goddess Sekhmet performs this office for Ne-user-ra, while a beautiful fragment from the Unas temple shows a similar group. A great relief in the Ne-user-ra temple shows the seated king accompanied by Anubis and Buto. The stela in the sanctuary of Sahura seems to have been flanked by figures of the souls of Hierakonpolis and Buto, while a fragment of the jackal-headed souls of Hierakonpolis in Cairo (No. 57119) and the foot and staff of a figure still remaining on the wall beside the great granite palace-façade stela suggest that there was a similar disposition of figures in the Unas temple. The Sahura reliefs and those of Ne-user-ra and Unas show great processions of gods, Nome deities, and the personifications of certain aspects of nature such as the sea, the Nile, grain, or the harvest, or even the seasons, all bringing offerings to the king. Many of these latter spirits are new, as are some of the representations of the great gods, and one of the great contributions of the temple reliefs of Dyn. V is in the picturing of this pantheon of Old Kingdom deities. Many of the creations of these forms may belong to this period, such as the sea with his body covered with rippled lines, and Neper scaled all over with grain (Fig. 71), or the extraordinary demon (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 22). The fat Nile spirits with their plant-decorated heads and plump forms have appeared already but like the other gods find their most developed treatment here (Pl. 53).

As for the distribution of the scenes on the walls the evidence is very meagre. Borchardt believed from the location of the fragments which he found in the Sahura temple that the scenes of the king's

public life were placed in the more accessible parts of the temple—the valley temple, the causeway corridor, the great court, and in the cross corridor which separated the outer temple from the inner group of temple rooms from which the public was excluded. The scenes from the king's private life, hunting, fishing, &c., which correspond to the scenes from life in the private tombs, were placed in the side corridor which ran along the sides of the pillared court in the Sahura temple, but it is now evident from the Unas temple that these scenes also appeared on the walls of the causeway corridor. Finally, Borchardt thought that the scenes where the king is shown associated with the gods were restricted to

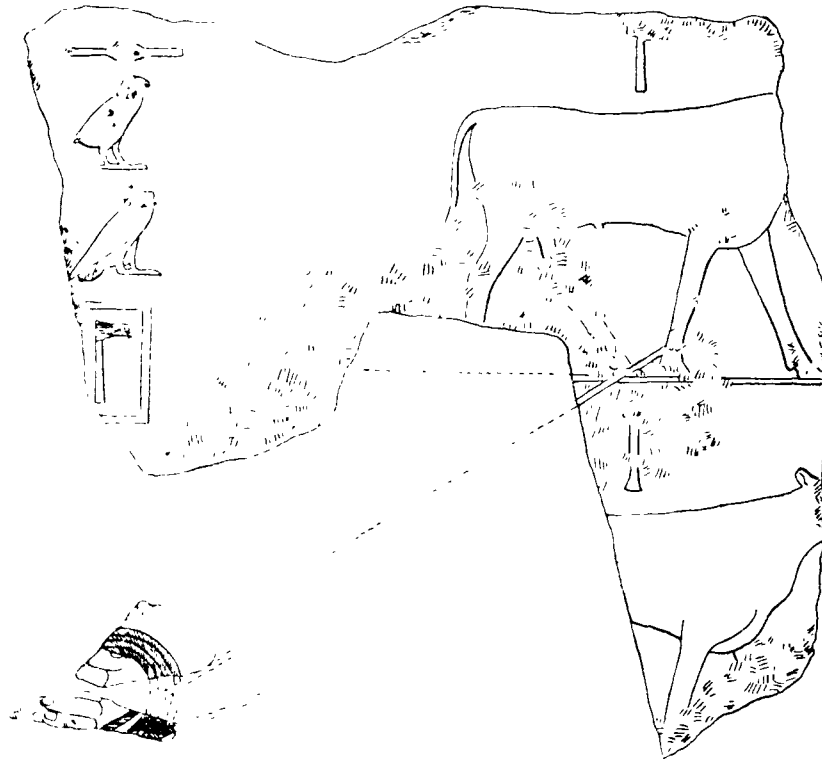


FIG. 72. Sahura presenting calves; *Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 47.

the rooms of the inner temple. The king as a griffon trampling his enemies, and the accompanying processions of gods and prisoners seems to have been restricted to the lower end of the causeway corridor. The scene is found in the temples of Sahura, Ne-user-ra, and Pepy II. In the temples of Unas and Pepy II the corridor was lined higher up with offering-bearers (accompanied by Nome gods in Pepy II), and it seems to be a reasonable assumption that these figures commonly decorated the causeway corridor. But the Unas reliefs now show that the most varied scenes, even a representation of a hunt or the 'Seasons' may appear along the walls of the causeway. In Sahura the king seems to have been shown in procession with his followers in the cross corridor in front of the court of columns. The scenes of Libyan booty were on the south wall of the great court near the west end, while a similar scene of Syrian booty appeared on the north wall accompanying, no doubt, similar groups of the ceremonial sacrifice of a conquered chieftain. In the Pepy II temple these scenes were on the east wall of the cross-corridor separating the columned court from the statue chamber. In the Sahura temple this wall was occupied by scenes of sea-going ships. The hunting scene was on the south wall of the east-west corridor south of the court of columns in the Sahura temple, while the bird-hunting and fishing scenes were in the northern parallel corridor. Apparently there were also scenes of dancing and musicians in these corridors. The hunting scene was in one of the anterooms to the sanctuary in the Pepy II temple, and in Ne-user-ra the hunting and fishing scenes as well as agricultural occupations (a part of a representation of the

'seasons') seem to have been in the valley temple. In the Ne-user-ra temple the great wall relief of the king accompanied by Anubis and Buto was placed on the west wall of the cross-corridor or room which separated the outer temple from the inner one, but the scene of Sahura suckled by the goddess Nekhbet was found in the valley temple which, combined with the fact that gods accompanying the king were in the anteroom of the Abu Gurob Sun temple (Kees, *Die Grosse Festdarstellung, Das Re-Heiligtum*, vol. III, p. 44), suggests that these scenes of the king with gods were not always in the inner temple. Finally, it is probable from the evidence of the decoration of the sanctuary of the Pepy II temple, and from the similar shape of the inner east-west offering-room in all these temples (excepting Weserkaf) with the stela set in the west wall, that the sanctuary was ordinarily decorated on the north and south walls with picture lists and long lines of offering-bearers leading up to a figure of the king seated at an offering-table. The east wall in the offering-room of Pepy II has slaughter scenes, and in Sahura and Unas the stela seems to have been framed by figures of the souls of Hierakonpolis and Buto. These sanctuaries very probably furnished the royal prototype for the similarly decorated east-west offering-room which became so common in the private chapels of the latter half of Dyn. V.

In plan, these temples of Dyn. V show a clear progression of development. The earliest, that of Weserkaf, although of a peculiar type not easy to understand and in an unusual position on the south side of the pyramid, shows clearly elements deriving from the pyramid temples of Dyn. IV. The temples of Sahura, Neferirkara, and Ne-user-ra resemble one another with a more complicated plan but a clear separation between the two parts, the inner and outer temple. The temple of Unas at the end of the Dynasty shows a simplification of this arrangement, a more compact form which is repeated almost exactly in the temples of Tety and Pepy II. Perhaps the reliefs began to show a more regular distribution upon certain walls to correspond with the uniformity in the plans of these last three temples. The reliefs of Unas and Tety are, unfortunately, too far destroyed to determine this. Also the fragmentary material from the Ne-user-ra temple and the few scraps of decoration of Neferirkara are too scanty to allow us to determine how much these resembled the scenes from Sahura in their distribution throughout the temple. It is certain, however, that the reliefs of Weserkaf, which until recent discoveries in the Cheops temple were the earliest-known reliefs from a funerary temple, diverge more than do any of the others from a general system of arrangement upon the walls. This is due largely, it would seem, to the peculiar plan of the temple which made it necessary to place the great majority of the scenes on the walls surrounding a large columned court.

#### b. The Private Reliefs of the First Half of Dynasty V

In Dyn. V the royal cemetery had shifted from Giza to Abusir and Saqqarah. From this time onward the cemetery at Giza assumes a secondary position, and except for the tombs of a few royal children and courtiers placed in front of the Ne-user-ra Pyramid, the most important burial-places of Dyn. V and the first half of Dyn. VI are to be found at Saqqarah. The plan initiated by Cheops of building a subsidiary cemetery consisting of related groups of graves laid out on a unified scheme, was not followed by his successors. The tombs of Dyn. V and VI are for the most part not laid around the pyramid of the king to whose court their owners belonged, but set down usually in family groups over the great Saqqarah field. Thus they provide a difficult problem as to their exact chronological succession. The fact that the Saqqarah Cemetery is by no means completely excavated adds considerably to this difficulty. The sculptured chapels of these Saqqarah tombs are many of them scattered throughout the museums of Europe and America and with a few of the finest tombs still lying uncovered at Saqqarah form the best-known body of reliefs of the Old Kingdom. For our knowledge of the others we are

dependent upon the brief descriptions in Mariette's *Mastabas* and the plates and text of Lepsius' great *Denkmäler*. The chronological arrangement of the reliefs which I have adopted is necessarily of a somewhat tentative nature and remains dependent upon further excavation.

At Giza the problem of dating is equally complicated but the study is aided by the fact that the cemetery is more completely excavated. In Dyn. V certain of the old cores laid out by Cheops in the Western Cemetery were completed and utilized. The streets and avenues between the cores provided space for smaller subsidiary tombs. The cemetery continued to expand westwards and a few tombs were added east of the eastern row of the cemetery *en échelon* and along the northern edge of the plateau. In the Eastern Cemetery a few small tombs were added on the south, east, and north of the older mastabas, but the majority of the new burial-places were made in rock-cut tombs in the different levels of the eastern face of the plateau edge where the rock falls away in a steep cliff. A few mastabas were added to the line of tombs south of the First Pyramid. A large number of tombs were also built and cut in the quarry terraces in front of the burial-places of the Chephren family in the area between the Second Pyramid and the Sphinx. In all these areas, where space permitted, we find a tendency to group the tombs in family complexes which proves of assistance for dating.

In the first half of Dyn. V, both at Giza and Saqqarah, the form of the interior chapel remains simple, continuing the type of Dyn. IV, and the decoration in many of the chapels continues to reproduce the restricted subject-matter of the preceding period. But the important feature of this period is the introduction of scenes from life in the interior chapel, first in the chapels of simple type at Saqqarah and later on a larger scale in the more complicated chapel types of the latter half of the Dynasty. At Giza the L-shaped chapel continues in use, while at Saqqarah the majority of the forms show a modification of the cruciform chapel. These simple types of interior chapel continue beside the more complicated types to the end of the Dynasty. At Saqqarah, two other types of interior chapel begin to appear early in Dyn. V. One is a corridor form resembling the Giza L-shaped chapel. The other is a long corridor form with an alcove at the southern end. These interior chapels are generally preceded by an exterior corridor.

A group of tombs at Saqqarah in which the name of Weserkaf, Sahura, or Neferirkara occurs (as the last royal name mentioned) is to be found east of the Step Pyramid and south of the Weserkaf Pyramid. One of these tombs, D 49, Khnum-hotep, mentions only the name of Weserkaf, and a man of this name appears in the reliefs of the king's temple. Another tomb close to the Weserkaf Pyramid belongs to a Prince Sethuw (D 46), which although not dated by a king's name might well belong to a son of Weserkaf by its proximity to the latter's tomb. It seems to me that these tombs in this eastern section of the cemetery may well have been begun as a cemetery of the courtiers of Weserkaf, and a number of chapels appear to have been decorated here in the reigns of Sahura and Neferirkara. One tomb on the ridge north of the Step Pyramid had a stela which was ordered by Sahura (D 12, Ny-ankh-sekhemet) and another chapel was probably decorated in his reign (D 11, Tep-m-ankh). The fine stone-cased mastaba of Sabuw (C 16) may also be of the reign of Sahura, as a man named Sabuw is mentioned in the reliefs of that king.

The chapel of Prince Sethuw is of the short corridor form and has no decorations except for the two stelae of the west wall, and registers of offering-bearers on the narrow space between the two stelae and south of the southern one. The execution of the reliefs is low and delicate and the drawing good. The northern stela was later erased and inscribed with the names and titles of another man (at a much later period; Saite?). Ny-ankh-sekhemet had only a stela of white limestone set in the eastern face of his mastaba (Cairo Museum). It is of the later form with a wide inscribed border, and is in good, low relief. The chapel of Sabuw, of modified cruciform type, had a single stela in the west wall flanked by palace-

façade panelling (*Tomb Development*, p. 400). The entrance door-way was flanked on the façade by panels of men presenting animals and birds. The decorations of Senuw-ankh (D 52), in a chapel of corridor type, were again of the old simple form with a representation of boats added to the usual offering-scenes and estates. Likewise in the chapel of Nen-kheft-ka (D 47) (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 407, 408; Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, I, pls. XXIII, XXVI) of modified cruciform type there was only a group of musicians and dancers in addition to the usual scenes which had hitherto decorated the interior chapel. The work in this chapel was partly in good low relief, while the stela was decorated with sunk relief on which the colour is still well preserved. The reliefs were carved in white limestone and are now in the Cairo Museum.

As early as the modified cruciform chapel of Khnum-hotep (D 49), although the east and south walls were largely occupied by offering-lists and the west wall by the stela, Mariette mentions that there were boating scenes, agricultural pursuits, and dancers. There are fragments of a swamp scene from this chapel in the Berlin Museum including a hippopotamus hunt and the trapping of water-birds. It would appear that these must have been from the north wall. Mariette describes the work as being of fine quality, and two pieces of the upper part of the stela in the British Museum are in good low relief on white limestone (*Hieroglyphic Texts, &c.*, I, pl. 26; the tablet has a very simple linen list and a mention of the panther-skin garment), but I noted that the fragments in Berlin were rather mediocre low relief in poor stone. The chapel of Persen (D 45) appears to have been a long alcove or east-west offering-room entered by means of a door at the south end of a long north-south corridor. The corridor itself showed no decoration. On the north wall of the offering-room is an inscription referring to an endowment established in the temple of Ptah at Memphis in the reign of Sahura, which gives an indication of the date of the tomb. A large stela occupied the west wall. On the south wall the owner was seated with offering-bearers and on the north with dancers and musicians. On the east wall Mariette describes a scene of hunting in the marshes accompanied by men pulling lotus flowers and boatmen fighting. The north wall, which is in the Berlin Museum, shows rather poor workmanship but contains one figure, almost a caricature, which is remarkable for its recognition of body deformation (Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, pl. 15). The background is left rough and there is little modelling. The chapel of Tep-m-ankh (D 11) is also of the corridor-plus-alcove type, but in this case both rooms are decorated. The stela was in the west wall of the alcove and on the north and south walls adjoining it were only preserved scenes of the slaughter of animals. In the corridor, the west wall was partly occupied by two false-doors accompanied by the funerary meal and presentation scenes. On the east wall of the corridor were scenes from life. Mariette mentions a representation of three boats, and some fragments the position of which is uncertain give us a number of interesting scenes. A market scene and carpenters at work are found on two blocks in University College (Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, I, pls. XII, XIII), while two blocks in Cairo show a judgement scene (Borchardt, *Catalogue Générale, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I, pl. 52, No. 1541) and a remarkable little group resembling some of the panels of Neferma'at and Atet (Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II, pl. XI) mentioned above in connexion with a similar scene in the Unas temple. An ape seizes the leg of a running boy while a female ape with her young clinging to her breast is led on a leash by a second youth (Fig. 225). These blocks show well-cut low relief in white limestone. It is to be noted that the southern alcove contains only the stela and what would have been the usual offering-scenes had the walls been sufficiently preserved. The corridor contained two stelae belonging to other members of the family and the scenes from life (*cf.* p. 182, Footnote 1).

Finally, there are two other tombs which seem to belong to the reign of Neferirkara, or a little later, which show the introduction of scenes from life into the inner chapel. The chamber of Nefer-iret-n-f

in Brussels was of modified cruciform type with two false-doors in the west wall (Van de Walle, *Le Mastaba de Neferirtenef*). Here the scenes from life occupy a large proportion of the wall space. The table scene appears on the south and west wall (north of the northern stela, where it is accompanied by the family of the owner, dancers, musicians, and men playing board games). The north wall has two registers of a presentation of animals, below, but above this has been added a scene of men picking figs in an orchard accompanied by the capture of the *gnw* birds. The whole east wall has an elaborate series of scenes from life. Here (north of the entrance) for the first time in our survey we come upon a complete sequence of agricultural operations. The upper register shows men pulling some kind of plants, then (2) sowing, driving sheep, ploughing, pulling flax and tying it into bundles; (3) cutting barley, filling sacks, and loading donkeys; (4) driving donkeys and piling up sheaves beside the threshing-floor; and (5) the donkeys trampling grain and a group of winnowers. These scenes are accompanied in the lowest two registers by the care of cattle. Above the entrance, and extending over the scenes to the south of it, the owner is shown hunting in the swamp in a composite scene. On the right he slays birds with a throwing-stick; on the left he spears fish. A curved piece of water rises between the two flanking boats, dividing the papyrus swamp into two portions, one serving for each scene.<sup>1</sup> Beneath are men catching fish in a drag-net, and still lower the capture of water-birds in a clap-net. The relief is good ordinary Dyn. V work, a large part of the background being left, as is usual in these reliefs. The artist has given some unusual details to the fig-picking scene, and has added small touches to the scenes on the eastern wall, such as the man playing the flute among the people who pull up plants. This was to become a familiar element of the harvest scene as was the man drinking from a jar, shown below among the barley cutters. Note also the man seated in a boat fishing with hook and line. Whether the artist of Nefer-iret-n-f invented these details and the new treatment of the fish-spearing and throwing-stick scene it is impossible to say. Since the reliefs do not show work of unusually fine quality, but are of fairly routine execution, it is probable that he borrowed these novelties from the creation of a more talented craftsman.

The chapel of Ptah-wer-iren in the British Museum shows somewhat mediocre work but it probably belongs to the same group of mastabas of the first half of Dyn. V (*Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, &c.*, VI, pls. 1-12). The owner was a priest in the Sun temple of Neferirkara but the offering formulae contain the name of Osiris which would seem to indicate a rather later date. The room was apparently L-shaped or of the short corridor form with two stelae in the west wall. The wall between the two false-doors showed the owner seated with his family, musicians, dancers, offering-bearers, and a slaughter scene. The panel left of the southern false-door has a picture list and offering-bearers, but that on the right of the northern door has a scene of fishing with a drag-net and another slaughter scene. The north wall again has the funerary meal, and the south wall seems to have been destroyed entirely. The east wall shows us again extended representations of agricultural scenes which from now on are of common occurrence, accompanied by bird netting and boats. There is also an inspection of cattle and the judging of peasants who have failed in their duties. A curious accompaniment of the large figure on this wall is the preparation of a bed and carrying-chair which are shown beneath him. Men take linen from a box, evidently to serve as bed-clothing.

At Giza we must consider the likelihood that several of the L-shaped chapels of the western Cemetery, which for convenience have been grouped in Chapter IX with similar Dyn. IV reliefs, probably belong in the first half of Dyn. V. There are a few L-shaped chapels of certain later date which continue

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus thicket does not form a background for the boats but is in front of them, occupying the space between the two groups of figures. The method of representation as a whole has been assigned to Dynasty VI as its earliest date of occur-

rence (Balcz, *Zur Datierung der Mastaba des Snofru-imi-istef in Dahsúr*, *AZ*, LXVII, p. 14), but I think this example can be little later than the reign of Neferirkara, if not of that time itself.

this type. There are also a number of rock-cut tombs of the first half of Dyn. V and a few chapels of new types. Most of the reliefs of this period are of mediocre execution and many of them are worked in nummulitic limestone. On the other hand, three rock-cut tombs show a heavy bold style which is unusual in this material and is of distinction well above the average. One of these, the rock-cut tomb of Prince Ka-zeded,<sup>1</sup> has preserved only the reliefs of the lower part of the door-jamb, showing the legs of the owner in well modelled, very high relief. Another chapel, that of Thenty (not recorded by Lepsius and still unnumbered) toward the southern end of the cliff, retains the upper part of the figures of the owner and his wife both on the east and the north wall and part of a presentation of animals on the latter wall which includes a dwarf leading a bull. An elaborate palace-façade panelling decorates the western and southern walls. The bold, well-worked surfaces of the relief are more like the early work of Iy-nefer and Ra-hotep than the usual reliefs of the rock-cut chapels with their carving of medium height and somewhat slipshod treatment of details. It should be noted, however, that both in this chapel and the next the high relief is combined with inscriptions in sunk relief. The third tomb in this series is the important chapel of Khafra-ankh (LG 75). This shows a complicated treatment of the west wall with a number of false-doors decorated with elements of palace-façade panelling and a statue in a niche. On the north wall a swamp scene, which included boat-building, has been destroyed almost entirely. On the south wall was the usual table scene, but the east wall contained a fully developed series of agricultural scenes accompanied by fish netting, bird trapping, and an inspection of herds, as we have found appearing in the Saqqarah chapels. The artist of Khafra-ankh has invented a new detail. He has reproduced the large figure of the owner leaning on his staff, reduced to a small scale in the midst of agricultural pursuits, thus bringing the large figure into a new and more intimate contact with the scene which he is inspecting. The sculptor of Khafra-ankh was an innovator in a number of ways. He delighted in unconventional postures in the subsidiary figures, and has succeeded remarkably well with a pose which shows the back of a man's shoulders as he pulls on the fish net (Fig. 171). In the swamp scene is what appears to be the first representation that I know of a cat. The little boys on the south door-jamb show an attractive informal treatment of a family scene (Pl. 46).

The rock-cut tomb of Ankh-ma-ra (G 7837) probably belongs to the first half of Dyn. V. Its reliefs are in the ordinary style of medium height usual in the majority of the rock-cut chapels, and on part of the west wall the reliefs have been cut in a thick layer of plaster laid down over the wall. The north wall has the owner inspecting the dragging of statues. The east wall, in addition to scenes of fishing and bird netting and a presentation of animals, shows a bed set up under a canopy with attendant servants, which accompanies a scene of the presentation of sealed equipment, and a carrying-chair procession. A feature of this chapel is the representation of rows of scribes cut in niches along the base of the north, east, and west walls (Pl. 57). These statues of scribes have already appeared in the chapel of Queen Meresankh III in the portraits of Khemten and his family. Similar scribes appear in the rock-cut chapel of a man named Khafra-ankh (not to be confused with the owner of LG 75) in the Quarry Cemetery east of the Second Pyramid. The carving of statues of the owner in the walls of rock-cut chapels is a common feature in Dyn. V and VI at Giza, following the example set by the statues of Hetep-heres II and Meresankh III and her daughters in G 7530+7540, at the end of Dyn. IV. The statue of the owner is found standing in the back of the offering-niche in the chapel of Yasen (G 2196) (Pl. 57), while a single statue, pair of statues of man and wife, or a number of figures are found in recesses

<sup>1</sup> At the foot of the eastern cliff near the northern end, adjoining a group of tombs excavated by the Service des Antiquités. Possibly the tomb of this prince is to be dated to late Dyn. IV, as the smaller neighbouring tomb of Khufu-

mer seems to have been prepared for him by Mycerinus (Ahmed Fakhri, *Sept Tombeaux à l'Est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh*, p. 21).



of the walls of other chapels. The single statue is found in Khafra-ankh (LG 75) and in G 7763, the pair statue in a tomb adjoining that of Khafra-ankh. In this case it is two male figures, but usually man and wife are shown as in G 7759 and in Per-seneb (LG 78). In the latter chapel the pair statue is repeated twice, on the south wall, and accompanied by a single statue on the west wall of the outer room. The seated pair of man and wife is found in the rock-cut statues of the provincial tombs (Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. III). In G 7847 and LG 68 there are three figures in the recess and in Ka-m-nofret (LG 63) there are four. In the rock-cut chapel of Akhet-ir-n (unnumbered) two rough figures are cut in the face of a pillar near the base, and similarly a statue of Queen Kha-merer-nebty (at an earlier time than these others probably) was cut in the face of a square column. This same procedure is found at the base of two pillars in the chapel of Ka-kher-ptah (G 7721), where the walls of the inner and outer rooms have also long rows of standing figures in niches. Similar in including many figures in one niche, is the representation of a line of statues of the owner on the east wall of the chapel of Debehen (LG 90). In the chapel of Thenty (mentioned above as having high reliefs) a pair statuette of man and wife (accompanied in each case by two children) is cut at the base of two of the 'great doors' in the palace-façade panelling of the west wall. In Dyn. VI rows of figures are found in the rock-cut chapels of Yeduw (G 7102) and Qar (G 7101). The figure of a child accompanies both the statues of Yeduw and Qar and in Yeduw the upper part of the figure of the owner is shown in a recess at the base of the false-door (Pl. 57). One chapel at Saqqarah Mariette E 10 of Qednes, had rock-cut figures, and they appear in the Dyn. V tombs at Hemamieh and later at Sheikh Saïd and other provincial sites.

In the chapel of Prince Ka-zeded a reflection of this custom is found in a pair statue carved in granite which was set in the west wall between the two stelae. The statue at the back of the niche was imitated in such mastabas as that of Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010), where it appears in the west wall of the court, and in Dyn. VI in the pillared hall of Mereruwka. A curious survival resembling the representation in Yeduw is the bust of the owner which appears in the place of the tablet in the stela of Nefer-seshem-ptah at Saqqarah. We know of the use of the statue in the back of the niche of a number of stelae in small tombs. One of these from Giza (G 5032, Redy-nes, now in Boston) actually has a full-face figure in sunk relief in the back of the niche (Pl. 57). It is probably to be dated to Dyn. VI and owes its unique character to the imitation of a statue standing in the back of the niche.

The L-shaped chapels of Khufuw-ankh (G 4520, the burial of which was dated by a sealing of Weserkaf), Wehem-ka (now in Hildesheim; Roeder, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*), Persen (LG 20), Kay (Junker, *Giza*, III, pp. 123 ff.) and Kaninesuwt II (*l.c.* pp. 145 ff.) add little that is new to our knowledge of the decoration of this type of chapel. Persen does, indeed, have a scene of boats (not very well preserved) and fishing with a drag-net accompanying a presentation scene on the east wall, but the others continue the usual scenes of the funerary meal accompanied by offering-bearers and slaughter scenes. The chapel of Sekhem-ka (G 4411) was undecorated except for the door-jambs between the inner and outer room, showing the owner standing facing out accompanied by subsidiary figures. These jambs, now in the Berlin Museum, are well carved in relief of medium height in good stone (Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, pl. 196). The great stela which decorated the west wall of the chapel of Khufuw-ankh is also of good execution in sunk relief (Boston, *Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 65). It should be mentioned that the type of these L-shaped chapels is carried on into the latter half of the Dynasty by the inner offering-rooms of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 6040) and Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010), by the chapel of Ra-wer (G 5270; Junker, *l.c.*, pp. 223 ff.), whose burial is dated by a sealing of Isesy, and that of Itety (G 7391), probably of late Dyn. V.

The decoration of several other Giza chapels is probably to be dated to the first half of Dyn. V. Two

are in the Quarry Cemetery east of the Second Pyramid. Neter-puw-nesuwt, in giving a list of the names of kings under whom he served, ends the list with Sahura. Ra-wer gives in his chapel an account of an incident which happened in the reign of Neferirkara which the king ordered him to inscribe in his tomb (Selim Bey Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1929-30, p. 18). The principal room in the chapel of Neter-puw-nesuwt is square in shape with two pillars. It is entered from a north-south corridor on the east, but the main entrance seems to have been a second door in the middle of the west wall. Curiously enough there is no false-door preserved and apparently no provision for one. The decoration of the square room is in paint only, partly unfinished and partly destroyed. The entrance jambs and the historical inscription over the doorway to a magazine at the south end of the corridor are in sunk relief. The paintings show a swamp scene and apparently a series of agricultural scenes; the preparation of a bed, dancers, &c. The tomb of Ra-wer consisted of a complicated conglomeration of family tombs, statue chambers, and offering-rooms grouped around the court in front of the inner rock-cut chapel and connected by corridors. The reliefs are not well enough preserved to suggest their distribution but certain fragments are part of agricultural scenes, one had fighting boatmen, while two small pieces showed a man picking grapes and small birds represented in such a way that this probably belonged to the scene of trapping *gnw* birds in an orchard, combined with the vintage. The seated figure of Ra-wer with his mother standing in front of him has a large simplicity of mass and an excellence of workmanship that reminds one of earlier work (Selim Bey Hassan, *loc. cit.*, pl. IV). Perhaps one other Giza chapel belongs to the first half of Dyn. V. This was the badly damaged little chapel in G 2175 with an unfinished wall of reliefs of good quality resembling late Dyn. IV work. Only one decorated wall remains (in Boston). The bold quality of the reliefs and the drawing of the figures is not unlike that in the chapel of Sennuwka (G 2041) and the chapel is of the old fashioned, two-niched type. It does not seem to me, however, that a Dyn. IV artist would have introduced a group of dancing women into a scene of the presentation of animals as has been done here. The inter-relation of the figures of the dancers is unusual, incidentally (Fig. 217, see also Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 31).

### c. The Private Reliefs of the Second Half of Dynasty V

The mastabas of the second half of Dyn. V, from the reign of Ne-user-ra to the end of the Dynasty, show us the introduction of the complicated interior chapel of many rooms at Abusir and Saqqarah. At Giza with the accumulation of rooms and subsidiary buildings in the Ra-wer complex we have already seen a foreshadowing of the type, but the real basis for the new chapel form is to be found in the complicated plans of the earlier rock-cut Giza chapels. A feature of the new tombs is a large pillared hall or court as it occurs in the chapel of Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep, Itety and the first Ptah-hotep (D 62) at Saqqarah. In the chapel of Pehenuwka a large court surrounded by chambers takes the place of the pillared hall as we find it later in the court of the Senezem-ib and Seshem-nofer complexes at Giza. But both Ra-shepses and Senezem-ib-Yenty show a form which includes both the pillared hall and the open court. In the chapels of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 6040) and Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010) at Giza we find a pillared portico along one side of an open court. All these mastabas, with the exception of Itety and Shepseskaf-ankh, display a wider decoration of the greatly enlarged wall spaces.

The chapel of Thiy (Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*) shows an expansion of the scenes of agricultural pursuits and craftsmen at work. The cooking operations subsidiary to the offering lists and picture lists are increased to cover two whole walls of a small room. The representations of the owner's boats are increased in number, as are scenes relating to the inspection of the estate and the transportation of animals and provisions by boat. The most important new element introduced here is the picture of the

offices of the estate, a pillared hall in which scribes are seated keeping the records of the produce and herds. Adjoining this is another new representation, the fowl-yard, a curious diagrammatic rendering both in plan and profile. A tiny fragment is all that remains from what must have been a very fine hunting scene on the upper part of the east wall of the inner offering-room, south of the transverse roofing beam. A reproduction of this has not been published but it is referred to by Montet (*Scènes de la Vie Privée dans les Tombeaux égyptiens de L'Ancien Empire*, p. 84). Small as the fragment is, it has preserved a new detail. The fore-quarters of a lion appear to be emerging from the top of a vertical rectangular space (broken away below) at the edge of the wall. The lion seizes the throat of a gazelle holding it dangling well above the base-line upon which the other animals stand. An almost identical representation has been recently found upon a block in excavations in the neighbourhood of the mastaba of Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep (photograph in *La Bourse égyptienne*, Wednesday, July 21, 1937). A similar position of a gazelle seized by some other animal now broken away is drawn on a block standing in the anteroom to the chapel of Akhet-hetep (Fig. 92), and I would suggest that the same group was shown again here. Less well preserved are the two examples which surmount the top of the net on each side of the scene in the chapel of Mereruwka's son Mery-tety (Fig. 92). I should add also to this list a small fragment in Cairo found by Quibell ( $\frac{8/6}{23/1}$ ) with the fore-quarters of a lion devouring a gazelle. The mane of the lion is curiously conventionalized but the drawing is superb. The curious position of the lion is due apparently to his being represented behind the net which was spread around the area into which the beaters drive the game in Egyptian hunting scenes.

In the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir (De Morgan, *Rev. Arch.* 1894, 3rd Ser. XXIV, pp. 18-33) the freight-boats are again given great prominence, and a scene of marketing is included, while the cultivation of green vegetables and the sculptor's workshop also appear. The destruction of the upper walls and the incomplete excavation of the mastaba have probably deprived us of many scenes. Unusual is the figure of a man leaning over the side of a boat emptying a pot into the water. Ptah-shepses was married to one of the daughters of Ne-user-ra and his tomb is the largest in the small cemetery east of the pyramid of that king. In the chapel of Ptah-hotep at Saqqarah,<sup>1</sup> of the reign of Isesy or a little later, is a hunting scene (Pl. 55; repeated in a different variation in a preliminary sketch on a loose block in the adjoining chapel of Akhet-hetep), and a rare representation of boys' games which has received a particularly full treatment. Another scene that is new appears here. This is the noble seated, accompanied by his attendants, who are apparently engaged in dressing him; a sort of morning levée with scribes, musicians, dwarfs preparing jewellery, the architect (?) of the tomb seated before a pile of food, and a man with hunting-dogs and a monkey on the leash. In the chapel of Akhet-hetep (of which the offering-room of Ptah-hotep forms a part) additional details have been added to the swamp scene, showing a man seated in a little boat fishing with hook and line, and in the opposite panel fishing with a hand-net. The scene varies from the usual arrangement (Davies, *l.c.*, vol. II, pls. XIII, XIV). It flanks and fills the space above a doorway. The owner takes no part in the scene but sits at each end of the wall watching the activities of the swamp, boat-building, picking papyrus, fighting boatmen, and the care of cattle which are arranged on each side of a papyrus thicket with birds above, which surmounts the doorway. One of the rooms of the somewhat earlier chapel of Pehenuwka (Lepsius, *Textband*, I, p. 162) shows remnants of a hunting scene with interesting details (in Berlin). Here, as in Thiy, we have the running boat-crews which reflect the great representation of this subject in the reliefs of Sahura.

The chapel of Ra-shepses,<sup>2</sup> the date of which is indicated by a letter of King Isesy inscribed on a

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhotep and Akhet-hotep at Saqqara*; Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *l.c.*, p. 165; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1907-1908, p. 23.

door-jamb, shows the same widespread use of wall decoration that we have found in these other large chapels. Here for the first time we find in the embrasure of the entrance to the rooms on the west of the court the flanking scenes of swamp activities which are characteristic of the large mastabas of the end of Dyn. V (cf. the Senezem-ib and Seshem-nofer complexes at Giza). On one side the owner is shown hunting birds with the throwing-stick, while on the other he spears fish. Among the presentation scenes of the corridor, which include a *sh* pavilion with musicians, dancers, and men playing board games, has been included a vintage scene, the raising of vegetables, and an orchard scene with the netting of small birds. A group of men building boats appears on another wall. The pillared court has an expanded scene of freight-boats loaded with animals and produce, and here are shown also the overseers of the various estates prostrate before the noble in a sort of judgement scene. In addition to these inner rooms which were recorded by Lepsius, Mr. Quibell found a painted corridor (like the other rooms, no longer accessible) that leads off to the north which contained a variety of scenes from life, including agricultural pursuits, the inspection of sealed equipment, jewellery, linen,<sup>1</sup> and the making of pottery.

Of these reliefs, those of Thiy and Ptah-hotep are of exceptionally fine quality. The whole great expanse of Thiy's walls has been decorated with good low relief. It is of the Dyn. V type with the background not entirely cut away, but in the inner offering-room, as in the Ptah-hotep chapel, it achieves great distinction. Technically the work is not as fine as the best Dyn. IV low relief or the carving of Weserkaf and Sahura, but there is a new vivacity, grace, and lightness which contrast pleasantly with the large-scaled severity of most Fourth Dynasty work and have won, particularly for the tomb of Thiy, universal admiration. The sculptor of the little inner offering-room of Ptah-hotep was a man of individual quality who has lent a style of his own to the work. The relief is higher than that of Thiy, and although scarcely more than of medium height has a feeling of boldness. This is partly due to the use of rounded surfaces in the modelling and partly to the artist's predilection for curved lines. He gives his subsidiary figures plump forms, marking the individual traits of the various men engaged in the swamp pursuits. Nothing could be better balanced and interwoven than are the figures of the fighting boatmen on the east wall. The reliefs of Ptah-shepses at Abusir are of a less distinctive quality and inferior in execution. The well-preserved colour lends them a considerable charm, nevertheless. Particularly attractive is the colouring of a row of cranes on the south entrance wall (Montet, *l.c.*, pl. XI). The reliefs of another Ptah-hotep (the grandfather of the man mentioned above, MM D 62) show an excellent quality of low relief (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XIII). The reliefs of Pehenuwka, judging from the fragments in Berlin (cf., for example, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 382), were equally fine.

Of the chapels of simpler type that of Akhet-hetep-her in Leyden (MM D 60), of the reign of Ne-user-ra or a little later, deserves first attention for the beauty of its reliefs.<sup>2</sup> The sculptor, who appears to have been a man of great originality, has decorated the walls of the chapel, a deep niche with entrance jambs and a false door in the west wall, with an elaborate series of scenes that expand, particularly the representations of agricultural and swamp activities. Brewing and baking, combined with the manufacture of pottery, appear on the thickness of the wall inside the jambs of the door. The opposite space has freight-boats. The panel over the entrance shows the best of all the representations of the trapping of birds in the orchard, and the jambs of the door contain representations of funeral-boats and the dragging of statues (one drawn by oxen) accompanied by dancers. These door-jambs give us one of the earliest representations of the funeral, although it is not so complete as in the scenes of Dyn. VI. The north entrance jamb of the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep shows a pair of dancers accompanying a

<sup>1</sup> For other examples see *AZ.* 71, pp. 134-49.

<sup>2</sup> Holwerda and Boeser, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Atlas*, V-XXI; Wreszinski, *l.c.*, I, pls. 95-116.

statue dragged in a shrine, that of Ra-m-ka (Metropolitan Museum), slaughterers and statues dragged on sledges, and among the fragments from the chapel of Tep-m-ankh at Abusir (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal Ne-user-rê*, p. 124, fig. 104) there is part of a scene where a woman accompanies a procession in which oxen drag a statue shrine, or a sarcophagus. The sculptor of Akhet-hetep-her<sup>1</sup> has given us again the man seated in a little skiff fishing with hook and line. He has treated his individual figures with great variety and has adopted unconventional means of representation which give an added naturalness to the scenes. The interplay of the various figures receives new attention also in these reliefs. From the description of Mariette, the chapel of Duwa-hap (MM D 59), almost identical in plan, must have contained scenes of a similar type. The details of the chapel of Akhet-hetep in the Louvre (particularly the netting of the *gnw* birds in the orchard and the dragging of the statues on the door-jamb, Fig. 76) probably bring this chapel close in time to the others ('Tel', *Photographic Encyclopaedia*, I, pls. 17-28). It is different in form, however, a modified cruciform chapel with palace-façade panelling on the west wall. Adjoining the orchard scene is one of those rare representations which approaches very near broad humour, and which may have been invented for this tomb.<sup>2</sup> A hound watches intently a goat that is giving birth to her young, while a man crouches in the background with a stick upraised to strike the dog if it should attack the new-born animal.

Two other chapels with interesting reliefs probably belong to this period. They are both in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. One, Ka-m-nofret (MM D 23), mentions Ne-user-ra as the last-named king. The other, Ptah-sekhem-ankh (MM D 41), although not exactly dated, is probably of the latter half of Dyn. V. The chapel of Ka-m-nofret is of modified cruciform type, and the scenes usual in an offering-room have been almost entirely crowded out by representations of various swamp activities and agricultural pursuits. The picture lists and offering-bearers have been reduced to the narrow spaces flanking the stela and to the lowest registers on the north and south walls. The south wall is badly destroyed, but since it has a standing figure of the owner there appears to have been no table scene except on the tablet of the false door. The chapel of Ptah-sekhem-ankh is of the type with a long corridor opening at its south end into an east-west offering-room with a great stela in the west wall. Here again the scenes from life have crowded the offering-scenes on to the north wall, but the owner is properly represented there at the table of bread, accompanied by lists of offerings, bearers of offerings, and slaughter scenes. The work in both these chapels is of good quality, although Ka-m-nofret's reliefs are partly revised and partly left finished only in paint. The relief is of the usual low Dyn. V type (Pl. 55). The draughtsman who worked on the east wall of Ka-m-nofret has left a skilfully drawn seated man seen from the front, a very unusual variation from the prescribed rules (Fig. 199).

Probably to be included with the above is the chapel of Mer-hotep (D 15), of L-shaped or short-corridor form. The scenes of swamp occupations from the north wall in good low relief are at present in Cairo, as is a part of the presentation of animals from the south wall. The east wall was decorated with agricultural scenes. Thus again in this chapel we find the scenes from life crowding the usual decorations from the walls of the offering-room. A block in Cairo showing men at work on stone vessels comes from a chapel north of the tomb of Thiy, found by Mr. Quibell (Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, III, pl. XXII). It displays particularly fine workmanship, but the rest of the reliefs from this chapel were

<sup>1</sup> I have repeatedly written 'the sculptor' or 'the painter' throughout this text for the sake of brevity. It does not mean that I think that one man executed all the work in a certain chapel. In the case where the chapel shows particularly able workmanship, unusual composition of the scenes, or original details, there must have been an especially able master crafts-

man directing the operations of the group of workmen. For further discussion, see Chapter XVI.

<sup>2</sup> The scene occurs again with slight variations in the chapel of Akhet-mery-nesuwt (G 2184) at Giza, and in a curiously pointless version at Zawiyet el Meitin which may have been misunderstood by Lepsius's draughtsman (see Fig. 226).

entirely destroyed. Three other mastabas show the intrusion of scenes from life into an interior chapel of short-corridor form, to the partial exclusion of the usual offering-scenes. From their position in a row of mastabas, several of which are associated with the name of King Isesy, I should assign these chapels to the end of Dyn. V. Parts of two of the chapels, those of Ny-kauw-hor (915 of Quibell) and Prince Ra-m-ka (MM D 3), are in the Metropolitan Museum, while the other, Ka-m-remeth (D 2), is partly in Copenhagen and partly in Cairo.<sup>1</sup> The painted east wall of Ny-kauw-hor had swamp and agricultural scenes; the south wall, dancers; while between the stelae on the west wall men play board games and musicians appear between the offering-bearers and a slaughter scene. The chapel of Prince Ra-m-ka shows an odd mixture of subject-matter on the walls of a one-niched chapel of short-corridor type. On the entrance jambs are shown statues dragged on sledges accompanied by the slaughter of oxen. The west wall, north of the false door, has a table scene accompanied by the bringing of tables loaded with food, slaughtering, and cooking, but the lower part of the wall shows the trapping of water-birds. The east wall presents a similar combination of diverse elements: (1) upper register, dancers; then (2) (3) presentation of animals; (4) procession of cranes and other birds; (5) estates bearing offerings; and (6) harvesting and donkeys treading grain. The north wall shows men cleaning fish and cooking, but the south wall is again unusual in combining an offering-list (above) with two registers of a hunting scene. In the latter a man leans on a staff watching hounds bring down a hyena and a gazelle in the upper register, while in the lower two men lasso antelopes. The line of the desert ground rises unusually high in this scene, and the animals are placed on its upper edge so that they are in most cases well above the straight base-line (*A Guide to the Collections*, I, p. 5; Metropolitan Museum of Art). This is almost an anticipation of the Middle Kingdom method, where the straight base-line is omitted altogether. The carving in the chapel of Ra-m-ka is of fine quality. The chapel of Ka-m-remeth had cattle fording a swamp and fishing by drag-net on the north wall. Flanking the stela on the west wall were seated figures of the owner at a table of bread. Under the figure on the right was a presentation of animals with freight-boats beneath, while on the left were musicians and a sail-boat under the table scene. The south wall had a presentation of animals and birds under a seated figure of the owner. Again there is a curious mixture of subject-matter as in the chapel of Ra-m-ka. On the east wall was an agricultural scene (only partly preserved) ending in a judgement scene and scribes recording the contents of granaries. Below this is a very complete representation of brewing and baking, while the lowest register is occupied by a scene of craftsmen at work.

We have noted above the modified cruciform chapels of Sabuw and Akhet-hetep which have palace-façade panelling on the west wall. A more simple type has only the panelled west wall and an inscribed architrave over the doorway. A good example of this type is the chapel of Ptah-shepses, famous for the inscription relating the career of that man (MM C 1). The palace-façade panelling in the British Museum, with the hieroglyphs of the inscription incised and painted green against the red background imitating granite, and with a rich effect of light and shade produced by the projecting and receding panels, shows how effective this type of decoration can be. The panelling is framed by narrow vertical strips of picture lists in low relief. The chapel of a second Ptah-shepses (C 9) must have resembled this and probably that of a third man bearing the same name (C 10), although the lining of his chamber had been destroyed. Another modified cruciform chapel with the west wall decorated similarly is that of Shepsesy (D 13). The palace-façade panelling of this chapel is in the Cairo Museum. There is a sparing use of inscriptions at the top of the panelling.

<sup>1</sup> See Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1907-1908, pls. LXII-LXVI; *A Hand-book of the Egyptian Rooms*, pp. 37, 39, figs. 15, 16 (for Ny-kauw-Hor); p. 27, fig. 11; p. 25, fig. 9; p. 26, fig. 10; Capart and Werbrouck, *Memphis*, fig. 317 (for Ra-m-ka); and Mogenson, *l. c.*, pls. LXXXVI-XC; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 402-404 (for Ka-m-remeth).

Although we have found that in many of the tombs of the latter half of Dyn. V the scenes from life have come to assume a large proportion of the space in the offering-room, there are several chapels which contain in their decoration only the subject-matter usually reserved for the offering-room in Dyn. IV. Most of these belong to the type with anteroom, north-south corridor, and east-west offering-room. It should be noted that in the Giza chapels of this type the east-west offering-room is always reserved for scenes connected with the funerary meal, as was the case in the old L-shaped chapels. Two mastabas of this type are those of User-neter (D 1; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*; now in the Field Museum in Chicago) and Perneb (in the Metropolitan Museum; Ransom and Lythgoe, *The Tomb of Perneb*; Caroline Ransom Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb*) with stela in the west wall and flanking table scenes on the north and south walls, accompanied by picture lists, compartment lists, offering-bearers, and slaughter scenes. The outer room of User-neter is decorated with offering-scenes, as is that of Perneb, although the artist of the latter tomb has varied the monotony of these representations (on the north wall) by showing Perneb seated in a carrying-chair which has been set down on the ground. The chapel of Kapuwra, D 39 (Museum of the University of Pennsylvania; *The Museum Journal*, June, 1927, pp. 189 ff.), has an offering-room entered by a doorway opening from the south end of an uninscribed corridor. The walls are again decorated with scenes connected with the funerary meal. The same is true of the short-corridor chapel of Sekhem-ka excavated by Miss Murray (*Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. VII). Finally, the tomb of Ma-nofer (the inscribed room is in Berlin; Lepsius, *Textband*, I, p. 170) had a pair of east-west offering-rooms, separated by several small rooms, the central one of which contains the entrance to the chapel in its east wall. Only the northern offering-room is decorated, and that largely in the original sketch-lines. Here again the scenes are concerned alone with the funerary meal, but as an extension of the representation of the slaughter scene, we find a large portion of the east wall occupied with the feeding and care of cattle. One other chapel which belongs to this period has left only the fragments of an inscribed stela and a portrait of the owner with features individualized in a manner rare at this time (Pl. 48). This is the chapel of Itwesh (D 43; blocks in the Brooklyn Museum from the collection of the New York Historical Society and in Vienna; *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, p. 18).

When we turn back to Giza, we find the same types of chapels and the same expansion of the wall reliefs, while at the same time, a similar retention of older and more simple forms occurs beside the elaborate examples. In the Western Cemetery, the family complex of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 6040), his sons Iy-mery (G 6020) and Ity (G 6030) and his grandson Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010), gives us a succession of reliefs from about the beginning of the reign of Ne-user-ra through the next two generations. The offering-rooms of Shepseskaf-ankh (L-shaped), Ity (corridor), and Ptah-nefer-bauw (L-shaped), as well as the inner room of Iy-mery, show us only scenes connected with the funerary meal. The outer courts and anteroom built against the face of the mastaba of Shepseskaf-ankh are undecorated, but the rooms added to Iy-mery's interior chapel, and the east wall of the colonnade along the small court of Ptah-nefer-bauw show a wide expansion of scenes from life. In the case of the Ptah-nefer-bauw wall, this is limited to agricultural scenes, but in Iy-mery we find in addition craftsmen at work, the feeding and care of cattle, swamp occupations, the vintage and orchard, and an elaborate pavilion scene with food offerings, musicians, and dancers. Here appear the group dancers which are known elsewhere in the tomb of Mereruwka, on the north jamb of the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep, and in a few of the provincial rock-cut tombs of Upper Egypt (Figs. 75-78). The surface of the walls in this complex of chapels is covered with a coating of plaster of smooth quality and exceptional hardness. The reliefs are largely cut in this plaster surface. They are not of very good quality, and in the chapels of Iy-mery and

Ptah-nefer-bauw it would appear that a second thin layer of plaster had been laid on over the reliefs, as the figures merge into the background leaving the outlines indeterminate. The painter has frequently disregarded these blurred outlines in his final work. The draughtsmanship, both in the preliminary sketches in the unfinished chapel of Shepsekaf-ankh and in the painted work in Iy-mery, is uniformly of fine quality and the inner details are delicate and elaborate. The sculpture and the painting are both very poor in the G 6010 chapel. The preservation of the colour in G 6020, however, although blackened and badly damaged, is valuable both for its good quality and for the fact that the final treatment of the wall surfaces is so rarely preserved elsewhere.

There are two rock-cut tombs which resemble the chapel of Iy-mery very closely. One, Yaseu (G 2196), shows the same use of heavy coatings of plaster to provide a surface for the cutting of the reliefs. This and the other, Ka-m-nofret (LG 63), have a similar selection of scenes and a duplication of details found in G 6020. The cooking scenes in Yaseu, for example, practically duplicate those of Iy-mery, even to the detail of the brazier decorated with *gd* signs, while the ploughing and driving of sheep after the sower in the chapel of Ka-m-nofret bears a close resemblance to the same group of figures in G 6020, as does the arrangement of the whole wall. The reliefs of Iy-mery and Yaseu (the stone seems to have been better in the tomb of Ka-m-nofret and the use of sizing is less evident) were a striving to achieve, by means of plaster laid down on the coarse nummulitic stone, the type of low relief that is found in the Saqqarah chapels, which are lined with a better quality of stone. The sculptor of Yaseu has been particularly happy in his treatment of the swamp scene, where the owner of the tomb hunts birds with a split spear (Pl. 60). His delineation of the different kinds of birds poised above the papyrus thicket is delicate and true, although the modelling is summary. Bolder in style is the fine panel on the west wall which has preserved some of its colour, where the owner sits at a table of bread. The picture list over the cooking scenes on the south wall contained some well-preserved details of colouring, resembling those of Iy-mery. The style of the Ka-m-nofret reliefs is remarkably similar to those of the other two tombs, and at a first glance one might mistake a section from the presentation of animals on the south wall for a similar part of the west wall of the outer room of Iy-mery, or the east wall of Yaseu.

The corridors of two chapels in the mastabas of Ankh-haf (G 1234) and Kapy (G 2091) show a similar treatment of swamp and agricultural scenes to those mentioned above. Both these chapels are of the type with long corridor and alcove at the southern end, in which the scenes connected with the funerary meal are represented. The alcove of G 2091 is carved in relief in nummulitic limestone with some smoothing of the surfaces by the application of plaster, but the scenes of swamp life and the care of cattle in the corridor are lightly cut in a heavy coating of plaster that has been applied to the nummulitic walls, and with the flaking off of this plaster sizing the reliefs disappear completely. The chapel of G 1234 is entirely decorated in painting, one of the extremely rare examples of a painted chapel that has been preserved at Giza. The scenes in the corridor include bird netting in the swamp, and the care of cattle (fording water, &c.). Another chapel of this same type, with scenes of agricultural pursuits and a presentation of animals on the west wall of the corridor and the funerary meal with its attendant figures restricted to the southern alcove, is in the mastaba of Nefer-ked, G 1151. Again the decoration is partly cut in the nummulitic stone, but largely in the heavily plastered surface. A fourth tomb is also decorated with reliefs of this type (carved almost entirely in the plaster). This is the short corridor chapel of Sekhem-ka (G 1029), a priest of the Sun temple of Ne-user-ra. On the east wall is an attractive combination of agricultural and swamp scenes. The occurrence of the quail amongst the grain is a shrewd piece of observation that one suspects the artist of this obscure little tomb of having copied from a better craftsman (Fig. 73). On the south wall the owner sits in the *sh*-pavilion accompanied by singers



and dancers. The funerary meal appears on the west wall. Junker's chapel of Nofer (*Vorbericht*, 1912, pp. 94-96) is of similar type, but the scenes on the east wall are more elaborate and differently arranged, being amplified by a representation of boats and a large group of men presenting animals. An unusual detail is the man amongst the grain cutters who has placed his sickle under his arm and is clapping his hands or singing, while a second man appears to be executing a dance step. A similar detail appears amongst the barley reapers in Kahfy's chapel where a man plays the flute (as in the Brussels chapel of Nefer-iret-n-f) while other men stop their work to call back and forth to each other. The reliefs of Nofer are cut in stone that is of better quality than usual, with only a thin coating of plaster or whitewash laid down over the reliefs to receive the paint. The northern end of the east wall has reached only the one-plane stage in the cutting.

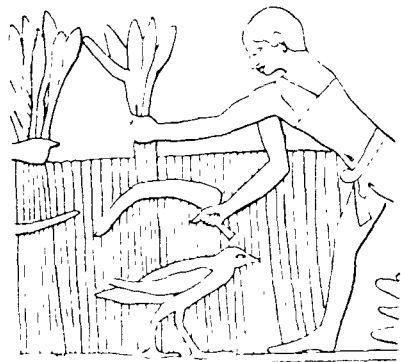


FIG. 73. Quail in grain, G 1029.

The chapel of Kahfy (Junker, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 175) is of a different form from that of Nofer, an almost square room with a pillar in the centre. The scenes concerned with the funerary meal are placed on the west and south walls, while a presentation of animals appears on the north wall, west of the entrance. The table scene on the south wall is accompanied, as in Iy-mery, by small figures of members of the family who sit at little offering-tables. The east wall is covered with scenes from life resembling those of Nofer. The carving is again almost entirely in the plaster. The gay colouring of the picture lists on the west wall is well preserved. Another squarish room, this time with two pillars, was added to the eastern face of the mastaba of Khufuw-khaf II (G 7150) near the south end. In addition to the usual offering-scenes on the west wall are some small groups of figures cooking, and even sculptors at work and men making jewellery. The south wall is entirely occupied by a table scene with accompanying figures. The north wall has some badly preserved boats and scenes of agriculture and swamp life. On the east wall is preserved an unusual representation of dancers, the first of whom seems to be receiving something from a pile in front of the figure of the owner, and this may be a scene of the distribution of gold ornaments to the dancers, as in the rock-cut tomb of Nebemakhet.

Two other small chapels may belong to this period of the end of Dyn. V. One of these was that of the dwarf Seneb (Junker, *op. cit.*, 1927, p. 100). This had the unusual feature of concentrating all the decoration upon the panels of a small compound offering-niche, including even a number of scenes from life. The other chapel was in the mastaba of Kanofer which had been altered by a man named Akhet-mery-nesuwt (G 2184). A small inner L-shaped chapel, with little decoration except a palace-façade panelling painted on the wall between two small false-doors, had been blocked up to form a serdab, while a stone-lined chapel was added on the east. This little room was entered on the north by a doorway which opened from a sort of court. The west wall of this court had been lined with stone, laid down over a painted mud palace-façade panelling which had originally decorated the east face of the Kanofer mastaba. This stone facing had two false-doors with a judgement scene between them. To the right of the door is a large figure throwing a lasso. The rest of the wall is destroyed at the northern end. The gesture is remarkable for a figure of the owner. I know of no other example. It could form a part of a hunting scene, analogous to the small figure in the Sahura hunt, or on the west wall of the anteroom of Junker's mastaba of Seshem-nofer (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 118). There is, however, a small fragment of a hunting scene painted on the mud wall on the opposite side of the court, and it may be that Akhet-mery-nesuwt is lassoing a bull for slaughter (see the small figure painted in the inner room, and Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. XXII).

The crude-brick east wall of the court and the outer stone chapel were decorated with paintings displaying considerable ingenuity and skill. The paintings on mud plaster preserved only a fragment of an agricultural scene, battered almost beyond recognition, but a small panel with two hounds pulling down an oryx (all that remained from a hunting scene) is a fine piece of draughtsmanship. The small panels flanking the false-door and the west wall of the stone-lined room are decorated with a remarkable series of scenes. The treatment of the surfaces of this door (which apparently was originally the entrance to the chapel of Kanofer, blocked up to form a false-door) with scenes from life reminds us of the similar decoration of the niche surfaces in the chapel of the dwarf Seneb. There are extraordinary flashes of something approaching broad humour in these scenes, as in the case of the cat watching some goats, or the jackal waiting for the birth of a calf, while a man crouches behind him with a stick upraised to strike (similarly in the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hotep, Fig. 226). The detail of goats eating the leaves from trees has been found already in the Louvre reliefs (Fig. 239), and there is an old *motif* in the man skinning an animal which hangs from a tree (Fig. 238). A well observed drawing is that of the two hippopotami that attack a crocodile, beneath a swamp scene where the owner spears fish. Above the swamp are flying birds treated in an unusually realistic fashion, as are two dragon-flies that hover over the papyrus. The milking scene is delightfully rendered. The cow turns back her head toward the little calf which has been dragged away by a man but looks around longingly at the milk jar (Fig. 79). The close binding together in idea of the figures of this scene shows an observation of relations of space which is carried to an even more unusual extent in other details, such as the crocodile partly protruding from the water (Fig. 229), or the upper part of the bodies of two men who are shown partly inside granaries receiving baskets of grain (Fig. 229). Another pair of men is partly hidden behind a stack of sheaves which they are piling up. Equally remarkable is the representation of the breasts and torsos of three dancing women, as though seen directly from the front (Fig. 198). The artist who painted these scenes, hastily sketched but with a firm, sure line, borrowed freely like all his contemporaries from the observations of others, but he shows a vivid appreciation of the life around him.

Certain oddities of drawing appear in another Giza chapel of a slightly earlier date.<sup>1</sup> This is the chapel of Wep-m-nofret in the Quarry Cemetery east of the Second Pyramid. It consisted of a corridor room with an anteroom. On the east wall of the corridor there is inscribed a will and beside it the squatting figures of fifteen men who witnessed the signing of this document. Beneath the inscription is a remarkable scene of craftsmen and artists at work. The figures show an unusual variety of poses, many of them conceived in an unconventional manner. Among the witnesses to the will is a painter named Rahay, whom one would like to associate with the painter of the tomb of Meresankh III who bore the same name. It seems impossible that he could have been the same man, but he is perhaps a descendant of the other Rahay as the name is not a common one. The corridor chapel of Sneferuw-hotep, cleared by Fisher at Giza near the northern edge of the Far Western Cemetery (*Giza, The Minor Cemetery*, pls. 53-55), preserved only the preliminary drawing of the scenes, the figures being hastily filled in with washes of colour. In addition to the usual offering-scenes, agricultural pursuits are shown on the east wall. In Karlsruhe there is a chapel, apparently of the corridor type, of a man named Iy-nefert, which is said to come from a crude-brick mastaba at Giza near the Third Pyramid.<sup>2</sup> Certain scenes from life have been included with the ordinary reliefs of the offering-room. On one wall are found swamp occupations and men ploughing. The workmanship is rather mediocre.

<sup>1</sup> Selim Bey Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1930-1931, Fig. 219; one of the carpenters working on a door in the craftwork scene is called Neferefra-ankh, which indicates little more than that the chapel cannot have been decorated earlier than

the reign of Neferefra.

<sup>2</sup> Wiedemann and Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabreliefs aus der Grossherzoglichen Altertümer-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, pls. I-IV.

There are two tombs at Giza which have what appear to be late reflections of the old, simple form of chapel. One of these is the offering-room of Ptah-sekhem-ankh (G 7152). It is an imitation of the L-shaped chapel, but the entrance is at the south end of the east wall, and a stela of late form (framed by a moulded border) is placed opposite the entrance. The east wall retains a fragment of an agricultural scene, and the north wall is decorated with scenes showing the care of cattle. The west wall has a presentation of animals. The other chapel is that of Sekhem-ka in Junker's mastaba VIII south of the Great Pyramid (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 89). Here the inner room is of modified cruciform type and has a large, deep niche in the west wall which seems to be imitated from the deep niches in the chapels of the children of Cheops in the Eastern Cemetery. The offering-room is decorated with scenes concerned with the funerary meal. A complicated exterior chapel was added outside, communicating with the inner room by means of an anteroom.

The most characteristic chapel type of the late Fifth Dynasty at Giza is, however, to be found in the great complexes of Senezem-ib (G 2370, &c.) and Seshem-nofer (LG 53, 54). The individual unit from which these complexes are built up is the chapel type with anteroom, north-south corridor, and east-west offering-room, as we find in the offering-place of Senezem-ib himself. To this nucleus was added a pillared hall and other subsidiary rooms. Both in the case of Senezem-ib and Seshem-nofer we have a series of family tombs built around a large open court, which is reached by a series of entrance rooms in the case of Seshem-nofer. In the Senezem-ib complex an inclined way led up from the east, but the buildings on that side of the court are too badly destroyed to determine whether there was a similar entrance system. The resemblance of these tombs to the elaborate chapels of Pehenuwka and Ra-shepses is striking, and there is also a similarity in the decoration. The use of a biographical inscription on the façade of Senezem-ib Yenty's chapel should be noted in connexion with the similar occurrence of biographical inscriptions in the chapels of Ra-shepses and Ka-m-thenenet at Saqqarah, both of the reign of Isesy. Here again we find the scenes of spearing fish and hunting birds with the throw-stick arranged as great panels flanking the entrance doorway (in the chapels of Yenty and Mehy in the embrasure of the doorway that opens from the court, and in the south entrance to the court of Seshem-nofer). In the Senezem-ib complex we have a series of chapels that can be exactly dated, ranging from that of Yenty, which was decorated in the reign of Isesy, to that of Nekhebuw which was built in the reign of Pepy I. The owners of the later chapels patterned their scenes upon those in the chapel of their father and grandfather, Yenty. Here we find the inner offering-room reserved for scenes concerned with the funerary meal. The north-south corridor and anteroom contain a wide range of scenes from life, including agricultural scenes, the vintage, swamp scenes, a carrying-chair procession, and craftsmen at work. On the façade is an interesting picture of the transport of the sarcophagus on the river. A similar range of subject-matter is to be found in the Seshem-nofer reliefs (Junker, *op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 98 ff.) where, in addition, there is an interesting example of the hunting scene, with the unusual detail of a man throwing a lasso (referred to above in connexion with the figure in the chapel of Akhet-mery-nesuwt). The reliefs in the chapels of the Senezem-ib complex are mainly carved in nummulitic stone, but with very little plaster sizing (applied over the relief to take the paint), as the quality of stone seems to have allowed better workmanship. The reliefs are low with moderately good carving. A great difference is to be seen in the reliefs of the Seshem-nofer group. The carving is much better than that of the Senezem-ib family, and it is the only work at Giza which resembles the bold high relief that characterizes Dyn. VI carving at Saqqarah (cf. Mereruwka or the Pepy II temple reliefs).

Thus we have found in Dyn. V that the most important element in the development of the decoration of the chapel is the introduction of scenes from life into the inner offering-room, and the wide expansion

of these scenes when the multiple-roomed chapel provided greater wall space. Practically all of the scenes with which we are familiar had been developed by this time. It remained for the Sixth Dynasty to amplify the funeral scene and to elaborate the representation of the priests engaged in the service of the funerary meal. The funeral scenes had been foreshadowed as early as the chapel of Debehen in the reign of Mycerinus, and have been found in a tentative form in the chapel of Akhet-hetep-her (Leiden), Akhet-hetep (Louvre), Ra-m-ka (Metropolitan Museum), and a fragment from Tep-m-ankh (Abusir). The representation of the priests assisting at the funerary meal begins to change already in the latter half of Dyn. V. The inclusion of the *hry-hb* priest in the ceremonies, and the action of pouring water on the offering-stone and the *int rd* appear in the chapel of Kapuwra (MM D 39, *Mastabas*, p. 275). A similar amplification of the old *š:ht* ceremony performed by the *wt* and *hry wdb* priests is to be found in the chapels of User-neter (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pls. XXI, XXIII); Perneb (Williams, *l.c.*, pl. IX); Akhet-hetep (Davies, *l.c.*, II, pl. XXXI); Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXVIII), and Senezem-ib Yenty. Another feature characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty is the decoration of the burial-chamber. The use of Pyramid texts in the royal tomb had begun in the reign of Unas (although since the burial-chamber of Isesy has not been found they may have been used a reign or so earlier), and a compartment list is found on the wall of the burial-chamber of Senezem-ib Yenty, who may have been buried as late as this reign, having decorated his chapel in the reign of Isesy. An overseer of all the works of the king, Yenty may have been the first man to imitate the royal precedent.

In craftsmanship most of the reliefs of Dyn. V do not maintain the high standard of Dyn. IV. Only the reliefs of the first two kings, Weserkaf and Sahura, consistently equal the older work in quality, although some individual pieces (such as the group of Unas suckled by a goddess) are very fine.

Throughout the Dynasty the reliefs are consistently low. Much of the work is in plaster or in limestone of bad quality, and the material makes comparison with work in fine limestone unfair. Nevertheless the sculptor attained a certain delicacy in the treatment of plaster surfaces which is not to be despised, and when, in the more important tombs, he worked in white limestone the results are very beautiful. The tendency to leave large portions of the background in place is a slipshod device that would not have been tolerated in the finest low reliefs of Early Dyn. IV. However, when the background is delicately graded off to the deeper incisions around the figures, the difference between Dyn. IV and Dyn. V low relief is imperceptible except at close examination. In such fine work as the inner room of Thiy the background has been largely cleared away. The increased use of inscriptions in sunk relief during Dyn. V is to be noted and this technique became common also for the decoration of the façade, the false-door, and other parts of the chapel walls. In Dyn. VI a new, high, bold type of relief was to take the place, although not altogether, of the low Dyn. V carvings, and combined with inscriptions in sunk relief this high relief was to be characteristic of the following period. What the reliefs of Dyn. V lack of technical virtuosity in their carving is richly compensated by their movement, vivacity, and diverse subject-matter. In draughtsmanship they equal the best work of Dyn. IV, and in the composition of large scenes filled with complicated groups of figures, in the inter-relation of these figures, and in the profusion of ingenious detail, they show an advance over the preceding period. The painting, as it is preserved in such fragments as the head of the lion in the hunting scene of the east wall of the offering-room of Thiy, the figures on the upper part of the south wall of the same room, or the badly rubbed colouring of the Ptah-hotep reliefs, shows a delicacy and careful execution equal to Dyn. IV work. The skill with which the artists of Dyn. V have recorded the details of the life around them places these reliefs amongst the most attractive productions of the Egyptian craftsman.

## XI

### THE RELIEFS AND PAINTINGS OF DYNASTY VI

#### a. The Royal Reliefs

THE royal reliefs of Dyn. VI are preserved at Saqqarah in the pyramid temple of Tety, and in the chapels of his queens, Khuwit and Ipuwt, while at South Saqqarah, the funerary temple of Pepy II, and the chapels of his queens, contain a large mass of material. The temples of Pepy I and Menera have not been excavated, and save for a few inscriptions (such as a block in the Berlin Museum with the titles of Pepy I), some fragments of rather crude relief from Coptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. V) and Abydos (*Abydos*, II, pls. XIX, XX), and a few inscribed blocks found re-used in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, there are no other royal reliefs known to me.

The walls of the Tety temple were so badly destroyed that it is difficult to gain an idea of how they were decorated. The plan of the temple resembled that of Unas and Pepy II, with a long east-west offering-room ending in a stela at the base of the pyramid. The walls of this room seem to have been lined with offering-bearers, resembling the similar decoration of the sanctuary of the Pepy II Temple.<sup>1</sup> The inner part of the temple also contained the characteristic room with recesses for the royal statues which we have found already in the temples of Dyn. V. A north-south corridor separated the inner rooms from the outer temple, which consisted of an open court with colonnades and a long vestibule. Court and vestibule, like the rooms of the inner temple, were flanked on each side by magazines. On the north side of the pyramid, a little chapel placed over the opening of the passage to the burial-chamber contained a basalt stela and probably figures of offering-bearers.<sup>2</sup>

Several of the fragments from the Tety temple suggest a Heb-Sed scene. One in Cairo shows the king seated on a throne in jubilee dress. The head has preserved the inlaid eye, following a custom for the heads of chief figures in the reliefs of Dyn. V. Another piece shows the *sm* priest holding the tail of his panther skin garment. The foot of a striding king possibly belongs to this group. Other fragments show various gods (particularly fine is a head of the god Seth) and the attendants of the king, while another piece shows a lady named Sesh-seshet, who is probably a queen or princess (Pl. 54). Probably the frequent occurrence of the name of Sesh-seshet among the ladies of the Tety Pyramid Cemetery is due to this royal precedent. The label *Mntw* upon one fragment surely indicates a scene where the king is striking down a captive chief or receiving the Asiatic booty. Another block bears the kneeling figures of the souls of Hierakonpolis, while a small piece has the symbol of Anubis hanging in front of a shrine.

The style of the Tety reliefs leans toward a bolder carving, and on the whole the pieces seem to show rather better work than the average of the Unas reliefs (see Pl. 54). While the carving is good, it does not equal the best work of Early Dyn. V. The reliefs in the two queens' chapels are more mediocre in workmanship. Very little is left. There remain in place only the feet of a few large figures and rows of attendants and offering-bearers. In the chapel of Ipuwt several blocks contained figures of the queen

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the temple by Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pp. 7 ff. The reliefs found by Quibell are referred to in *Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1907-1908, pp. 19 ff., pl. LIV, but many fragments lying in the court of the temple are still unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> See the reconstruction of the similar chapel of Pepy II, Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepy II*, vol. I, pp. 1-4; and of a similar example of the Middle Kingdom, Hayes, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, November 1934, pp. 9 ff.

accompanied by the king and Hathor, with protecting birds above, and fragmentary inscriptions (*Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 56, 57).

It has been possible to reconstruct a large part of the wall scenes in the temple of Pepy II.<sup>1</sup> The valley temple (which had unusual terraces, apparently somewhat resembling the platform in front of the Chephren valley temple, *Annales*, XXXVI, p. 15) and the covered way leading up to the pyramid temple, were badly preserved. From the lower end of the causeway were recovered some fragments of rows of bound captives, and of the king as a griffin trampling on his enemies, resembling similar scenes in the temples of Sahura and Ne-user-ra. The upper part of the corridor was apparently lined with offering-bearers accompanied by the personifications of the different Nomes. In the vestibule of the upper temple, on the north wall, is a curious scene where apparently the king spears a hippopotamus, while behind him a slain animal is dragged on a sledge. This does not seem to be an ordinary hunting scene and may have some connexion with the odd groups on an early sealing (see Fig. 39). Only one of the eighteen square pillars of hard stone in the great court had preserved its decoration. In sunk relief, the king is shown embraced by a god, a form of pillar decoration that became traditional in later temples (*Annales*, XXVII, pl. III).

A number of scenes in relief were recovered from the east wall of the north-south corridor which divides the inner temple from the court. Here, near the south end of the wall, was a great figure of the king striking down a Libyan chieftain with his mace, while behind stood figures of the family of the Libyan and his followers. The group of the woman and the two sons of the chief has been copied closely from the Sahura reliefs, even to the inscription above their heads, giving their names (*Pepy II, Le Temple*, pls. VIII-XI). Other scenes of ceremonial sacrifice (one unlocated, *l.c.*, fig. 3, one in the statue chamber, pl. 35, and one in the anteroom opposite the hunting scene, pls. 36-40) show the king triumphant over people of different races. Both types of representation occurred— the king seizing a single captive, as in the case of the Libyan of the corridor, and a number of men held together by their hair in the hand of the monarch. In the latter case the captives are standing in two groups, instead of kneeling, and Jéquier has pointed out the close relationship of the anteroom scene to that on the Karnak Pylon of Amenhotep II. Processions of captives appear accompanying this scene, and the goddess Seshat recording the booty of herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. The corridor reliefs also show the king in association with various gods, and three times striding in ceremonial fashion. An incident later connected with the Feast of Min is illustrated by the men with feathers in their hair climbing a pole which is held fast by long ropes (*l.c.*, pls. 12-17). On the side walls of the embrasure in which steps ascended to the statue chamber of the inner temple, the king appears suckled by a goddess, as we have seen in Dyn. V temples.

In one of the rooms leading to the sanctuary is a hunting scene, of which only the lowest register has been preserved. Two figures of the king flank desert animals (on a very small scale) which are carved in low relief against a horizontal strip of raised background. The sides of this raised space curve in to form an undulating upper surface. The front hooves of an animal much larger than the rest are preserved. Jéquier has restored this as an ibex, which the figure of the king on the left seizes by the horns, at the same time raising his other hand with a weapon to crush the animal's skull. Unprecedented as is this badly preserved group, it is difficult to suggest another solution of the problem presented by the fact that the king is standing too close to the animal to shoot at it with bow and arrow (*l.c.*, pl. 41).

Fragments of water birds shown against a background covered with lotus plants, and evidently from

<sup>1</sup> For these reliefs see Jéquier's reports in *Annales*, 1927-1936, and *Le Monument funéraire de Pepy II*, vol. I (for the chapel over the entrance to the passage leading to the burial-chamber), and vol. II, *Le Temple*.

a bird-netting scene apparently come from this same wall, to the east of the doorway. The room which opens from that containing the hunting scene is the actual anteroom to the offering-chamber. It was a squarish room with a column in the centre and is found in this same position in the temples of Unas and Tety. The lower part of the walls was covered with long lines of bowing courtiers, each with his name and titles, facing a standing or seated figure of the king. Above, there were slaughter scenes, and higher on the wall, rows of gods (Upper Egyptian gods on the south and west wall, the gods of Lower Egypt on the north and east walls). The offering-chamber, like that of Unas and Tety and the earlier sanctuaries of Dyn. V, was a long east-west room with the stela in the west wall at the base of the pyramid. The eastern wall of this room had slaughter scenes, while the north and south walls had figures of the king seated at an offering-table with lists and pictures of offerings, and rows of offering-bearers (*Annales*, XXVIII, pl. III; *Pepy II, Le Temple*, pls. 61-104). These representations form a close parallel to the reliefs of the offering-room in private chapels of Late Dyn. V and VI, and are the most magnificent example of this type of decoration. They set a precedent for the decoration of the sanctuary of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari in Dyn. XVIII. The resemblance between the two rooms is striking (*Annales*, XXXIV, p. 79, XXXVI, p. 15).

The reliefs of the queens' chapels show little but the large figures of the owner with attendants and offering-bearers. A fragment from the chapel of Wezebtan shows the queen offering to the gods (Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, p. 15, fig. 8). An attractive feature is the lions which decorate the base of the queen's throne (*l.c.*, fig. 13, repeated again in the chapel of Queen Neith). This is an effective design which has appeared already in the reliefs of Sahura and Unas, and is to be found again in Dyn. XVIII in the reliefs of Deir el Bahari (Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. XIII), and also at Karnak. The reliefs of the queens' chapels resemble on the whole the mediocre carving of medium height of the queens of Tety. The workmanship of the reliefs in the king's temple is of an entirely different quality. They are bold in type, resembling in this respect the private reliefs of Dyn. VI (Pl. 54). They contrast markedly with the delicate low reliefs of the royal temples of Early Dyn. V, but are little inferior to them, if at all, in careful execution. The widely varied representation of offerings in the sanctuary, with its ingenious arrangement of the shapes of the different kinds of meat, fruit, and vegetables, and the attitudes of the men bringing food and drink, shows a beauty of design and carving seldom excelled. Particularly fine is the painting of these reliefs. The careful precision in the drawing of detail and the grading of colour make these fragmentary walls fit to stand beside the best examples of Old Kingdom painting. It is difficult to believe that after a succession of the products of rather ordinary craftsmanship in the royal temples of Late Dyn. V and Dyn. VI, we have in the splendid decorations of this temple the last preserved example of fine royal craftsmanship until a new era is introduced in Dyn. XI. Certainly there is no indication in these reliefs of the rapid decline into which the art of Egypt was about to fall, a decline which had begun to manifest itself already in the private tombs. Pepy II must have commanded the services of the last of the great sculptors of the Old Kingdom, a man who by his genius and ability to direct, spurred the artisans to rival the work of their predecessors.

Two fragments from the temple of Min at Coptos betray a more ordinary level of workmanship for the reign of Pepy II. The relief is low and flat and the figures and inscriptions are badly aligned. Petrie noted that the work was executed in poor local limestone filled with flint nodules, and, as we have seen in the nummulitic limestone reliefs at Giza, it is impossible to achieve a smooth finish and fine details in poor stone. One of the fragments shows Pepy II standing with mace and staff and with an inscription containing his name. Across the base of the block is a border of *dd* emblems and sistrums with Hathor heads. The other piece shows the king, called 'beloved of Min', standing holding a sekhem wand

raised in front of him. This attitude is known from the Pepy II funerary temple and from a Middle Kingdom figure of Neb-kheruw-ra Menthu-hotep on a block from Deir el Ballas found by Dr. Reisner.

If we turn to the minor arts we can find a number of objects of royal workmanship which bear witness to a decline in craftsmanship. There are three small gilded and stuccoed wood panels of Pepy II which show in the tall slender figures which decorate them the change in proportions that we find taking place elsewhere at the end of the Old Kingdom, and resembling the more elongated forms characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. One of these was found many years ago by Quibell in the debris east of the Teti Pyramid (*Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1906-7, pl. V, p. 72). The king is accompanied by a goddess and bears the name Nefer-ka-ra.<sup>1</sup> A similar plaque showing Pepy II accompanied by Hathor and Horus was found by Jéquier in a private tomb near the pyramid of the king (*Annales*, XXXIV, p. 78, pl. I), and a third with the king crowned by Horus and Seth comes from the debris of his temple (*Annales*, XXVIII, p. 57, pl. IV). A fourth fragment has only the king's name flanked by the wings of two birds (*l.c.*). The bright colours of the Hathor panel are very attractive, but the drawing of the figures is awkward and the modelling meagre. These little pieces continue the tradition of elaborately decorated small objects and furniture that we find exemplified in Dyn. IV by the wonderful pieces from the tomb of Hetep-heres I. But the falling-off in craftsmanship is striking. Although it is possible to place the reliefs of Pepy II beside those of Dyn. IV without their suffering by comparison, these little gilt and stuccoed panels would look very miserable if brought into proximity with the technical perfection of the Hetep-heres work.

#### b. The Private Reliefs of Dynasty VI

The courtiers of Teti built a group of magnificently decorated mastabas in the neighbourhood of the pyramid of the king under whom they served. In these constructions of Dyn. VI, the multiple-roomed chapel expands to a point where it occupies nearly the whole of the interior of the superstructure. The finest of these tombs is that of Mereruwka (splendidly reproduced in Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruwka*) which has a series of apartments for the wife and son as well as for the owner himself. The other mastabas in this group that have elaborately decorated chapels are those of Kagemni (Von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gemni-ka*), Nefer-seshem-ptah, Ankh-ma-hor (Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*), and Ikhekhy. Two crude-brick mastabas with decorated chapels south-west of Mereruwka, those of Ka-m-heset and Ka-m-sennuw (Quibell, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*), also belong to Dyn. VI. South of the Step Pyramid there are four large chapels of this period, those of Yeduwet (Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*), Ka-irer, a man named Ptah-hotep whose reliefs have been recorded by Lepsius (*Textband*, I, p. 185), and the newly discovered chapel of Her-neb-kauw. The reliefs of Unas-ankh in the Field Museum in Chicago, from south-west of the Step Pyramid, are unpublished but are of similar type. In the Northern Cemetery a mastaba with small chapels belonging to a man named Sabuw (MM E 1 - E 2) and another man named Ptah-shepses, is of Dyn. VI. In the area between the Northern Cemetery and Abusir, a mastaba with interesting paintings that were copied by Lepsius (*Textband*, I, p. 139) belonged to a man named Fetekta and is probably of this same period. The reliefs of Ipy in Cairo from south Saqqarah (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 405, 406) should also be noted, while the paintings in the chapel of Sneferuw-in-shat-f at Dahshur are of considerable importance.<sup>2</sup> At Giza the later chapels of the Senezem-ib

<sup>1</sup> It seems hardly necessary to doubt, as Quibell did, that this is the name of Pepy II.

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894-1895, p. 4, pls. XVIII-XXV; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 409-415. There are several other fragments of paintings from Dahshur which are

not reproduced or mentioned by De Morgan or Wreszinski. Two panels were indeed published by De Morgan under the mistaken heading, 'Bas-reliefs du mastaba de Mera, VI' Dynastie (Saqqarah)' in *Origines de l'Égypte*, p. 175, figs. 516, 517. These showed a paired throwing-stick and fish-spearing



complex continue the work begun by Yenty. Other important chapels of Dyn. VI are those of Yeduw (G 7102), Qar (G 7101), and Junker's Kay-m-ankh.

The reliefs of this period show a similar expansion of the scenes from life to that found in the chapels of Dyn. V. A number of new details can be found but the principal advance is in the introduction of the elaborate funeral scene with mourners, to be seen badly damaged in the tombs of Mereruwka, Ankh-ma-hor, in a small fragment in the chapel of Yeduw, and in the Dahshur paintings of Sneferuw-



FIG. 74. Quail netted in grain (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 168).

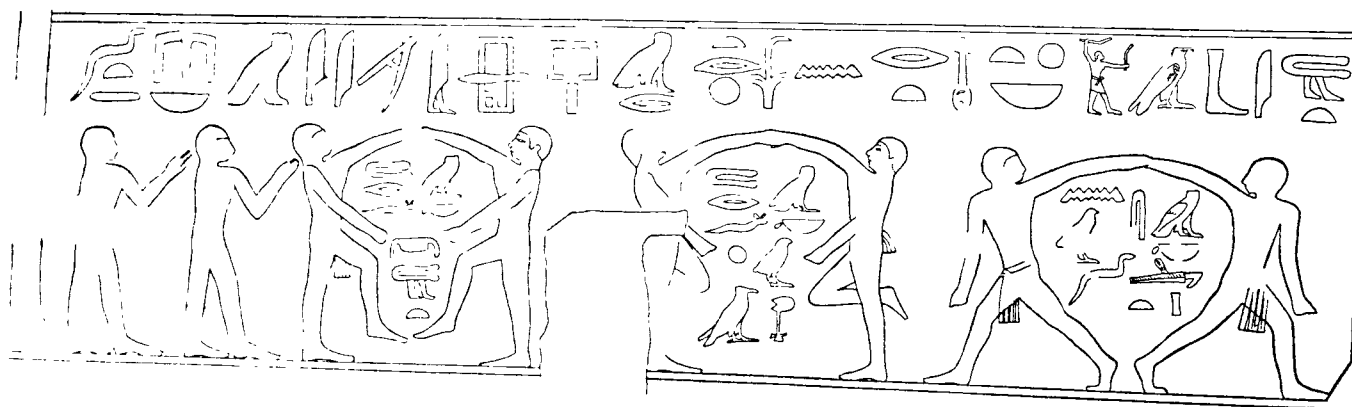


FIG. 75. Group dancers: Iy-mery (G 6020).

in-shat-f. The scene is found better preserved in the chapels of Yeduw and Qar at Giza (Fig. 84). A variation of the funeral scene, resembling the Dahshur painting and Yeduw, is also found in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (LS 31), while the Qar version of the scene appears at Meir in a Late Old Kingdom tomb. In the offering-rooms of these chapels the ceremonies attendant upon the funerary meal are enlarged by the new elements that we found beginning at the end of Dyn. V, and a detail not found before is that called 'the breaking of the red jars'. The boys' games are treated elaborately in Mereruwka's chapel (Duell, *l.c.*, pls. 162-5), while the group 'bringing in a prisoner' is repeated in an

scene, and a separate bird-trapping and cattle-fording scene. Only fragmentary portions of these two panels are now in Cairo. Mrs. Davies published one of the finest of these in *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. IV. In referring to this plate, Gardiner doubts that these paintings come from the tomb of Sneferuw-in-shat-f because he believes it impossible that two similar swamp scenes could appear in the same mastaba. The technique of the two sets of paintings is identical as is the plaster ground upon which they are painted. Framed with pieces

from the false-door of Sneferuw-in-shat-f (De Morgan, *l.c.*, fig. 5), the fragments of the second group are indistinguishable from the first. Yet there does not seem to be room for all the paintings in the corridor of Sneferuw-in-shat-f, nor are any paintings mentioned from the neighbouring tombs. The only recourse seems to be the assumption of Mrs. Davies and Gardiner that there must be a second chapel, but to add that its decorations were identical in style with the first.

odd version in that of Ikhekhy (Fig. 81). Mereruwka's reliefs show figure dancers resembling those in Iy-mery (Fig. 77), but with a number of new poses added, particularly in the second group of dancers represented in the wife's chapel (*Atlas*, III, pl. 29). An even more vigorous group of dancers executing a high kick is to be found in the chapels of Kagemni and Ankh-ma-hor. In the latter tomb and in Ikhekhy are to be found scenes of simple surgical operations, including circumcision (*Atlas*, III, pls. 23-6). In the chapels of Mereruwka and Ikhekhy are also found the scene where a man sits at an easel painting the seasons (Fig. 230). Mereruwka has a hunting scene, both in his own chapel (Fig. 92) and

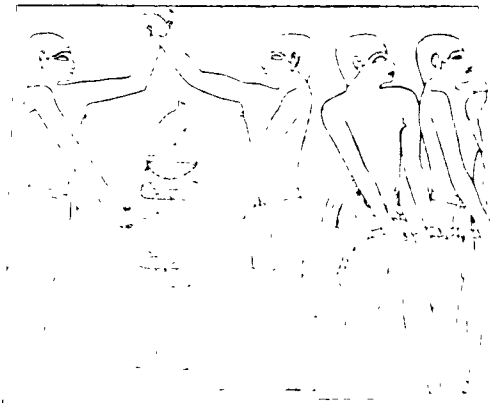


FIG. 76. Group dancers: Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep.



FIG. 77. Figure dancers in groups (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 87).

copied again in the chapel of his son, while there is a beautiful fragment of a painted hunt in the chapel of Fetekta (LS 1, Fig. 216). A fragment in Yeduwt (not included in the publication) belongs to a hunting scene similar to that in Ptah-hotep (MM D 64), repeating the crouching figure of the huntsman with his dogs. Scenes of craftwork appear in Mereruwka, Ankh-ma-hor, and Ka-irer, and in the latter chapel is a remarkable representation of a naked girl, seen from the front, who acts as the balance of the scales on which the metal is being weighed. The orchard scene with attendant bird catching is to be found in the chapels of Mereruwka and Kagemni (Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 8, gives the scene from the outer room of this mastaba). The swamp scenes and agricultural occupations are as commonly represented as before. A market scene is shown in Fetekta and Ankh-ma-hor, while in Ptah-hotep (LS 31) this appears to be really the distribution of supplies on a great estate. Finally, there is an entirely new subject introduced in the tomb of Ka-m-heset (Fig. 85). This is the representation of soldiers laying siege to a town. It is repeated at Deshasheh in a Late Old Kingdom tomb (Fig. 86) and is the first private example<sup>1</sup> we know of a scene that was to be popular in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> A fragment from Lisht in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 22-1-23) gives a marvellous representation of a group of men shooting with bow and arrow. The interplay of the figures is superb and the work is royal relief perhaps as early as the first

half of Dyn. V. It certainly seems to be part of a battle scene. Whether other fragments of men running with bow cases are from this or a hunting scene is uncertain. A fragment from a battle scene has been mentioned in the reliefs of Unas.

The reliefs of Dyn. VI show on the whole a bolder style than those of Dyn. V. This is particularly true of such chapels as Mereruwka, Kagemni, Sabuw, and Ipy. Nothing could be more effective than the bold group of Mereruwka and his sons on the north wall of the pillared hall (Pl. 56). The high relief and the powerful interweaving of the arms of the three figures produces a striking design. Although it is not noticeable in the best work of Mereruwka and Kagemni, the bold reliefs of Sabuw show a tendency to mix incised inscriptions (or sunk relief) with figures carved in high

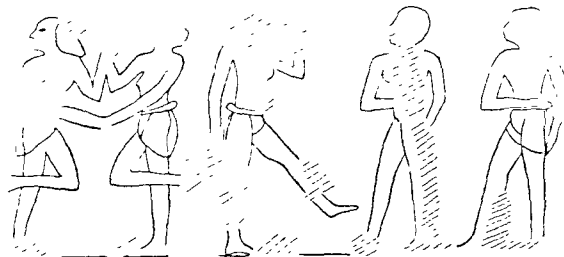


FIG. 78. Newberry, *A Sixth Dynasty Tomb at Thebes*, *Annales*, IV, pl. III, p. 97.

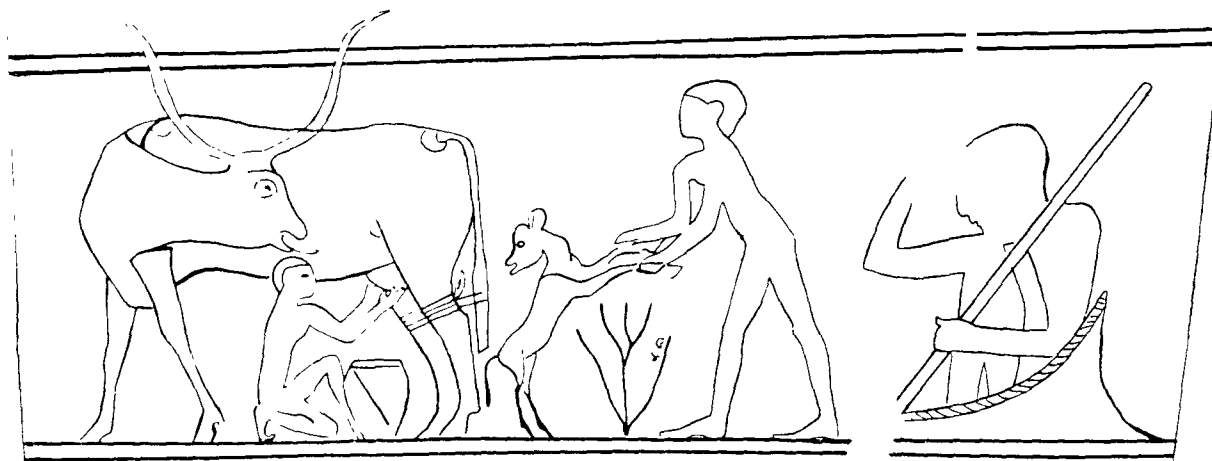


FIG. 79. Milking scene: G 2184.

relief. The surfaces of the high relief are more or less flat, without elaborate modelling. In the reliefs of Ipy (Pl. 56) we see another characteristic of this Dyn. VI technique. This was the treatment of the flat surfaces of the relief with intricately drawn inner detail, as in the hair, necklaces, or other parts of the dress. Throughout, the principal figures are in high relief, while the subsidiary registers of small figures are shown in quite low relief. With the frequent addition of inscriptions, incised or in sunk relief, it is immediately apparent how much difference there is between the bold reliefs of Early Dyn. IV and those of the Late Old Kingdom.

The chapels of Yeduwat, Ka-irer, Ikhekhy, Ankh-ma-hor, and Nefer-seshem-ptah show a type of work that is less easy to distinguish from the ordinary carving of Dyn. V. Another chapel, the reliefs of which are now partly in the possession of Dr. Jacob Hirsch, partly in the Museums of Cleveland, Kansas City, Worcester, Honolulu and the Fogg Museum, shows excellent low carving of a type which is usually associated with the reliefs of Dyn. V. The tomb belonged to a man named Ny-ankh-nesuwt, and the names of the subsidiary figures would date it at least to the reign of Tety.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Unas-lives', 'Isesy-shines', 'Tety. . .'; see *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, December, 1930 (No. 10). For the Kansas City relief see a detail in Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 1936, pl. 204. *Art News*, Dec. 9, 1933, p. 59. See

also: *Bull. Worcester Art Museum*, XXIII, p. 9; *Honolulu Academy of Arts*, 1937, p. 59; *Bull. Fogg Art Museum*, March, 1936, p. 30.

The colour is well preserved in the chapel of Yeduwat, and the painting in this tomb, taken with that in the chapels of Fetekta, Ka-m-heset, and the Dahshur tombs, shows that the painter had lost none of his skill in the private work of Dyn. VI. The elaborate detail in Fetekta and in the Dahshur painting (Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. IV) is of a quality comparable to that in the Pepy II temple. This attention to small detail is found reflected also in a more elaborate use of backgrounds in Dyn. VI. Thus we find a profusion of plants in the swamp scenes, the buildings of the estate offices and the fowl-yard, the granaries, and the buildings connected with the funerary scene, or the fortress which men besiege in the tomb of Ka-m-heset. To this same category belong the vegetable plots in the Mereruwka scene, and the wavy lines of the desert ground in the hunting scene of Fetekta. Small details abound,

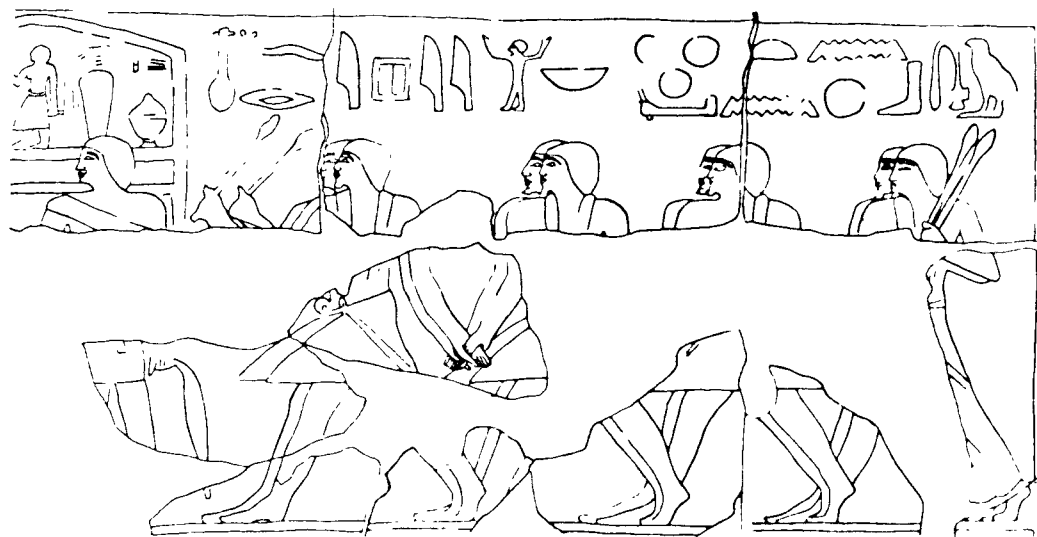


FIG. 80. Men running with clasped hands: Nekhebuw reliefs in Boston.

such as the quail being netted amongst the grain in the Mereruwka harvest scene (Fig. 74), the otter devouring a fish in the same tomb, the nets hung on a line of spears in Kagemni's chapel (a detail which had occurred already in the tomb of Thiy), or the grasshoppers on the plants in the bird-hunting scene in Ankh-ma-hor. A new liveliness of action seems to have taken possession of the human figures. We can see this in the pole-climbing men in the reliefs of Pepy II, or the men swinging on the ropes of a ship's rigging in the Cairo relief, No. 40049, the source of which is unknown. Similar is the man who has climbed up into the rigging of a ship in the earlier Louvre reliefs of Akhet-hetep or in a similar scene of Nekhebuw (Fig. 164), or the men who have jumped into the water and swim ahead of the boat in the chapel of Mereruwka (Fig. 166). Of a like nature is the man held at the whipping post in the Mereruwka chapel (Fig. 222) or the many energetic postures of the dancing women.

At Giza, in the Senezem-ib complex, the chapels of Khnum-enty and Nekhebuw have reliefs resembling those in the earlier chapels of Yenty and Mehy. There is an interesting scene in the chapel of Nekhebuw where several men are shown running with wands that resemble those borne in the scene where the youths bring in a prisoner (Mereruwka). The group and accompanying inscription (*nfr ihy nb hwt n Nhbw*, 'Good is every rejoicing and protection for Nekhebuw'; Fig. 80) finds a parallel on the east wall of room A 10 of Mereruwka. The ceremony is one distinct from that in the boys' games, but an intermediate group of figures is that on a fragment in the British Museum (Fig. 83), where boys carrying similar wands follow a row of female dancers and surround, not a bound prisoner, but a man wearing a lion-headed mask. Instead of the inscription: *ii šm: i šdm n ib-f* ('a foreigner comes, hear his wish (?)'), as in Ptah-hotep (Fig. 51 a), or *ii šm: šdm n ib-f m3 ky šnd-f* ('a foreigner comes, hear his wish (?))

Another sees and is afraid'), in Mereruwka (the inscription in Ikhekhy is unintelligible) (Fig. 81 b, c), we have here only *hbt in šdht* ('dance of the *šdht* youths'). I believe that there is a connexion between these three different types of representation, part of which perhaps represent the games and dances of a festival

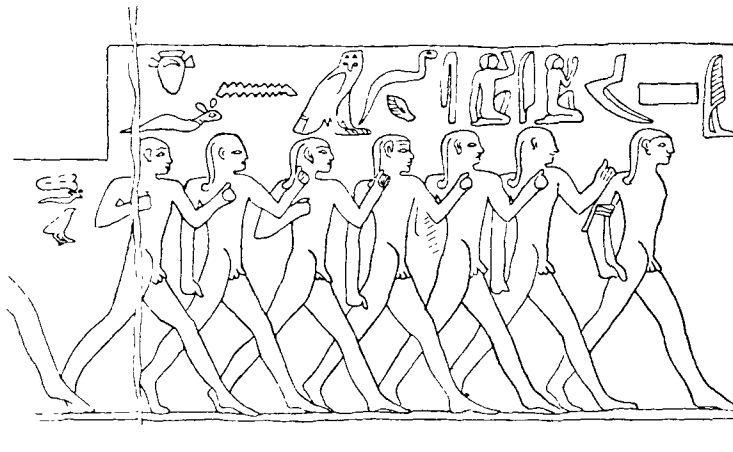


FIG. 81 a. Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, pl. XXXIII).

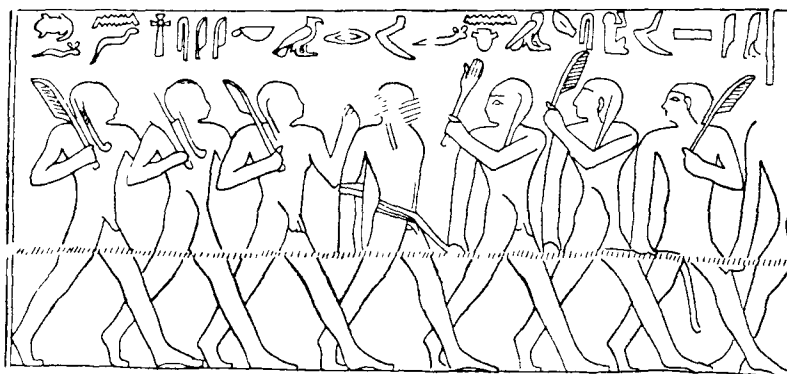


FIG. 81 b. Mereruwka (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 22).

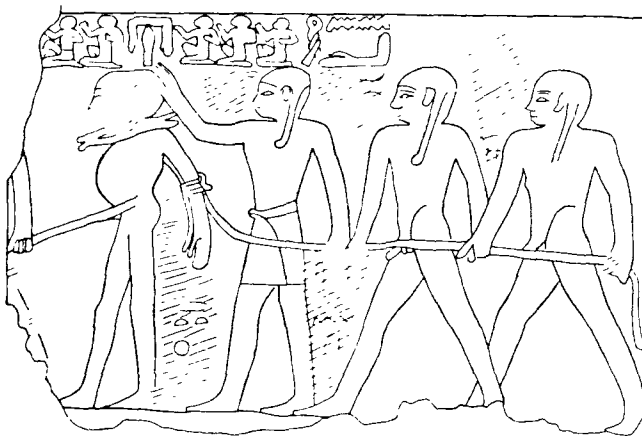


FIG. 81 c. Ikhekhy (Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, pl. 23).

such as we find celebrated at the feast of Hathor of Cusae in the Middle Kingdom at Meir. The Mereruwka (A 10) and Nekhebuw groups seem to be funerary in character, mentioning the owner's name. The god of the vintage, Shesemuw, is mentioned among the boys' games in Ptah-hotep suggesting a seasonal festival in this case, and the man in the mask on the British Museum piece may represent the same<sup>1</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting point that *šmw*, the god of wine and the oil press, becomes the slaughterer in Pyramid Texts, *Sprüche* 403 a, and early changes into a lion. The Pyramid Texts never

show him as a lion, though, nor does the Book of the Dead (Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 19).

another local field god. The figure of the god represented by the man in the lion mask is evidently shown on a fragment from the reliefs of Sahura and now in Leipzig (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 22), and by a figurine from the temple of Neferirkara (*Nefer-ir-ka-ré*, p. 70). Erman and Schäfer associate him with the group of demons later transformed into Bes.

The chapel of Kay-m-ankh excavated by Professor Junker (*Vorbericht*, 1926, p. 76) has scenes from life resembling those in the other Giza chapels. The two most important chapels of Dyn. VI at Giza are those of Yeduw and Qar in the Eastern Cemetery. Both these men served King Pepy I as personal

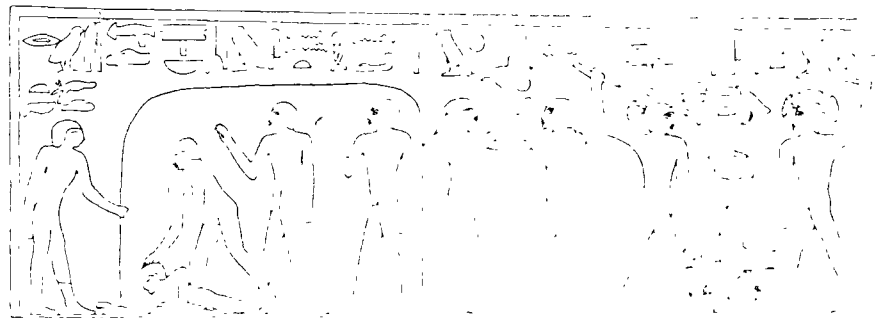


FIG. 82. Yeduw, G 7102; boys' games.

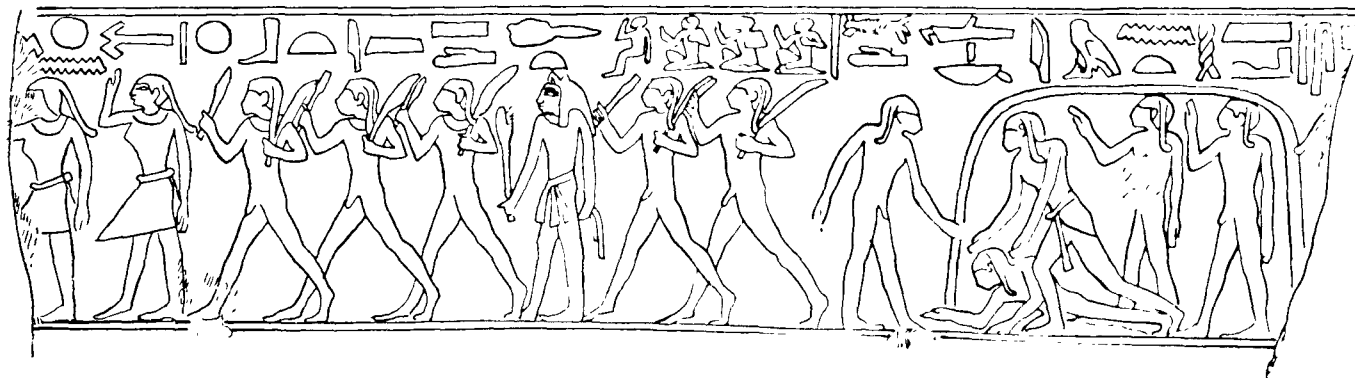


FIG. 83. Men running with masked figure (*British Museum Inscriptions*, VI, Pl. 17 and photo).

scribes. In the chapel of Yeduw is a well-preserved example of the funeral scene with an animated group of mourning relatives (Fig. 84 b). This scene, without the mourners, is elaborated in Qar, where there is also a good example of the enlarged representation of the ceremonies connected with the funerary meal (Fig. 84 a). The reliefs of the Senezem-ib complex and those of Kay-m-ankh and Yeduw (cut in the rock with a heavy sizing of plaster) are of the ordinary type which we have found in Dyn. V, the execution being of none too good quality, although the painting which is well preserved in Yeduw is excellent. The reliefs of Qar are,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, in a low, delicate style which contrasts strongly with the bold type of work found at Saqqarah. Although they produce a pleasant impression at first sight, these reliefs are by no means comparable with the fine, low reliefs of the best period at Giza. They are flat and show a sharp edge along the outlines of the figures. The low reliefs on the north wall are combined characteristically with the sunk relief of the offering list. It is interesting to find towards the end of Dyn. VI the occurrence of the same two types of relief, high and low, which we found to be characteristic at the beginning of Dyn. IV.

There is one other peculiarity of the decoration of the tombs of Dyn. VI which has not been noted

<sup>1</sup> That is, the reliefs carved on the blocks of white limestone let into the walls of the west and north sides of the court. The sunk reliefs in the nummulitic stone in the inner rock-cut room are very poor in quality.

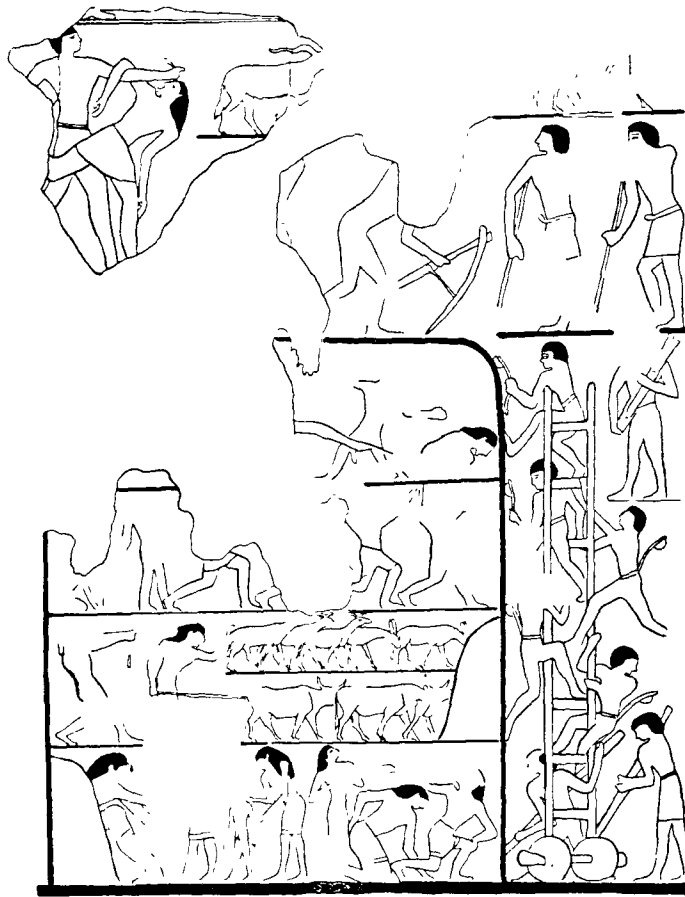


FIG. 85. Siege scene in chapel of Ka-m-heset (Quibell, *Teti Pyramid, North Side, Frontispiece*).

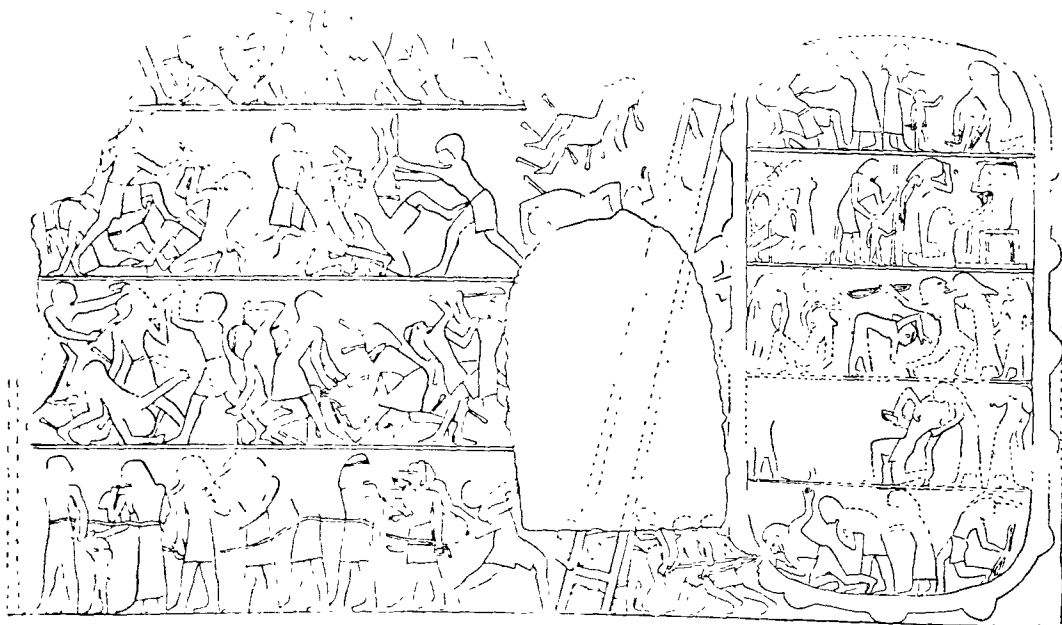


FIG. 86. Siege scene in chapel of Yenty (Petrie, *Deshasheh, pl. IV*).

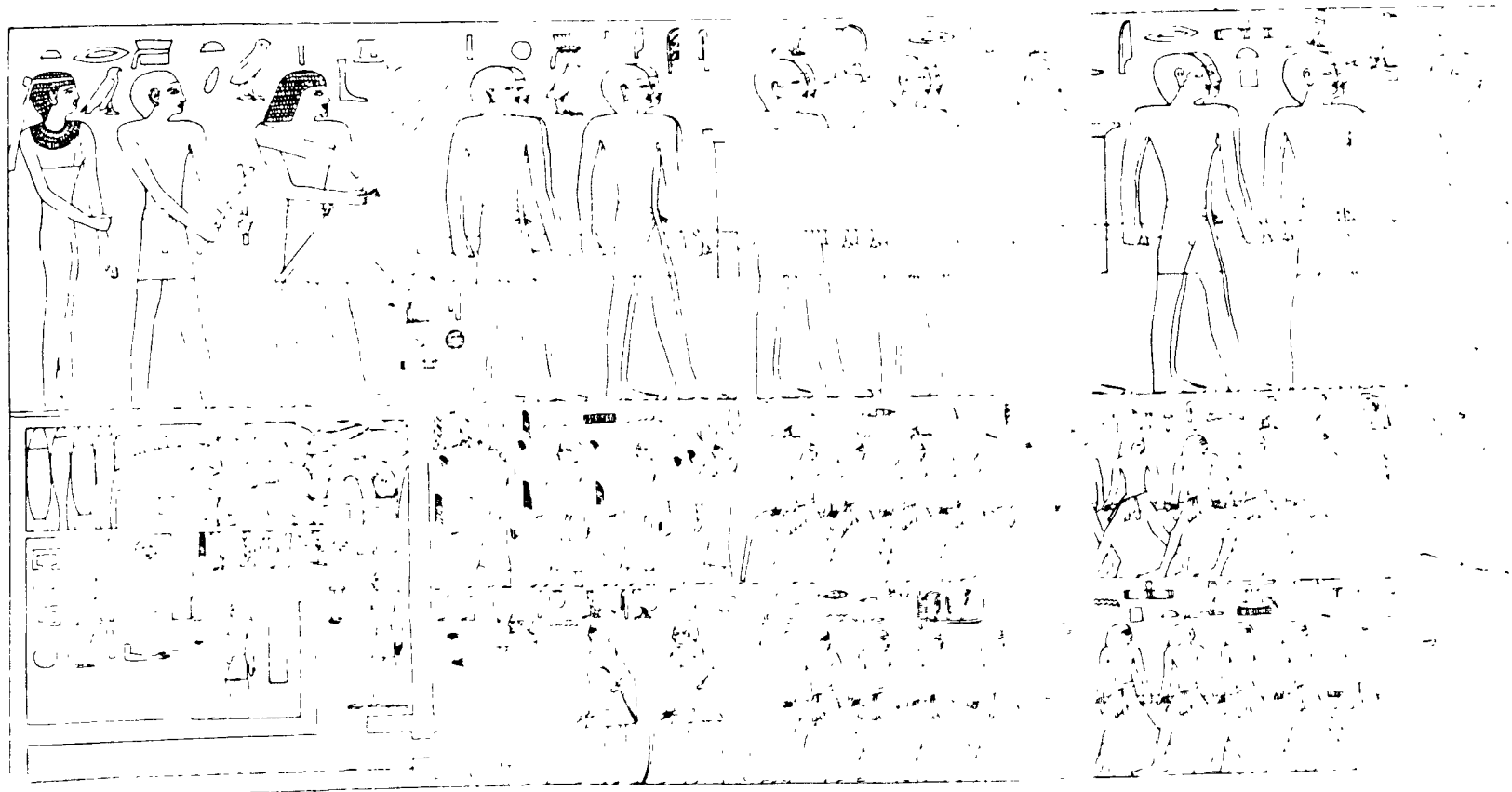
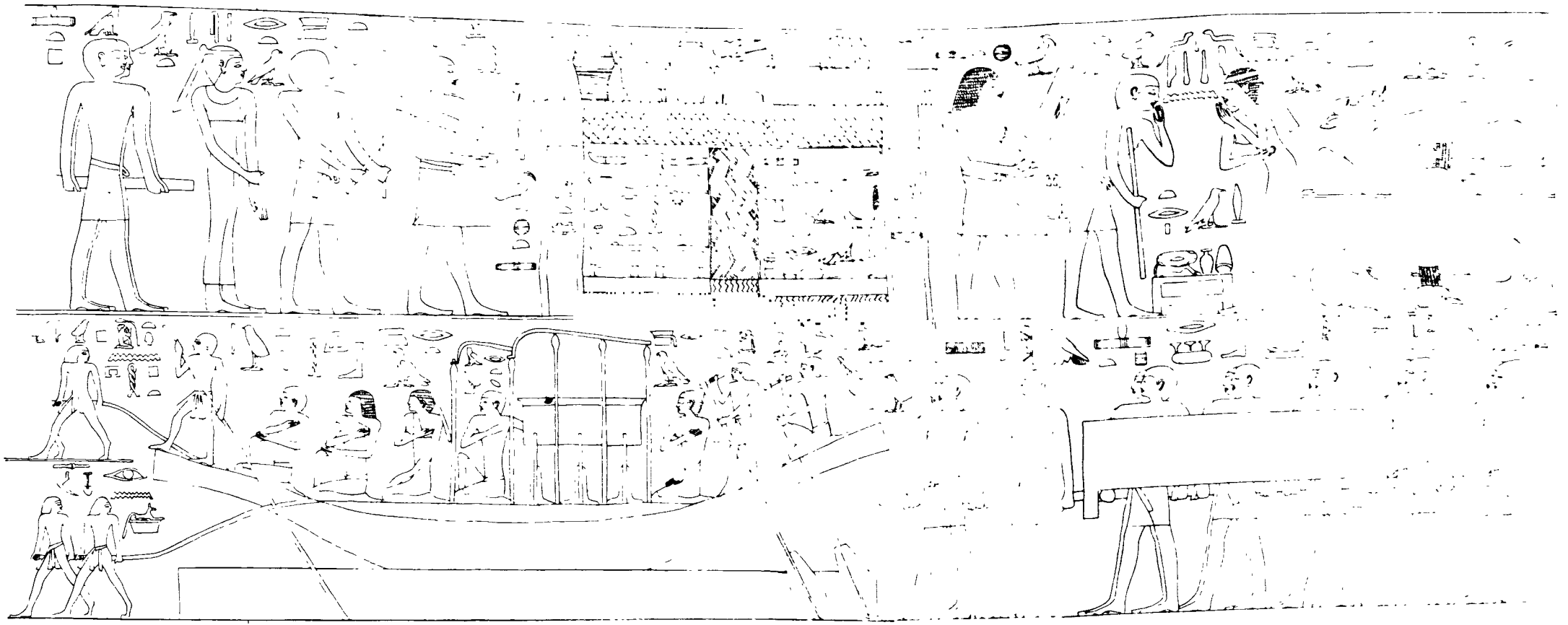


FIG. 84a Funeral scene in chapel of Qar (G 7161)





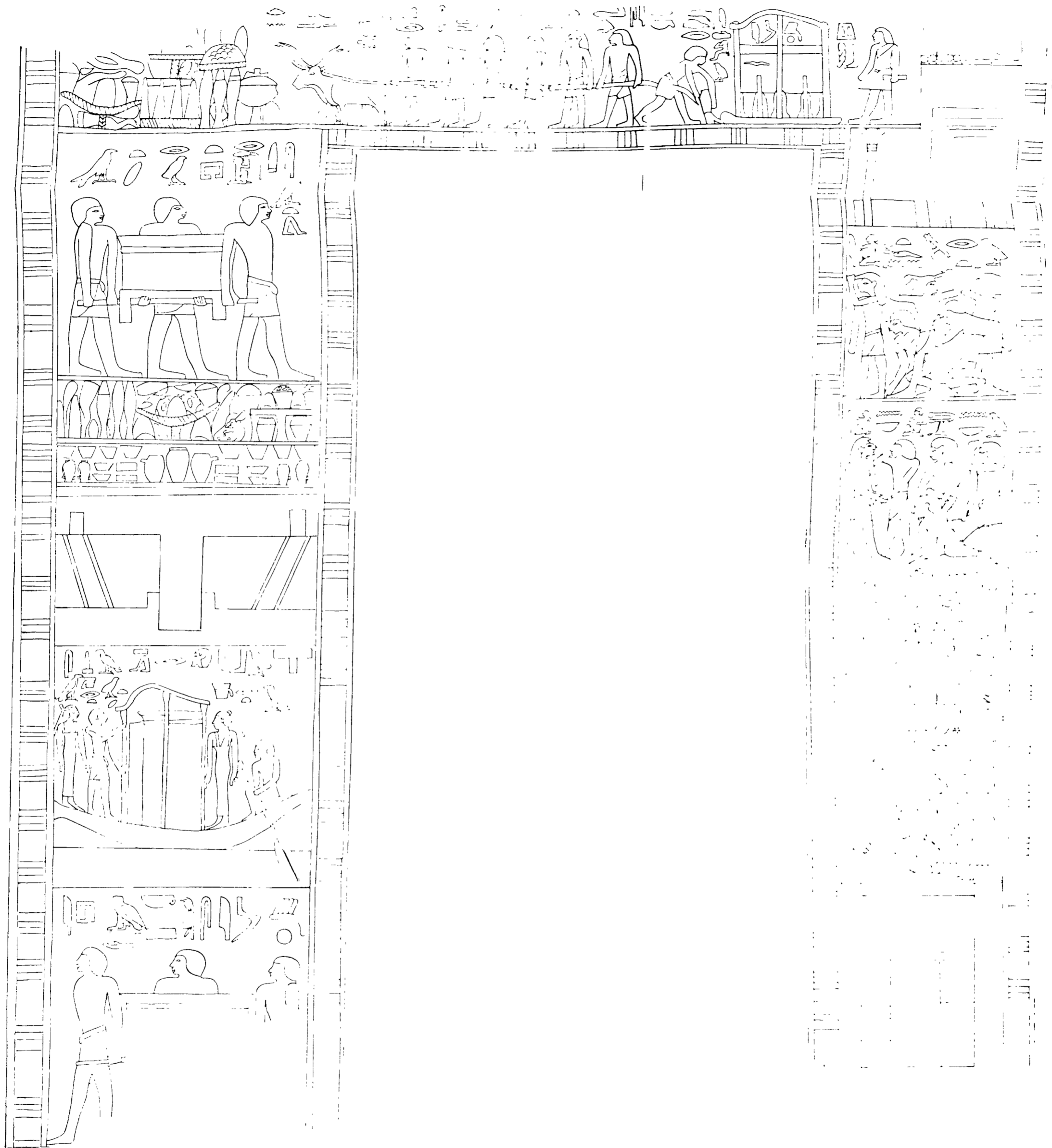


FIG. 84b. Funeral scene in chapel of Yed. (G 7102).



above. This is the painting of the walls of the burial-chamber. First, in the pyramid of Unas, although the custom may be slightly earlier, we find the walls of the burial-chambers covered with magical texts. In addition to these inscriptions, the west wall behind the sarcophagus was decorated with a large painted panelling of palace-façade type, brightly coloured in contrast to the incised hieroglyphic texts which were uniformly blue. This use of the Pyramid Texts continued throughout Dyn. VI. Already in the burial-chamber of Senezem-ib Yenty we find the royal precedent imitated by the use of a compartment list inscribed in black paint on the white-plastered east wall. This simple beginning was soon amplified and it became customary in Dyn. VI to decorate the walls of the burial-chamber with inscriptions, picture lists showing food and funerary equipment, and even figures of the owner and small scenes from life. In G 5220 there is a burial-chamber with picture lists and inscriptions, while that of Ka-kher-ptah (Junker, *op. cit.*, 1914, pl. II) had on the east wall a figure of the owner seated at a table of bread with his titles and name and a large compartment list.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, the burial chamber of Kay-m-ankh (*op. cit.*, 1926, pls. V, VI; Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pls. II, III), while it contains no figure of the owner, has, in addition to an elaborate representation of food offerings and funerary equipment (including a representation of men making up a bed), a series of scenes from life. There are dancers and musicians, sailing and freight boats, a presentation of animals, the care of cattle, and cooking scenes. On the west wall is the representation of a ship-yard with craftsmen at work and a list of ships and tools, granaries, and an old compartment list of linen.

At Saqqarah one of the burial-chambers in the Northern Cemetery excavated by Mariette appears to have had inscriptions and lists of offerings (MM E 3, Sabuw). The mastabas in the Tety Pyramid Cemetery also contained painted burial-chambers (Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, *passim*). The finest of these was the burial-chamber of Mereruwka, but there were others in the mastabas of Kagemni, Ankh-ma-hor, and Ikhekhy. There were also examples in the mastabas of Yeduwt and Ba-n-ankh, south of the Step Pyramid. None of these contained representations of the owner, although the chamber of Ankh-ma-hor showed the empty chair of the deceased in addition to the usual lists and representations of food offerings. Many examples of painted, and even sculptured, burial-chambers occur in the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II. The painted burial-chamber continued to be a feature of the rock-cut tombs of Upper Egypt in the Late Old Kingdom and Intermediate period. Good examples are known from Naga-ed-Dêr, Denderah, and Meir.

<sup>1</sup> For hieroglyphics from these inscriptions see coloured plate B.

## XII

# THE PROVINCIAL TOMBS OF UPPER EGYPT: DYNASTIES V AND VI AND THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

### a. Dynasty V

WE have seen that before Dyn. V there is very little evidence for the provincial reliefs and paintings of Upper Egypt, except for some scanty remains at Reqaqnah and El Kab in the early part of Dyn. IV (see pp. 45, 142). In Dyn. V the decorated rock-cut tomb which had appeared at Giza towards the end of Dyn. IV became the accepted form for the burial-places of the great men of the provinces. One of the first of these tombs, that of Khenuw-ka at Tehneh, was probably excavated as early as the reign of Mycerinus. In Tomb 13 at Tehneh, Ny-ka-anekh records that Mycerinus had given two pieces of land jointly for the funerary endowment of a man named Khenuw-ka (the father of Ny-ka-anekh) and for the services in the temple of Hathor. Weserkaf confirmed this gift during the lifetime of Ny-ka-anekh. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the tomb of Ny-ka-anekh was sculptured in the reign of Weserkaf while the tomb of the father was prepared in the reign of Mycerinus. The calendar, by means of which the distribution of the land amongst the wife and children of Ny-ka-anekh was arranged, is a remarkable document. In addition to this the chapel shows a series of simple offering-scenes, including a representation of the *sh* pavilion. A rock-cut statue of the owner and his wife is a Memphite form of decoration which becomes characteristic of these provincial tombs. As far as one can judge from the published drawings (Fraser, *Annales*, III, p. 67) the work is of mediocre quality, but the use of a few large figures in the scenes and the simplicity of arrangement seem to reflect the Memphite style of Dyn. IV. Several details are very curious, though, such as the dog eating a goose under the chair of its master in the table scene (Fig. 90 *c*), the unusual array of vessels on tall stands set around the table of bread, and the rabbit which is placed on a separate base-line between a group of men throwing down a bull and a man carrying a hyena in the register below (*Annales*, III, pl. V). An interesting feature of this tomb is that the chapel is cut in a free standing rectangular mass of rock as though in imitation of a mastaba. The rock mass is isolated from the hill by a long open corridor which enters from the west at each end of the 'mastaba' and separates the east face from the rock behind. The entrance to the chapel itself is from the east in the middle of the north-south section of this corridor. In this way the old orientation of the chapel is maintained, although the tomb is on the east bank of the river.

Tomb No. 14 belonged to Khenuw-ka, probably the same man as the father of Ny-ka-anekh, and therefore must have been cut late in the reign of Mycerinus or soon after. The chapel was of simple cruciform shape with a small shrine cut in the east wall opposite the entrance. It was entered by a long corridor the roof of which was cut in imitation of palm logs laid side by side. The two false-doors are placed on the entrance (west) wall and all the walls contained rock-cut statues of the owner standing in niches. Fragmentary reliefs of Khenuw-ka and his family as well as men bringing offerings and animals are preserved on the walls of the entrance passage, while there was an almost obliterated scene on the east wall south of the shrine. The reliefs of the entrance passage were 'well sculptured and on a good surface'.

There is evidence also for the date of two of the tombs at Sheikh Said (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*). Seref-ka (?) is a priest of Cheops and Weserkaf, while his son, Wer-ir-n, is a priest of Ne-user-ra. Thus the first of these tombs was probably cut in the first half of Dyn. V, while the second must date to the latter part of the Dynasty. An outstanding characteristic of these tombs is the presence of rock-cut statues and the apparent absence of any false-door. In the chapel of Seref-ka (?) a seated pair statue of the owner and his wife is placed in an inner room on the axis of the doorway to this room and the entrance to the chapel. The statues, if they existed, in the chapel of Wer-ir-n must have been cut in the north-south cross wall, now destroyed, which seems to have divided the outer room into two parts. The chapel of Seref-ka is not very well preserved, but that of Wer-ir-n is fully decorated with scenes from life of the ordinary Dyn. V type cut in relief of moderately good quality. For the type of

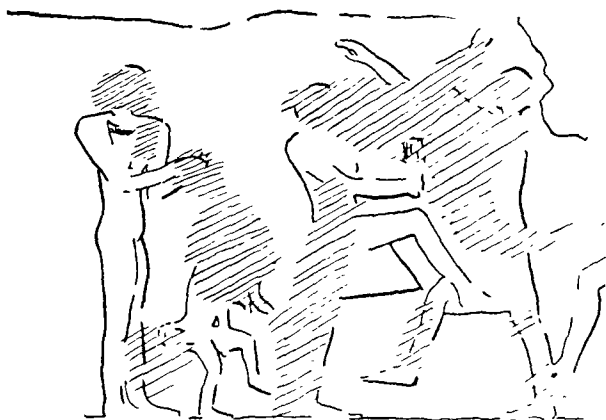


FIG. 87. Female monkey imitating the gesture of dancer (Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. IV).

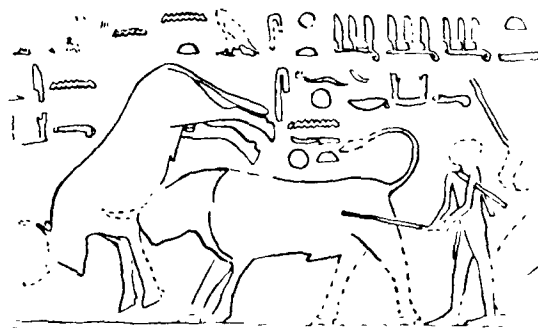


FIG. 88. Fighting bulls in chapel of Sheduw (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. XVIII).

carving see Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, pls. VII, VIII, and Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pls. 40, 53. The sculptor in the father's tomb has added to the table scene a group of dancers in lively poses, while underneath the chief figures he has inserted two small registers of metal working and carpentry. Energetic dances are characteristic of the provincial tombs. They are found first in the chapel of Meresankh III at Giza and in tombs at Saqqarah in Dyn. VI. Here the artist has echoed the gesture of one woman by the movements of a female monkey which accompanies the dancers (Fig. 87). Equally acute observation is to be found in another monkey which eats from a basin of food under its master's chair, at the same time protecting the food from a little dwarf who holds him on a leash.

The scenes in Wer-ir-n's chapel are classically conventional. They contain perhaps one new detail in the swamp scene where a row of men (paddling or rowing) are shown under the footboard on which the large figure stands. Davies noted another feature of these reliefs. This was their close resemblance in detail and arrangement to the scenes decorating the tomb of Khuwnes at Zawiyet el Meitin (Lepsius, *Textband*, II, pp. 58-9). The agricultural scenes are almost identical, and the representation of the swamp occupations is similar although the different elements are not distributed in the same order. The detail of the subsidiary rowers in the papyrus boat also occurs. Davies went so far as to suggest that the reliefs of Khuwnes might also be the work of the sculptor Ptah-khuww, who decorated the chapel of Wer-ir-n. Of the Memphite origin of the sculptor Ptah-khuww and the decorator of the Khuwnes tomb there can be little doubt. The conventionality of the scenes in both tombs, however, makes it seem possible that they were drawn from similar Memphite originals, and did not necessarily affect one another. The representation of men making spears and bows in the Khuwnes tomb is definitely a late idea which one associates rather with the scenes of the Middle Kingdom. The tomb

also contains a number of other scenes, men felling trees, shaping logs, and building wooden boats, associated with goats eating leaves from trees, and a man with a stick who is about to beat a small animal under a tree (suspiciously like the group accompanying the birth of an animal in two Memphite tombs, Fig. 226), none of which appear at Sheikh Said. Although all of these subjects (except the spear-making), can be traced back to Dyn. V originals, they are a regular part of the scenic equipment of the late Dyn. VI provincial tombs. I should be inclined to assign to the Dyn. V tombs of the provinces scenes of a more simple and conventional type, and date the tomb of Khuwnes later than that of Wer-ir-n. With the



FIG. 89. Dog with puppies under master's chair in chapel of Zauw (Davies, *Deir el Gehrúzi*, II, pls. IV, XV).

limited body of material it is impossible to be dogmatic, but when we find that the chapel of Khuwnes is situated among others dated to Dyn. VI, I believe it is fairly safe to place this tomb also at that date.

Two chapels at Hemamieh appear to belong to the Dyn. V group of tombs (Petrie and Harding, *Bahrein and Hemamieh*). They are of the north-south corridor type entered from one end by a corridor from the west so that they resemble somewhat the tomb of Ny-ka-ankh at Tehneh. The false-doors are on the west wall, although this cemetery lies on the east bank of the river. The chapel of Khent-ka (?), No. 3, has simple family and presentation scenes, including a *sh* scene and animated dancers with boomerangs. There were craftwork scenes as well, probably representing boat-building. The chapel of a second Khent-ka (No. 2), whose wife's name was Ify, has a curious boating scene, evidently representing a funeral, with a woman seated on a throne beside a shrine while another woman beside her plays upon a drum or tom-tom. Both of these tombs again make a large use of rock-cut statues. The workmanship of the reliefs is not of the best quality and the style is simple (see the photographs, Petrie, *l.c.*, pl. XIX; Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, pls. III-VI). The figures show broad masses of flat relief without much modelling. The arrangement of the decoration is awkward and crowded, although the scenes are playing and a hound under the chair of the chief figure (Fig. 90 a).

At Hagarsah, near Sohag, the chapel of Ka-m-nofer is decorated with reliefs, resembling in style those of Hemamieh (Petrie, *Athribis*, pls. I-V). Only family scenes and attendants are shown in this chapel. The figures, like those of Hemamieh, are rather squat, broad, and heavy, and judging from the drawings given by Petrie they are treated in simple masses without much modelling. They contrast strongly with the slender, elongated, and angular figures of the end of the Old Kingdom, and with the paintings of the later period which are treated elaborately with detail, coarse but conscientiously applied. Finally, with these Dyn. V reliefs I should include the panel of Ibw-nesuwt, which was inserted in the back of a stone false-door of the old type in a crude-brick mastaba at Denderah (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. II). A standing figure, crudely cut in relief of moderate height, is shown above a small element of palace-façade panelling. The proportions of the figure are bad. The crown of the head is too low, the

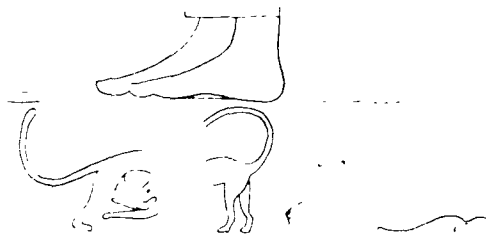


FIG. 90 a. Pets of owner, Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamieh*, pl. X.

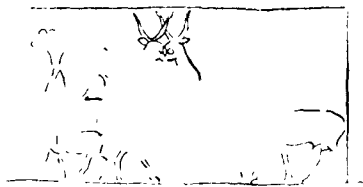


FIG. 90 b. Butting goats in chapel of Iby (Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, pl. XI).

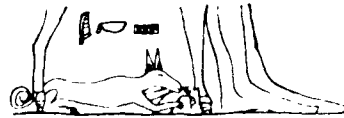


FIG. 90 c. Dog with goose under chair, Tehneh (*Annales*, III, p. 67, pl.V).

nose sharply pointed, the body squat and awkwardly drawn. The hieroglyphs of the titles and name are large and badly aligned. The style of the relief seems to be based on the forms of Dyn. IV, like most of the other early provincial sculpture.

### b. Dynasty VI and the Intermediate Period

Turning to the Upper Egyptian reliefs and paintings of Dyn. VI and the Intermediate period, we find two general trends of style—one in which the traditions of good Memphite craftsmanship were carried on with a certain diminishing of technical skill, and the other an angular, crude modification of the old forms. This latter type of work begins to make itself felt in the poor tombs of Dyn. VI and predominates in the Intermediate period. Its best illustrations are to be found in the Naga-ed-Dêr stelae and in a few coffin paintings, but a limited number of inscribed tombs further demonstrate its qualities. A boldness of treatment occasionally lends to these decorations not a little effectiveness. Consistently they seem to have a character of their own which distinguishes the work of Middle and Upper Egypt from the degenerate craftsmanship of the Memphite area at the end of the Old Kingdom. The style continues into the Middle Kingdom and the chapel of Beby at El Kab (Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pl. 36) warns us that poor workmanship of an even later period (Dyn. XVII) resembles this type of clumsy representation. In fact, considered purely from the point of view of the carving, it would be easy to mistake Beby's crudely incised reliefs for work of the First and not the Second Intermediate period.



There is a little evidence for the style in the Memphite area which will be referred to later, but on the whole the late work from Giza and Saqqarah is simply very poor, worse than the poorest minor efforts that have preceded it, but resembling them and bearing few traces of changing style. There seem to be good grounds for seeking in the provincial work of the Late Old Kingdom and the Intermediate period the germs of the art of Dyn. XI. It would be a mistake to dismiss this provincial art of a troubled time as entirely the result of a degeneration of craftsmanship. This would be to overlook certain important elements which contribute to a distinct new style.

The Upper Egyptian tombs which carry on the old traditions in Dyn. VI, with a certain enrichment of detail of their own invention, are to be found at Deshasheh, Sharuna, Zawiyet el Meitin, Sheikh Said, Meir, Quseir el Amarna, Deir el Gebrawi, Denderah, Hawawish, Naga-ed-Dér, Kasr-es-said, Beni Hasan, and Akhmim. Certain chapels at Naga-ed-Dér and Sheikh Farag, and those at Hagarsah, Deir el Melek, Luxor, Edfu, and Assuan illustrate the second style. The later tombs at Sheikh Said and Zawiyet el Meitin, with the exception of No. 14 at the latter place, are of little importance. I have already said that I should like to date the chapel of Khuwnes to Dyn. VI, and the fragmentary reliefs in No. 14 (Lepsius, *Textband*, II, p. 65) which belonged to a man named Ny-ankh-pepy reflect the subject-matter in that tomb (men cutting down trees, shaping a log, goats in trees, skinning an animal hung from a tree) and add a vintage and wine-pressing scene.<sup>1</sup> The tombs of Sharuna (*Annales*, VIII, p. 149; Broderick and Morton, *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, pp. 26 ff.) and Hawawish (Wreszinski, *Bericht*, p. 63) are too briefly described to enable one to study their reliefs.

The tombs of Akhmim have been published by Newberry,<sup>2</sup> but without illustrations showing the scenes it is very difficult to gauge the style of the reliefs from the descriptions. Recently Vandier (*Annales*, XXXVI, pp. 33 ff.) has published another small tomb at Akhmim, hitherto unknown, which would appear to belong to the group of tombs of conventional style but declining workmanship under discussion. However, since the owner lived in the time of Mery-ra (Pepy I), this seems to be the earliest tomb at the site. There appears to be no false-door. On the back wall the owner is seated at a table of bread with an offering list. One side wall shows a procession of offering-bearers with food (two carrying a loaded table), while on the opposite wall a figure of the owner, Ka-irer, is being offered incense in the middle of the wall. One offering-bearer follows the man with the censer, another faces the table scene. On the wall, inside the doorway, on each side, stands a figure of the owner with an inscription.

At Beni Hasan, an early tomb belonging to a man named Ipy (No. 481)<sup>3</sup> is again known only from a description and a photograph of the façade which conveys little as to the style of the figures of the owner which flank the doorway or appear on the weathered entrance-jambs. This tomb is important, however, as giving us a glimpse of what work was like at the end of the Old Kingdom at a site where the Middle Kingdom paintings have such an individual character. Inside, on each side of the doorway, was a stele, one inscribed in the name of the owner and the other in that of his wife (west wall). In the back wall a doorway led to an uninscribed chamber. South of the doorway was a faintly preserved swamp scene with wild fowl, and the well-known scene of boatmen fighting with their punting poles, one man having fallen out of a boat into the water. A figure of the owner stands north of the doorway. The north wall

<sup>1</sup> Varille has recently published this chapel, *La Tombe de Ny-ankh-Pépy à Zaouyet El-Meytîn*. The Lepsius scene with the men cutting down trees and the goats in the trees has been destroyed, but a few new details are reproduced. The most important new scene (Pl. XI) shows, below craftsmen making jewellery, two men painting figures of animals on a panel, an Old Kingdom forerunner of a similar subject at Beni Hasan.

Pl. VI shows a man in the water with his foot in the mouth of a crocodile.

<sup>2</sup> *The Inscribed Tombs of Akhmim; Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. IV; Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 21 b.

<sup>3</sup> Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

is decorated with agricultural scenes. Below is a row of men picking flax and ploughing, while above are two registers of cattle, one of them containing the *motif* of the fighting bulls (which we shall find in many tombs of the Late Old Kingdom). On the south wall is a scene with the owner seated at table and men bringing offerings. A dwarf standing beneath the chair and a man carrying two baskets suspended from a yoke over his shoulders are details reminiscent of many Memphite tombs. It is notable that this tomb lying on the east bank of the river has retained the Memphite orientation by placing the stelae on the entrance (west) wall.

The chapel of Pepy-ankh-wer at Quseir el Amarna contained little in the way of decoration, although the man himself is important, as he appears to be a son of Ny-ankh-Pepy Kem at Meir (Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, pp. 8, 9). Of the scenes in the chapel of Wekh-khuwen,<sup>1</sup> Quibell has illustrated the fish-spearing scene by a drawing. All the scenes seem to have been crudely drawn and brightly coloured, but the subject-matter and its arrangement follow old models. Three rock-cut statues are cut in the walls. At Kasr-es-said, the chapel of Iduw, called Seneny, cannot be earlier than the reign of Menera, while Thauw, also buried there, was a priest of the pyramids of Pepy I, Menera, and Pepy II. The reliefs of Iduw appear to be in the old style, although the workmanship, judging from details given by Wreszinski (*Bericht*, pls. 29, 30) and Kees (*Provinzialkunst, Beitafel*, I), is very poor, the stone being roughly hacked away to outline the figures. At Denderah, the chapel in the crude-brick mastaba of Iduw I, which cannot be dated earlier than Pepy II, has a large fresco of fish-spearing. This is well drawn in the old conventional style and, apart from the odd detail of three men, each of whom carries a large fish on his head, presents no marked characteristics (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. V). The chapel of Mena had a stone stela of late form, flat, carved from a single piece of stone, and with a high cornice. The paintings of the burial-chamber are well drawn and carefully composed, with neat hieroglyphs and elaborately painted picture lists. The lion's head at the end of the bed is a new detail. The tomb cannot be earlier than the reign of Pepy II. The great men of Denderah, as the stelae of the Late Old Kingdom and Intermediate period show, were able to command better craftsmanship over a longer period of time than at most of the other places in Upper Egypt. This impression is strengthened by a comparison with Naga-ed-Dêr, where again we have a long succession of material, and by the lack of evidence elsewhere. Denderah must always have been a more important place than the small community which used the burial-ground at Naga-ed-Dêr. That even these people were able to obtain good work at one time is witnessed by a few painted tombs in the latter cemetery. The crudely inscribed flakes of limestone which served as name-stones in the mastabas of Cemetery N 500-900 show with what the lesser members of the community had to be content in Dyn. VI.

At each of the remaining sites we are limited to only a few tombs, but these show the best workmanship of the period. It would seem that the fortunes of the provincial nobles were but short-lived, and since all of these tombs date to a time between the latter part of the reign of Pepy I and the end of the Old Kingdom it would seem that they represent a brief period of prosperity throughout Upper Egypt rather than a transient ascendancy of one province over another at different times. At Deshasheh there are two important chapels decorated with reliefs of moderately good quality (Petrie, *Deshasheh*). Brunner (*Die Anlagen der Ägyptischen Felsgräber*) would date the tomb of Yenty to the latter half of Dyn. V, but I do not believe it can possibly be earlier than the middle of Dyn. VI. It contains the well-known scene of the siege of a city (Fig. 86) which has a parallel at Saqqarah in Early Dyn. VI. It seems very probable now, from recent discoveries in the Unas temple, that the prototype upon which these scenes were based was the battle scene on the wall of the causeway corridor of that temple. The group of struggling

<sup>1</sup> Quibell, *Annales*, III, p. 254; Kamal, *Annales*, XII, p. 136.

figures on a fragment of that scene closely resembles the Yenty representation. The lively dancers appear on the south wall of Yenty's chapel, but these have been found already in Dyn. V at Sheikh Said and Hemamieh. One wall is devoted to the workshops of the metal-workers, jewellers, and carpenters. One man works on a statue, and two others are painting an oddly-shaped shrine (?). The north wall has a conventional swamp scene: bird-netting, building papyrus canoes, the care of cattle, and netting fish. It is possible to detect in the carving of the reliefs, it seems to me, the bolder type of heavy relief common in Dyn. VI at Saqqarah (Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pl. 2; *Atlas*, II, pl. 4).

In the chapel of Sheduw the new element to be noted among more conventional representations is the picture of two fighting bulls (Fig. 88). This group appears frequently in the Late Old Kingdom as an accompaniment of the gradually expanding scene of cattle inspection and became a favourite element in the decoration of Middle Kingdom tombs. Goats attacking trees, and the boats of a funeral procession are indications of a Dyn. VI date, borne out by a private name compounded with the cartouche of Tety. A craftwork scene again appears. As for the scene on the façade which has been interpreted as a man standing at the door of the temple of a pyramid, I believe that this can be explained in a very simple fashion (*l.c.*, Pl. XXIV). I would see in the framework of lines composing the 'temple' the back and arms of a carrying-chair being borne by the row of men in the register below. The triangle forming the 'pyramid' is, I think, either the line of the raised knees or the stiff skirt of the large figure seated in the chair. The man 'in front of the temple' is the usual attendant standing on a high separate base-line behind the chair. The true character of the scene is betrayed by the man who runs ahead in the register of figures below. He is certainly carrying the pole of the sunshade usually present in such scenes. For the style of the Sheduw reliefs see the detail, Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pl. 3.

At Meir there are three tombs which show decorations of good quality. The paintings of Ny-ankh-Pepy — Kem<sup>†</sup> are too badly blackened by the bats to require consideration (Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, p. 5), but the reliefs of two of his sons, Pepy-ankh, called Heny-kem, and Pepy-ankh-her-ib, are in better condition. Blackman would assign the tomb of the father to the reign of Pepy I, while those of the two sons were probably cut in the reign of Pepy II. We have noted that a third son was buried at Quseir-el-Amarna. The chapel of Heny-kem adjoins, and is connected with, that of his father, but that of Pepy-ankh-her-ib is situated some distance away in another face of the cliffs (Blackman's group D) south of the Middle Kingdom tombs. Also in this southern group of tombs is a fourth small chapel in which I have only been able to read the name of the wife (*Rht-š-rš*), but which appears to be the same as Blackman's D 1 belonging to a man named Pepy (as yet unpublished). It is remarkable what a variation of style is to be found in these Meir tombs which have been assigned from inscriptional evidence to a time ranging from the reign of Pepy I to the end of that of Pepy II. Stylistically, that of Pepy seems the earliest. The relief is bold, somewhat clumsily carved, and partly only sketched out in red and black drawing lines. Only a few large figures are distributed on each wall and the subject-matter is simple — cooking scenes, family group, and table scene with man and wife. These details are common to the group of tombs assigned at the beginning of the chapter to Dyn. V. Such a date would seem reasonable here were it not for the owner's name and the fact that on the south wall is pictured a group of husband and wife seated on a bed, the wife playing upon a harp. The resemblance to the famous scene in the chapel of Mereruwka is striking and extends even to the row of stone vessels placed beneath the bed. We must therefore assume, as in the case of the group of father and sons in the chapel of Heny-kem, a direct influence of the Saqqarah school and a time no earlier than the end of the reign of Tety. It is difficult to believe, though, that this tomb is later than that of Pepy-ankh-her-ib,

<sup>†</sup> From this tomb came the fine collection of wooden servant figures discussed in an earlier chapter.

although the latter states in his biography that he was the first to excavate a tomb in this part of the cemetery.

The chapel of Pepy-ankh Heny-kem shows conventional Dyn. VI reliefs, well executed, although I do not agree with Legrain's statement (*Annales*, I, p. 68) that they are identical with those of Mereruwka. They are certainly inferior to that Saqqarah tomb, although the grouping of Pepy-ankh and his sons on one of the walls undoubtedly derives from the magnificent group on the north wall of the pillared hall of Mereruwka. The funeral scenes, however, executed in black lines are unexcelled in clean, sure draughtsmanship. These scenes are the most complete Old Kingdom representation of a funeral which is preserved to us, with the exception of that of Qar at Giza which they closely resemble. They were drawn upon the walls of a room which was apparently added as an afterthought, partly destroying a serdab which had been excavated at a lower level. This serdab, which apparently had to be abandoned, is an unusual feature, known elsewhere only in the chapel of Nekhebuw at Giza, where it was constructed of masonry and not cut out of the rock. On the walls were painted rows of statues, each with title and name of the owner.<sup>1</sup> Two other rooms contain scenes from life which show craftsmen at work, agricultural scenes, sailing vessels, and the owner going forth in his carrying-chair. In an extended representation of cattle is the pair of fighting bulls, while the goats nibbling leaves from a tree also appear. In addition to large swamp scenes with the owner hunting birds and spearing fish is an unusual small group in the register beneath the agricultural pursuits where the owner on a reduced scale harpoons a hippopotamus, while a companion pulls papyrus from a thicket only the height of one register.

It is a little disconcerting at first to find the chapel of Heny-kem's presumed brother Pepy-ankh-her-ib bearing marked traces of the style of the Intermediate period. The wall surfaces are very uneven, the composition crowded, and although the reliefs are ordinarily low, the large figure on the east wall south of the entrance is cut in very bold, uneven relief in a style not far removed from the Naga-ed-Dér stelae (more exaggerated than would appear in the photograph, *Meir II*, pl. XXVI). The scenes on the whole are of ordinary Dyn. VI type. The familiar detail of the quail amongst the grain in the harvest scene, the goats eating leaves from a tree, and a more unusual detail of a suckling goat, appear. The painted details are painstaking but somewhat rough, ranging from the detailed markings of the quail to the coarse colouring of the geese held by the offering-bearers on the north wall (a treatment falling midway between the delicate coloured detail of G 2001 (see Frontispiece) and the geometric patterns of Naga-ed-Dér (Fig. 97 b)). The colour scheme seems to be rather more akin to that of the Middle Kingdom than that of the Old, as in the pinkish-grey donkeys on the west wall which contrast oddly with the blue-grey background. Attractive are the red and white and black and white spotted goats grouped around a green tree. Pepy-ankh-her-ib lived to the remarkable age of one hundred years, and it is therefore not surprising, if he made his tomb late in life, that he chose a new location, distant from the tombs of the rest of his family, and that his workmen show the influence of the Intermediate period style.

At Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, vols. I, II) there are two tombs with interesting paintings. Iby, the owner of one of them, is thought by Davies to be a son of a man named Zauw who has left a stela at Abydos stating that two of his sisters were married to Pepy I. Iby himself appears to have served under both Menera and Pepy II. He was Great Chieftain of both the Nomes of *Dw-ft* (the XIIth) and Abydos (the VIIIth). He was apparently the father of Zauw-shema, whose own son built the second important tomb at Deir el Gebrawi. The latter cut the same tomb both for his father and himself, therefore probably at the time of his father's death, and secured part of the burial equipment as a gift from Pepy II. The other decorated tombs at Deir el Gebrawi, in the northern

<sup>1</sup> Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pl. XXXIX.

group, are much smaller and more poorly inscribed. Although Davies was uncertain whether these were earlier or later than the tomb of Iby, they seem to show a gradual degeneration during the last years of the Old Kingdom and in the early part of the Intermediate period. The chapel of Iby has in great part the usual Old Kingdom scenes. The hunting scene is, however, on a very small scale, and a reduced figure of the huntsman is shown shooting at the game with bow and arrow. The funeral scene appears, accompanied by figure dancers. The inspection of the herds includes a pair of fighting bulls. Again there are goats eating leaves from a tree. Large space is allotted to the scene of craftwork. The chapel of Zauw largely repeats the subject-matter of the older tomb, but allowing less space for the craftwork scenes. Both chapels abound in delightful detail, such as the dog with her puppies under Zauw's chair (Fig. 89), or the two goats butting each other (Fig. 90 b) and the man stretched out on the ground to be beaten in Iby (Fig. 223). Nevertheless, the workmanship in the chapel of Zauw begins to show a certain amount of degeneration. The scenes are less well spaced, the lower part of seated figures is too long in proportion to the height of the torso. The heads of the large figures are too small, while the heads of subsidiary figures are over-large. In both tombs the figures are more or less elongated and the tall slender wife of Zauw (Davies, *l.c.*, II, Frontispiece), with her small head, is related more to the Middle Kingdom canon of proportions than to the Old. This change in proportions is to be detected at Memphis as well as in Dyn. VI, for example the figure of Yeduw (G 7102) on the outer architrave, or the mourning women on the boat inside the chapel (Fig. 84 b); the wife of Qar on the west wall of the outer court of his chapel (G 7101); and the similar figure of the wife of Ipy on his reliefs in the Cairo Museum (Pl. 56). The change is even more apparent in the Giza chapel of Thetuw (G 2001), and is to be seen also in the chapel of Mereruwka at Saqqarah.

In Zauw the reduction of the papyrus swamp to a small panel, and the insertion of a rectangular space filled with flying birds in the middle, is a summary treatment akin to the reduction of large scenes on small stelae and panels that we find at Saqqarah in the Intermediate period. The sketchy treatment of the dancers, who approach acrobatic movements in both these tombs, is not unlike the crude style in which these figures are shown in the later chapel of Ihy at Luxor. These dancers appear again at Deir el Gebrawi, in the chapel of Khetety and also in that of Isy. These two tombs seem to show an increase in the various defects noted above, particularly in the crowding of figures and the summary treatment of the different elements. Thus it would appear that while in the chapel of Iby there is an approximation to the ordinary style of Dyn. VI, with a few modifications, particularly in the more slender figures of women, the rest of the tombs, beginning with Zauw, seem to show a gradual degeneration towards the angular style of the Intermediate period.

At Naga-ed-Dér, while the stelae and most of the decorated tombs belong to the crude style of the Intermediate period, there are a few chapels which show good painting of a more conventional style.<sup>1</sup> Chief among these is No. 248 belonging to a man named Themery, who, since he has the title of Great Chieftain of the Thinite Nome, held a position well above that of most of the owners of the neighbouring tombs, and was perhaps the most important man buried at Naga-ed-Dér in Dyn. VI.<sup>2</sup> The fragmentary paintings from his chapel give us little that is new. The work is carefully, if sometimes clumsily, executed, partly in relief but more often only in paint. The hieroglyphs are well drawn, and inner detail is scrupulously inserted. Particularly to be noted is the representation of drops of blood beside

<sup>1</sup> This discussion of the Naga-ed-Dér tombs is based upon drawings, some in colour, made by Mr. N. de G. Davies and now in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, and upon photographs and other records made by the Hearst Expedition at Naga-ed-Dér.

<sup>2</sup> The title was borne by the owner of one of the stelae from the neighbouring cemetery of Sheikh Farag (Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dér Stelae*, No. 11, p. 23). Otherwise I believe it is unknown in this district.

two of the bulls that are being slaughtered (Figs. 98, 100).<sup>1</sup> A slight modification of the table scene is found here twice repeated. A small figure offers the owner a round-bottomed bowl or cup from which to drink (Fig. 140). This becomes a common element of the table scene in the Intermediate period and Early Middle Kingdom.

Similar workmanship appears in fragmentary scenes in N 384. In one fragment the sheep are apparently being driven over the ploughed land, but they are set against an unusual border of small plants which I do not remember from any similar scene. In N 259 there is a table scene and an animated representation of bird-netting and seining for fish. These two tombs have not preserved the names of their owners. That of a third tomb is uncertain but appears to be Khenuw-nekhen (N 359). Here there is again a table scene with offering-bearers and men slaughtering bulls, made interesting by the extreme care with which the hieroglyphs of the long inscription have been drawn (Pl. A), and the details of the figures below. This is a particularly suitable example of provincial work to examine as the last of the series of Upper Egyptian representations which follow the old Memphite style. For while the artist has scrupulously drawn the feathering of the birds in his hieroglyphs, the elaborate dots, cross-hatchings, inner drawing, and changes of colour in the other signs, while he has indicated the stubble of beard on one of the offering-bearers (Fig. 97 a) and drawn splotches of blood beside the slaughtered bull (Fig. 101), he has adopted a schematic, angular, almost geometric type of representation for the birds in the pile of offerings (Fig. 97 b). The feathering is indicated by a series of conventional marks on the different background colours and the forms are stiff and un-lifelike. The dog under the chair of his master, too, has an elongated, shark-like jaw. Some of the hieroglyphs are rather peculiar, particularly the curiously drawn *aleph* (Pl. A). The colour scheme is distinctive, partly because of a repetition of red, yellow, and blue, partly through the use of a pinkish hue with the red and a hard blue with a greenish cast. The use of pronounced dots and bars (heavy stipple and hatching marks) on the flat colour, and a sparing use of black contributes to an effect that is very different from the usual painted Old Kingdom wall. Green and white appear, so that the ordinary Old Kingdom palette is in use. The change is due principally to a different manipulation of the colour masses. The impression received is difficult to analyse.

A discussion of the style of the reliefs and paintings of the Intermediate period is hampered by our very scanty knowledge of this troubled time between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The chronology of the period is a source of dispute. The breakdown of a strong central government has left us with a series of more or less disconnected names of kings of Dyn. VII to X, which it is difficult to place in their proper order from the evidence of the later lists. But the period is by no means as dark as it once appeared. The excavations of Professor Jéquier at South Saqqarah have produced ample evidence of the prolongation of Old Kingdom burial customs into the time following the end of the reign of Pepy II. Evidence for the continuity of the provincial families from the end of the Old Kingdom into Dyn. XI has survived at Bersheh (where there is an overlap between the nobles buried at Sheikh Said and those at Bersheh), Denderah, Naga-ed-Dêr, and Beni Hasan. Such studies as the survey which Brunton has made of the Qau district, Brunner's comparison of the types of the Upper Egyptian rock-cut tombs, Dunham's publication of the Naga-ed-Dêr stela, and Mace and Winlock's examination of the Heracleopolitan coffin types have done much to fill in the gaps. Critical examination of the literature of the period is contributing new bits of evidence, and recently Professor Scharff has essayed a chronological arrangement of Dyn. VII to XI which has proved a valuable aid in clarifying the surviving material. He would place Dyn. VIII, after an interregnum comprising Dyn. VII, as a Memphite survival

<sup>1</sup> We have noted the occurrence of this unusual detail at Giza in Dyn. V in the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020), where blood drips from the slaughterer's knife as well (Fig. 99).

contemporaneous with an ephemeral kingdom having its seat of power in Coptos. Then follow the Heracleopolitan kings bearing the name of Khety (I, II, III). These coincide with the rise of the Intef family at Thebes and the early years of Dyn. XI, which culminated in the overthrow of Heracleopolis by the Menthu-hotep family and the reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

With the exception of the texts carved on the walls of the burial-chamber of the pyramid of Aba at Saqqarah South, there is no large royal monument of any importance known between the time of Pepy II and the stela of Prince Intef, the ancestor of the Dyn. XI kings of that name at Thebes.<sup>1</sup> With the cessation of large works on the part of the king, the schools of craftsmen which owed their existence to those royal construction projects broke up, and the result was a rapid degeneration of technical ability. We find in the tombs of the various provincial nobles who must have attained some importance locally a certain attempt to continue the old types of decoration. This was carried out either in badly painted wall scenes, in a rough incised technique hardly to be termed sunk relief, or in reliefs that are flat, low, and sharp-edged, with scarcely any modelling and clumsy outlines. More often there was not an attempt to decorate the whole chapel, and the representation of the owner, sometimes with his wife and children and a table or a few offerings, less frequently accompanied by offering-bearers, was carved on a rectangular tablet which was set up in the chapel, usually blocking the mouth of the sloping passage to the burial-chamber. There is such a great similarity of style, due principally to technical deficiencies, that it is impossible sometimes to distinguish between the work of different localities, and equally impossible to arrange these works in chronological order. We find at the end of the Old Kingdom at Assuan and at Naga-ed-Dér a very similar style to that in a painted chapel at Gebelein of Dyn. XI and at Hierakonpolis in Dyn. XII.

In the Memphite region there is some slight evidence of this Intermediate style. For example, in the chapel of Thetuw at Giza (G 2001) certain of the figures, particularly those on the tablets of the false-doors, show angular, elongated forms cut in flat relief with a sharp edge. The relation to the Intermediate period is one of style and not of time, as the chapel is probably to be dated to Dyn. VI, although to the latter part of that Dynasty. The paintings of the burial-chamber of Junker's Ka-kherptah also show stylistic affinities with the later work of Upper Egypt, although again they are probably well within Dyn. VI. A certain number of badly cut inscriptions and figures from small mastabas at Giza probably belong in time to the early years of the Intermediate period, but these show simply a degeneration of craftsmanship without betraying any distinguishing characteristics.

At Saqqarah, Quibell found in the neighbourhood of the Tety Pyramid a number of small inscribed stones which certainly are later than Dyn. VI, although they do not resemble the reliefs of Middle and Upper Egypt.<sup>2</sup> These were in relief of fairly good quality and show offering-scenes and even scenes from life reduced to small panels containing a few figures performing the essential action. This reduction of large areas of decoration to a small space has been stressed by H. W. Müller in a study of the development of the Middle Kingdom stela<sup>3</sup> and corresponds to the same shrinkage of decoration in the offering-chapel which Jéquier found in the tombs around the Pepy II Pyramid, and the concentration of paintings and funerary models in the burial-chamber. The scenes of these little panels follow the Old Kingdom models in a reduced form and maintain a style of drawing and carving that is very like the

<sup>1</sup> In fact one of the very few objects known is a metal rim with an open-work inscription containing the name of Mery-ib-ra = Khety I, in the Louvre (Petrie, *History*, I, p. 132). The clumsy forms and inner cross-hatching of the hieroglyphs, particularly a sort of herring-bone pattern which is applied to the *nwt* and *nh* signs, to the cartouche and to the legs of the

quail chick, resemble work on the Denderah stela and the Akhmim coffins.

<sup>2</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1905-1906, pls. XIX-XX; 1906-1907, pls. VIII-X.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Bd. IV, pp. 183 ff.

earlier work. The figures are drawn in a cramped fashion, however, and the relief is summary without much modelling and with little detail. These panels have an unusual value when we consider that they represent practically all the relief sculpture that we know which might be assigned to the Heracleopolitan Kingdom. They show just what we should expect from Heracleopolitan art, a continuation of the forms of the Old Kingdom and a deterioration of technical skill. There is little else that can be attributed to such a source, a few decorated burial-chambers in the neighbourhood of the Pepy II pyramid, some coffin paintings, and a few funerary models.

To return to Upper Egypt, Wreszinski has reproduced a wall of a tomb at Deir el Melek belonging to a man named Themerery (*Bericht*, pl. 23) which is a typical example of the style of the Intermediate period. It is carved in sharp-edged, one-plane relief and shows a man holding a lotus, seated at an offering-table. Beneath the chair is a dog, and behind the man are some women engaged in baking. The legs of the chief figure are too long for the torso. The hips and thighs are large out of all proportion. The base of the chair is on a higher level than the feet of the man. In another chapel at the same place, the reliefs of Desher are better in quality, but show some of the same deficiencies (*Bericht*, pl. 24). There is a mixture of subject-matter here, too, which belongs to the general principle of compressing scenes into a small space. The owner is seated at a table of bread with an offering-bearer and an adjoining slaughter scene, while immediately to the left two sets of men pull the cords on two separate bird-traps. The outlines of the men in the bird-netting scene, instead of assuming angular forms, are so summarily rounded that the different parts of the body melt into one another, and the shape is largely lost. The head and torso of the chief figure are too large and are accompanied by an attenuated stump of an arm. The two men slaughtering the bull differ in size, while the offering-bearer is drawn on yet a third scale.

At Hagarah, near Sohag, Sir Flinders Petrie (*Athribis*, pls. VI-XIII) has recorded several tombs of this style, those of Mery I and II and Sebek-nofer. The relief is incised very badly, amounting to scarcely more than outlines scratched around the figures. The composition is crowded and confused. In Mery I the scenes are in five roughly horizontal registers undivided by lines. Two large figures are apparently represented inspecting a counting of the herds, although the second figure is receiving offerings. A pair of fighting bulls appears among the herds. In Mery II there is also a curiously simplified pair of swamp scenes showing the owner with throwing-stick and fish-spear.

At Naga-ed-Dêr, in addition to the simple decorations on the many stelae,<sup>1</sup> there are a few decorated tombs which reflect the style of these characteristically carved stones. The best preserved of these is the chapel of Meruw (N 3737). The representations, including the stela, are only painted. There is a very simple hunting scene in which a small figure shoots game with a bow and arrow (Fig. 148), and a swamp scene where Meruw appears to be hunting birds with a throwing-stick. A few offering-scenes and figures of Meruw's family also appear. The workmanship is poor and the paintings have suffered badly from weathering. On the painted stela the hieroglyphs cross over the border lines, while the figures are badly crowded on the other walls. The outlines of the individual figures are clumsy. A dwarf leading a gazelle is given the torso of a man with ludicrously short legs (Fig. 91) and the desert animals are little better. In N 95 there are a few inscriptions and figures which appear to be in poor sunk relief like that



FIG. 91. Dwarf with gazelle; Naga-ed-Dêr, chapel of Meruw.

<sup>1</sup> These have been given a detailed publication by Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*.



found on the stelae. The tomb of Hagy (N 89) has a few painted figures and inscriptions in the chapel, incompletely preserved and drawn in summary fashion. Oddly enough the paintings of the burial-chamber are very well executed, resembling those of Dyn. VI. It is surprising to find such good work in the same tomb with work characteristic of the period, and apparently at a time when no other artist at Naga-ed-Dêr was capable of producing such neat, conventional drawing. Striking in itself is the difference in style between the old-fashioned hieroglyphs of the burial-chamber and those of the chapel above, which have all the marked peculiarities of the other Intermediate period inscriptions. Hieroglyphs at this time were drawn with broad, clumsy outlines, the inner detail being indicated by heavy dots and bars crossing over the surface. The shapes of the birds, especially, undergo a change. This has been evident already in the better drawn inscriptions of Khenuw-nekhen (N 359).

At Sheikh Farag, in the Naga-ed-Dêr district, one chapel has paintings which seem to have been copied from those usual in the burial-chamber. This is SF 5214, belonging to a man named Weser. Here, in addition to the pictures of offerings and lists and a figure of the owner sitting at a table of bread, Weser is shown standing, surveying the offerings, while a slaughter scene and a cow giving birth to a calf accompany the pictures of food on another wall. While these paintings resemble in subject-matter and composition those of the Dyn. VI burial-chambers, they are slovenly in workmanship, and although slightly better than the work in such a chapel as that of Meruw, they are not as good as the paintings in the burial-chamber of Hagy. In SF 5105, the chapel of Theby, there is a crudely drawn painting, badly weathered. Below are the remains of a cooking scene. The tree placed beside some men who are cooking suggests that here there was the familiar representation of a man cutting up an animal hanging from a tree.

At Luxor, tombs 185 and 186 appear to belong to the Intermediate period,<sup>1</sup> but only No. 186, belonging to Ihy, has been published (Newberry, *Annales*, IV, p. 97). The work here is partly in flat, sharp-edged relief, partly in paint, while a few figures are crudely incised. There is a mixture of the style of carving in the Hagarsah chapels with that in the tomb of Khnum-khuwen at Assuan. One scene shows Ihy and his wife watching the trapping of birds, the care of cattle, and the presentation of animals. In the table scene there is a group of dancers resembling those at Deir el Gebrawi (Fig. 78). There was also found at Thebes (in the tomb of Surer of the time of Amenhotep III) a fragment of a stela not unlike those from Naga-ed-Dêr with the figure and titles of 'The Viceregent Governor of the South, Controller of the State Granaries' Unas-ankh (*Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, Supplement*, March 1918, pp. 23-4, fig. 34). The name and the well-drawn hieroglyphs suggest a Dyn. VI date for this piece.

At Assuan the tombs of the caravan leaders Mekhuw, Sabni, Herkhuwf, and Pepy-nekht are better known for their historical inscriptions than they are for the decoration of their chapels. These have been dealt with rather summarily by De Morgan in his *Catalogue des Monuments*, pp. 143 ff., but something of their style can be understood from his small drawings, from the descriptions of Weigall (*A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, pp. 423 ff.), Von Bissing (*Annales*, XV, p. 1), and Wreszinski (*Bericht*, p. 84, pls. 52, 53), and from a few unpublished photographs. The work is rough, resembling that of the Intermediate period, although these tombs are well within the range of Dyn. VI. The style of the scenes, although based on Memphite originals, presents the peculiarities of a time later than the actual date of the tombs. Thus we find the characteristic tendency to reduce the decoration to small scenes occupying a limited portion of the wall space, accompanied by irregular spacing of the figures, and a mixture of elements from diverse scenes. The decoration is rude and meagre in comparison with the

<sup>1</sup> As Scharff has recently pointed out (*Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê*, p. 48, note 2) the fact that Ihy (No. 186) bears the title of Nomarch of Thebes shows

that the tomb must be earlier than the time when the Intef family came into control of the Nome towards the beginning of Dyn. XI.

grand scale in which such tombs as those of Mekhuw and Sabni are hewn out of the rock, and seems to indicate, not a lack of wealth, but the necessity of relying upon inadequate local craftsmen. It would seem that the first examples of what has been called here the style of the Intermediate period are to be found at Assuan, although the style appears very early both at Edfu and at Naga-ed-Dér.

The tombs of Harkhuwf and Pepy-nekht appear to have had no other decoration aside from their biographical inscriptions. That of Mekhuw has a few scenes executed in very poor sunk relief. On the entrance wall a large figure of the owner leans on his staff and looks on at several registers of men ploughing, harvesting, and slaughtering animals. The south wall, four of the columns, and the entrance-jamb have similar sunk relief figures of Mekhuw and his family. In the adjoining chapel of Mekhuw's son Sabni was a conventionally painted swamp scene with groups flanking a papyrus thicket; fish-spearing on one side and hunting birds with a throwing-stick on the other. The chapel of Khuwnes has scenes from life cut in sunk relief resembling that at Hagarsah, very crude in quality but no worse than the carving of Mekhuw (*Bericht*, pl. 53). Particularly characteristic is the absence of a ground-line and the irregularity of the placing of the figures. A larger composition appears on the south wall where the figures are again loosely grouped and on different levels. At one end of the wall are big standing figures of the owner and his wife facing left. To the right of this Khuwnes and his wife sit facing each other, with cooking scenes below them. The cooking scenes continue to the right along the lower part of the wall, but above them are several irregular registers placed beside the big figures. A procession of cattle, bird trapping, and boats are shown. These scenes appear to belong to yet another large figure of Khuwnes seated at the right end of the wall.

A few amusing details show how even in this poor work the artist sometimes varies the monotony of his scenes by employing an unusual *motif*. Thus we see two fighting bulls being separated by a man with a stick, or a heron which has seized a fish in its beak. These are not original observations of the artist himself. They might be termed the less frequently employed leaves of the copy-books of the time. The drawing of a horned animal with two necks and heads is curious, but is probably a muddled attempt to show two animals side by side.

The painted reliefs of Khnum-khuwen (*Bericht*, pl. 52), who was a priest of the pyramid of Pepy II, have little to distinguish them from the Naga-ed-Dér stelae when these are carved in relief. The carving appears to be partly in flat, sharp-edged relief, and partly (hieroglyphs) incised. The colour is roughly applied. The large eye, the badly proportioned forms, and the large clumsy hieroglyphs complete the stylistic resemblance.

Somewhat similar to the sunk relief which prevails at Assuan in late Dyn. VI are the carvings on the false-door of the crude-brick mastaba of Mery-ra-nefer, called Qar at Edfu, which belong to about the same time. This false-door (Cairo Museum) is of a type well known at Saqqarah in Dyn. VI, having a deep outer recess with a sloping façade, and a flat stela at the back with cornice and moulded frame.<sup>1</sup> The figures of the owner and the inscriptions are scratched on the stone with little skill in a very poor semblance of sunk relief. The proportions of the figures are badly observed and variable, sometimes showing thin, elongated bodies, and in other cases short, squat figures. The eye is long and narrow. It should be observed that we have here by no means all the characteristics of the Intermediate style. The inscriptions show conventional hieroglyphs of Old Kingdom type, even though badly cut. The stela might conceivably be poor work of Dyn. VI at Saqqarah if its origin were not known. But while these poor reliefs show affinities with Old Kingdom Memphite work, the statue from this tomb has an individual style more in keeping with its Upper Egyptian origin (Pl. 26). Amongst other reliefs

<sup>1</sup> Partly showing in background of Pl. 26 e.

at Edfu which bear a close resemblance to the Naga-ed-Dêr stelae, one is of entirely different style. This is a tablet of a man named Her-nekht (Garnot, *Tell Edfou*, 1937, pl. XIV). The relief is high with flat surfaces and heavily rounded edges. This high relief is employed only for the chief figure, while the inscriptions are in sunk relief with careful but clumsy inner details to the hieroglyphs. The work is not unlike the early carving in the Menthu-hotep temple at Deir el Bahari and certain private stelae of Dyn. XI, although more crude. It is quite different from the sharp-edged, one-plane relief of the Naga-ed-Dêr stelae, and while clumsy in comparison to Old Kingdom work, is superior in craftsmanship to most of the work of the Intermediate period. In this it resembles the distinctive statue of Qar just mentioned. Carving like that on the tablet of Her-nekht is found again on the reliefs from the mastaba of Merery at Denderah. There we find the same careful drawing of the details of hair and necklaces, the same close-spaced inner drawing lines of the hieroglyphs, the high bold relief and the clumsy forms (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. VIII). The odd shapes of the hieroglyphs resemble those on the metal rim of Khety I in the Louvre and the Akhmim coffin paintings. Particularly characteristic is the piece with two men leading a bull in the British Museum (*l.c.*, pl. VIII). The other Denderah reliefs, like those of Edfu, show a range of type from characteristic Old Kingdom work to the rough Naga-ed-Dêr style.

In addition to the above chapel decorations and the rectangular stelae from Naga-ed-Dêr, there is another class of objects which has preserved painted decoration of a similar style. This is the large group of painted wooden coffins so characteristic of the Intermediate period. Mace and Winlock have pointed out (*The Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 50) that there were two different types of coffin decoration which derived from the Old Kingdom rectangular wooden coffin, with its representation of a pair of eyes at the end of one long side and with a band of inscription around the top of the sides and down the middle of the lid, giving the titles and name of the owner. The type of coffin characteristic of Lower and Middle Egypt retains this simple decoration outside but employs inside the palace-façade door, the pictures of offerings and the lists which had been painted on the walls of the burial-chamber in Dyn. VI. The other coffin type, common in Upper Egypt, is plain inside, but has its decoration concentrated on the outer faces: offering lists, false-doors, inscriptions, and sometimes even scenes with figures. Mace and Winlock admit that the Heracleopolitan type with simple outer decoration is found frequently in Upper Egypt, but it should also be noted that coffins with elaborate decorations, including figures of men and animals, occur at Assiut, well within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Heracleopolis. The painted offerings and lists of the coffin interiors repeat in large part material with which we are familiar with an ever diminishing approximation of Old Kingdom style and workmanship. One or two points are significant. Now, in addition to the representation of linen and jars of oil and ointment accompanying the piles of food which we found in the inscribed burial-chambers, there are added pictures of personal equipment, and particularly weapons. Thus the same war-like atmosphere penetrates into the coffin paintings that we have found present in the funerary models or in such a wall scene as that with the warriors in the chapel of Khety at Assiut. Usually the offerings were placed in neat, horizontal registers, and these representations form a continuous orderly development from the wall paintings of the stone-lined or rock-cut burial-chambers to the Middle Kingdom coffin paintings where new elements begin to appear (magical texts and pictures of divine staffs and cult objects among the funerary equipment). There are a few barbaric exceptions to this prevailing order. The outer coffin of Heryshe-f-hetep at Abusir (*Priestergraber am Totentempel des Ne-user-ré*, pl. 6) shows such a rude drawing of the food offerings and so disorderly a composition that it is far more representative of Intermediate period style than are most of the other coffin drawings, which retain more of the conservative qualities

and some remnants of the good drawing of their Old Kingdom predecessors. Birds, cakes, and vegetables are scattered over the surface in a fashion very unlike the tidy arrangement dear to the Egyptian draughtsman. In comparison one can only think of the studied disarray sometimes found in the composition of Roman floor mosaics. The man who drew these clumsy food-pieces was concerned, however, simply in fitting each figure into the empty space left by the outlines of the neighbouring objects. The weapons and furniture are better aligned. Characteristic of the times are the mirror in the skin case, the awkward lion-headed bed, the bull's-hide shields and arrows in their quiver, and the coarse wavy bands and blotches of black and yellow ochre to indicate wood graining.

The rare figure compositions of the painted coffins from Gebelein, Mialla, and Assiut are more important as representing a crude style similar to the chapel paintings of Upper Egypt. The forms of the human figure are rudimentary. The outline of the face recedes into small, pursed up lips without inner drawing, the eyes are over large and almond-shaped, while the nose is sharp and snout-like. The breasts are crudely drawn, and the hands and feet, at the ends of thin limbs, are summarily indicated. A panel in Cairo from Mialla (across the river from Gebelein), belonging to a person named Seny (No. 28116, Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, pl. VI), shows the dead man lying on a bed with mourning attendant (Fig. 167).<sup>1</sup> Another coffin panel from Gebelein, in the Berlin Museum, represents a lady at her toilet, seated on a stool blotched to imitate wood graining, holding a mirror. A small squatting figure set on a higher level behind her arranges her hair,<sup>2</sup> while a second female figure presents a cup of drink apparently taken from the offerings on a clumsy stand in front of the owner (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 85). A very similar representation occurs on a crudely incised flake of limestone purchased many years ago in Luxor (H.U.B.M.F.A. Expedition, Photo. No. B 9865). Here the woman is shown the same size as her attendants, too small for her chair, with her feet dangling in the air. A male attendant presents a large offering-jar, while another takes a goose from a pile of offerings. Standing figures of man and wife, accompanied by a son and two attendants, appear on another rudely inscribed coffin from Gebelein in Cairo, belonging to a man named Yeny (No. 28033, Lacau, *Sarcophages*). The man is smelling a lotus while his wife holds a flower in her hand. A smaller figure of a son faces them, followed by two offering-bearers, one with a bag and the second with geese. Offerings on a stand and a large false-door complete the three decorated panels on that side of the coffin, but the other side has three similar painted panels. In one, two figures lean over, straining beer into jars. The central panel is damaged, while that at the right end has two spotted bulls with their legs drawn together. These odd creatures are an example of the limit to which cursory drawing could go. Another coffin of Iby (No. 28115) from Gebelein appears to have had only pictures of offerings on the outer faces.

The coffin of Khuw (No. 36445) from Assiut,<sup>3</sup> now in Cairo, has an unusual scene on one face. Against the yellow ochre panel, flanked by crudely drawn blue-painted inscriptions, is a gay little group painted in red, white, and black showing a man holding a small baton with a human hand on one end and leading a black and white hound on a leash. The dog is labelled *Mnīw-pw*. The representation is strikingly similar to that suggested in the restoration of the block from Giza with the inscription of the dog, Abuw-tiyuw, which was honoured before the king (Reisner, *M.F.A. Bulletin*, vol. XXXIV, No.

<sup>1</sup> A similar scene with the dead man lying on a bed appears on the south wall of a small unpublished chapel at Mialla of the First Intermediate period (or Dyn. XI) belonging to a man named . . . hetep and his wife Intef-s. To be compared with this is the coffin painting of Henuy in Berlin (Steindorff, *Gräbunde des Mittelren Reiches*, II, pl. III) where a man lies on a bed with a prostrate figure of a woman above him and women standing at the ends of the bed. Very similar is the group on a

British Museum stela, a detail of which is reproduced in Fig. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Very like this is the attendant arranging the hair of her mistress on the west wall of the chapel of . . . hetep at Mialla. It is interesting to find this similarity of detail between the coffin paintings and chapel decoration of two sites in the same district.

<sup>3</sup> Tomb No. 8; Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiut*, pl. XXIX.

206, p. 97). From another coffin found in tomb 15 is a panel with a ludicrously drawn figure holding up a pair of geese in his right hand and stretching forward a haunch of beef held by the hoof (Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX). Similar odd little figures that have at the same time a certain simple vigour are found on the coffin of Wepwawt-m-hat at Assiut (*l.c.*, pls. XXXVII-XXXIX). A big-eyed, stiffly drawn woman smelling a lotus appears on one side amid a litter of food offerings and mirrors in cases. On the other side, accompanied by lists of offerings, sandals, round balls of linen stuffs, and an animal head, are found a man playing a harp and another crudely drawn attendant urging forward an ibex (the animal is represented with the same elementary simplicity of line that we have seen in the case of the bulls on the Gebelein panel).

An interesting parallel to the coffin paintings is a painted board found in the burial-chamber of a woman named Mery at Deshasheh (*Deshasheh*, p. 20, pl. XXVII). On this was a series of crudely drawn cooking scenes: a man holding a spitted goose over a brazier, women straining beer and baking cakes, accompanied by a slaughter scene. There were also two boats and men carrying jars and baskets slung on yokes. Incongruously placed in the midst of these figures were two broad bead collars. Petrie suggested that this board was intended to serve as a substitute for wooden model servant figures. As these themselves were a substitute for the reliefs in the chapel, it matters little whether this small painting was a direct imitation of chapel decoration or a substitute for it once removed. Inside the coffin of Mery was a simple decoration with granaries at one end and jars of oil and ointment at the other. Jewellery and linen (?) placed on stands were on one of the long sides. The coffin was incompletely preserved. The type seems simpler and earlier than the Heracleopolitan coffins referred to above and is perhaps as early as the end of Dyn. VI.

Very similar to the figure groups on coffins are the paintings on the outside of a pottery model granary published by Blackman (*J.E.L.*, VI, p. 206), which he would date to Dyn. XII. The figures are very crude, but have an engaging liveliness. Particularly interesting is the side which shows two men seated playing draughts, while a very summarily drawn female fans them with a bird's wing, all the while balancing a jar on the palm of her other hand. The attitude of these two seated figures with their wide-spread legs, seen from the front, is extremely rare at any period of Egyptian art (Fig. 200), but three almost identical seated figures (scribes (?)) appear in one of the Turin paintings from Gebelein. The granary is a curious mingling of a form characteristic of the wooden funerary models and a decoration proper to the painted walls of a chapel.

The painted coffin panels are as far removed in style and workmanship from the meticulously correct drawing of the painted Bersheh coffins, with their beautifully drawn hieroglyphs and offering lists, or from the sunk relief figure compositions on the outer faces of the queens' limestone coffins from Deir el Bahari, as are the Naga-ed-Dêr stelae from the temple reliefs of Dyn. XI. Curiously enough though, the paintings on the inside of one of these same coffins of queens (Aashaït, *Bull. Met. Mus.*, November, 1921, p. 43) do not show much advance over the work of the Intermediate period, nor do the paintings in the burial-chamber of another queen (Kemsit, Naville, *Deir el Bahari* III, pls. II-III). The same contrast between excellent carving outside and rough painting inside is to be found in the Cairo coffin of Daga. The Dyn. XI chapel paintings from Gebelein (now in Turin), those of two tombs at Miälla, and in two Dyn. XII tombs at Hierakonpolis reflect the earlier style. At Thebes, the walls of the large chapel of a man named Djar were roughly daubed by one of the last of the local country painters (*Bull. Met. Mus.*, March, 1932, p. 32) at a time when King Menthu-hotep, Queen Neferuw, Khety, Daga, and Meket-ra were employing sculptors of great ability to decorate their chapels.

These paintings, although some of them are contemporary with or later in time than more advanced

work, vividly represent in style the point of transition between the old and the new, where some of the new strength has already commenced its work of transforming the old worn-out forms. The picture can be rounded out a little more fully by considering the sunk reliefs at Assiut in the tomb of Khety (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 15), the stela of Prince Intef in Cairo (No. 20.009),<sup>1</sup> and a number of private stelae. These are Berlin, No. 14.383 (Müller, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII), and British Museum, Nos. 1486, 1203 (Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. VII, mention of Menthu-hotep I), 614 (Budge, *l.c.*, pl. VIII, mention of Intef I), and 1372; the Cairo stela 20543 (mention of a queen thought to be wife of Intef I; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XV) and the two crude stelae of Zari (Petrie, *Qurneh*, pls. II-III), who refers to the boundaries of the kingdom of Intef I and the fighting with the house of Khety. The more developed royal work includes the relief of Intef with his dogs in the Cairo Museum (Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, II, pl. 139) and the reliefs in the chapels of the Queens of Menthu-hotep II at Deir el Bahari. A private stela in Cairo, No. <sup>3 6</sup>/<sub>25 12</sub> resembles these last in style. The paintings of the late Intermediate period and the royal sculptures of Early Dyn. XI were to form the basis for the Theban style in Dyn. XI when a renewed ability in craftsmanship was stimulated by the new strength of the monarchy. This is exemplified first in the bold reliefs of Deir el Bahari and then in the exquisite low reliefs of the later Menthu-hoteps at Tod and Erment. Scharff has remarked in his illuminating study, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für Merikare*, pp. 48 ff., that the art of Upper Egypt, for which Thebes formed the centre, stands forth as something new and different from the Heracleopolitan work which had held on tenaciously to the Old Kingdom forms. In Dyn. XII, when the court was again moved to the north, the influence of Memphite art became strong once more. New Kingdom art later, like that of Dyn. XI, seems to have grown out of the inspiration of the Theban craftsmen.

It should be remembered, however, that the style of the Intermediate period ranged throughout Middle and Upper Egypt. For example, we find coffin paintings at Assiut resembling those of Gebelein. It must be admitted, though, that the sunk reliefs of the chapel of Khety at Assiut (dated certainly by the inscription referring to Merikara) and the paintings and inscriptions of the neighbouring tomb of Tef-ib show scarcely a trace of the 'Intermediate Style'. The large figures of Khety and the long rows of soldiers in his tomb are in neatly carved sunk relief resembling Dyn. XI work. The hieroglyphs of the inscriptions in this chapel and in that of Tef-ib are well cut and show none of the bizarre forms such as one finds on the Akhmim coffins, the Denderah stelae, or the Mialla chapel of Ankhtifnecht. The large figure of Tef-ib on the north wall of his chapel is well drawn and the painted hieroglyphs of the accompanying inscription are carefully detailed.<sup>2</sup> A very fragmentary procession of men on the south wall, including a man in an orange loin-cloth with blue spots and another leading a panther (?) on a leash, is delicately executed and seems to have nothing to distinguish it from good Middle Kingdom work. On the other hand, there is a dearth of material in painting and relief to illustrate the Old Kingdom influence upon the art of Heracleopolis. We must bear in mind that our evidence for the workmanship of Dyn. VII-X is fragmentary, sometimes contradictory as in the case of the Assiut tombs mentioned above, and poorly aligned chronologically. To be taken into consideration are the regional differences existing in the private work of Dyn. XI and XII (dependent, probably, to a certain extent upon the existence of Old Kingdom monuments in the neighbourhood, as at Meir). Nevertheless we must accept the theory of the Upper Egyptian source of the art of Dyn. XI and attribute to Thebes the vital force which shaped the new art, as it was Thebes which provided the physical force to build up a new kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts*, Band IV, Bl. XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> Note in the word *nḥḥ* the playful use of the *ḥ*-rope on the neck of the bird in place of the usual tuft on his breast, a

characteristic Middle Kingdom touch. The paintings in the chapel of Tef-ib are an alteration but appear to be only slightly later than the incised inscription on the north wall.

The paintings from the Dyn. XI tomb of Itety at Gebelein, which are now in Turin (Farina, *La Pittura Egiziana*, pls. XVIII–XX), are illustrative of the rude vigour which was latent in the work of the Intermediate period before it had been disciplined by the renewed craftsmanship of Thebes. Harsh colour, misshapen forms in which liberties are taken with anatomy, clumsy outlines, and badly composed wall surfaces survive from the earlier crude carvings and paintings. There is evident, however, a new strength of line, the firmness and bold individuality of a new art that was beginning to feel its way toward greatness. Much of the subject-matter is taken over from the Old Kingdom and resemblances can be noted to the wooden funerary models, but there are new elements such as the soldiers with bull's-hide shields (found, however, in the models), the negro<sup>1</sup> crouching in an attitude which we know first in the figures of Middle Kingdom warriors, and above all the light-skinned overseer with his rolls of fat with whom we are familiar in the Beni Hasan paintings. Other typical features, the elaborate representation of granaries, the funeral scene, and the fighting bulls, had been introduced toward the end of the Old Kingdom and formed an important part of the scenic equipment of the provincial tombs.

Across the river from Gebelein at Mialla are two other chapels, as yet unpublished (Vandier is preparing a publication of that of Ankhtifnekht), which bear a striking relationship to the paintings of Itety and to the decorated coffins from Mialla and Gebelein. In both these chapels there is a minimum of crude relief like that of Khnum-khuwen at Assuan or the Naga-ed-Dêr stelae, and a preponderance of painted surfaces (laid upon a layer of mud plaster in Ankhtifnekht and upon the rock wall in . . . hetep). Of the two tombs, that of Ankhtifnekht, who was Great Chieftain of the Nomes of Edfu and El Kab, seems to be the earlier in style. The paintings have a certain bizarre freshness which appears to have crystallized into a more formal pattern in the chapel of . . . hetep. While the forms of the hieroglyphs of Ankhtifnekht are reminiscent of the odd shapes on the Akhmim coffins and the Denderah stelae, the stiff row of animals in the hunting scene of . . . hetep, with its figures shooting with bow and arrow, suggests more one of the early Beni Hasan chapels.

Like the paintings of Itety, the large swamp scene on the west wall of the chapel of Ankhtifnekht, with its angular outlines and strident colouring (predominantly red and green with subordinate notes of yellow, black, and white), produces a vivid impression. On other walls appear a bright pink (used once strikingly with yellow in the markings of a cow), a deeper red verging on magenta, and a pinkish grey that ranges from lavender to a deep purplish colour (for the coats of the donkeys). These odd tones, like the bright pink desert animals in the neighbouring tomb of . . . hetep and the pinkish-grey donkeys of Pepy-ankh-her-ib at Meir present a strong contrast to the colour scheme with which we are familiar in the Old Kingdom, and to the more restrained palette of Dyns. XI and XII. The rock chamber itself is rather roughly cut with an uneven number of columns on each side of the hall, placed irregularly in relation to one another and varying from six-sided forms to roughly elliptical or round shafts. These columns are indiscriminately decorated with figures in relief, sunk relief inscriptions, and paintings.

In the swamp scene the owner, accompanied by his family, spears gaily coloured fish with a harpoon, while in his right hand he holds the wooden frame of a reel, the cord of which is attached to the point of the harpoon.<sup>2</sup> In front of the owner's boat a group of men pull up a fish net. One man dives down to loosen the net, disappearing almost to his waist.<sup>3</sup> Another amusing detail is the huge pike that shoots

<sup>1</sup> A black-skinned standing figure with a bow is found on one of the columns of the chapel of Ankhtifnekht at Mialla.

<sup>2</sup> A similar reel, not in use, is held in the hand of an attendant in the chapel of Khnum-hotep (Newberry, *Ben*

*Hasan*, IV, pl. XIII; I, pl. XXXIV).

<sup>3</sup> Compare the diving man in the Theban tomb of Djar (see p. 234) and the men in the water in a tomb at Hierakonpolis (see p. 234).

downward through the water to seize a smaller fish. Behind the owner are small boats being paddled, and a badly destroyed boat of different type with a cabin(?) covered with chequer patterns and with one of the large bull's-hide shields such as we find in the wooden boat models. On the adjoining wall surface Ankhtifnekht hunts birds in a boat punted by an exaggeratedly slender figure, beside an oddly formalized papyrus thicket. The narrow thickness between this projecting wall surface and the fishing scene is filled with a vertical line of very decorative, stylized geese.

The west wall, north of the entrance, shows traces of a procession of cattle. The north wall has what appears to be a craftwork scene and men carrying bags of grain to a granary (?). On the east wall four registers of men with bows and arrows proceed towards the owner who is accompanied by two female figures that sit facing him. Beneath the whole scene is a well-preserved register of loaded donkeys that resemble somewhat the pack-animal accompanying the Bedouins at Beni Hasan (Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. XI). To the south of a broken space in the wall facing the entrance, which is adjoined by a small relief panel of the owner and his wife seated, is a further procession of animals—cattle and donkeys. The former are spotted with deep red and pink and yellow while the donkeys are lavender-coloured. One donkey rolls on his back with his legs in the air as at Beni Hasan (Newberry, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. XXX) and in the Dyn. XIX reliefs at the Ramesseum (Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 224). The south wall is destroyed.

The columns, in addition to important inscriptions which contain some curious forms of hieroglyphs, have many of them been decorated with paintings. One in the north half of the hall has registers of craftwork scenes. Others have processions of offering-bearers and cattle. Two in the southern half of the room show traces of hunting scenes, while one is encircled by a procession of women, a familiar Middle Kingdom *motif*. Another has two purplish animals drawing a plough. Because of their ears and the young animal in front of them these must be identified as donkeys and not the usual oxen. Another purple donkey rolls upon its back in a register below.

I have referred above to the resemblance between the paintings in the chapel of . . . hetep and the coffin panels from Gebelein and Mialla. In addition to large figures of the owner and his wife (they alone are carved in rough relief, the rest is painted) facing the figure on a bed with mourning figures, the south wall also shows a summarily executed craftwork scene in the lowest register. On the west wall the wife, attended by a maid who arranges her hair, receives a procession of women. Below, men carrying large sacks climb the steps of a granary. North of the entrance is a seated man presented with a haunch of beef and in front of him a stand containing jars. The badly damaged north wall preserves only traces of two long inscriptions and part of a ploughing scene and the tending of cattle (man milking a cow while her calf is tethered nearby, &c.). On the east wall, in front of large figures of the owner, his wife, and family (or attendants), there are three registers of offering-bearers, presentation of animals, and slaughter scenes. In addition, one register contains a row of goats approaching a tree which is curiously painted with wavy green bands reaching from branch to branch to represent the foliage, and clusters of fruit (?) pendant from the outer tips of the branches.

Above the whole wall runs a register of hunting wild animals in the desert. At each end of the wall and about in the middle squats a huntsman shooting with bow and arrow (as at Deir el Gebrawi). The game is stiffly represented in a long row much as in the Beni Hasan tombs, although here instead of being represented singly most of the animals are shown three at a time overlapping each other. The colours are bright—pink, yellow, red, white, and black. Above the main register, a red and white spotted hound and a black and white dog with a green ribbon around his neck each pursues a yellow hare. In contrast to the desert animals below, whose feet are firmly planted on the ground, the legs of



the dogs and rabbits are spread forward and behind as far as they can stretch. Surely this is one of the earliest uses of the 'flying gallop' attitude.

Two small chapels at Hierakonpolis have hitherto been considered as belonging to the end of Dyn. VI, but although they are typical examples of the style that we have considered representative of the Intermediate period, the recent excavations of the Metropolitan Museum have proved that they are provincial tombs of Dyn. XII. Mr. Lansing (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, Nov., 1935, p. 37) found a stela belonging to one of these, the tomb of Hor-m-khauw-f, which is obviously Middle Kingdom in style and which mentions the transport of the sacred statues from Nekhen to Ith Towe (Lisht). The ceiling paintings of this tomb, quatrefoils set in squares of alternating colours, had already provided a warning that a Middle Kingdom element was present in the decoration (Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pls. 42, 43). The larger and better-decorated tomb which belonged to Pepy-men opened on the same court as the other, and since the whole neighbourhood produced nothing but Middle Kingdom objects, it would seem, therefore, to be of the same period. The painter in this last tomb took great pains to draw small details, such as the graining of the wooden boats in the funeral scene, and seems to have had an original turn of mind as well as an observing eye. His treatment of the men who have jumped out of the boats to help push them (Fig. 230) is more life-like than the better drawn similar attempt to show such an action in the chapel of Mereruwka at Saqqarah (Fig. 166). While the men in the latter tomb lie flat on the surface, these figures are shown with their bodies half hidden in the water. This is a fact of space relationship seldom admitted by the Egyptian artist. An even more remarkable observation is that in the scene of the cattle crossing a pond, where a calf seems to be shown descending from the bank with the front part of its body disappearing in the water (Fig. 230).

Something of this same ingenuity is to be found in the clumsy drawings, filled in with broad smears of colour, in the tomb of Djar at Thebes. Note, for example, the unusual *motif* of the man who has dived beneath the water to adjust the weights on the fish net (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, March 1932, p. 29) or the lively group attempting to throw down the bull for slaughter (fig. 29, p. 28). But the ability to execute his ideas was far behind the inventiveness of the artist. No more blundering attempt can be imagined than the confusion of the legs of a pair of oxen drawing a plough (fig. 28, p. 27) or the clumsy figure of the ass-herd (fig. 27) or the women cooking (fig. 26). It seems almost impossible that these paintings can be contemporary with the smoothly finished sculpture of Queen Neferuw (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, Dec. 1924, p. 13), or the magnificent reliefs with which Menthu-hotep was ornamenting the temple of Deir el Bahari. It has been observed above, however, that while the outside of the sarcophagus of Queen Aashaït was decorated with sunk reliefs of great distinction, the paintings on the inside of the coffin are quite crude, and the same discrepancy is to be found when the paintings in the neighbouring burial-chamber of Queen Kemsit are compared to the carvings of her sarcophagus or shrine. A less sharp contrast is to be found between the interior paintings of the coffin of Daga (Cairo Museum) and the well-cut inscriptions on the outside, or the fine reliefs in the chapel of the tomb from which this coffin came,<sup>1</sup> but there is a marked difference between the beautiful fragments of relief from the chapel of Queen Neferuw and the paintings in her burial-chamber.

### c. Comparison between the Styles of the Old and Middle Kingdoms

The Theban royal reliefs of Dyn. XI have little in common with those of the Old Kingdom. Their style is founded on that of the Intermediate period carvings and paintings of Middle and Upper Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> Actually the coffin belonged to a man named Daga with titles differing from those of the owner of the chapel. The two men must have been related and seem to have been contemporaries, as they both appear in the reliefs of the Menthu-hotep temple at Deir el Bahari.

The stela of Prince Intef, Cairo No. 20.009, sets a precedent in its co-ordination of sunk relief, which is beginning to show a slight improvement in workmanship over its crude predecessors, and a perfectly flat relief upon which simple details are indicated in paint. The arrangement of the figures and inscriptions—the prince seated in a kiosk receiving food-offerings and the accompanying presentation of animals and slaughter scene—is characteristic of the earlier stelae with only a slight elaboration. The *motif* of the servant presenting a bowl is the common one already well known, but another man holds a fan made from the wing of a bird, which anticipates a similar element on the coffins of the princesses at Deir el Bahari. With the large relief of King Intef and the dogs, the reliefs of the queens' chapels and coffins, the Denderah chapel (in Cairo, Daressy, *Annales*, XVII, p. 226), and the Gebelein reliefs (Cairo) of the reign of Menthu-hotep II, a very distinctive style has been evolved, as well as a masterly technique in the working of sunk reliefs on the coffins. Characteristic of this style is a mixture of high relief and sunk relief, or incised inscriptions. Bold carving is combined with tight, cramped drawing. Flat surfaces heavily rounded to the background with a minute, rather fussy rendering of details, wigs, necklaces, &c., appear at the same time as delicately modelled sunk relief surfaces set within sharp-edged outlines. New proportions, based on the slender statuettes and spare forms of the Intermediate period paintings, have become fixed. Tall, slim figures with rather small heads and bodies too long from feet to waist are the fashion. The faces are distinctive, although the impression they create is hard to put into words. It is caused by a conventional rendering of the long, narrow eye, the nostril and lips high in relief, and a deep line curving down from the base of the nose to the corners of the mouth.

A relief from Gebelein in Cairo of the reign of Menthu-hotep II (Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 33 A a, showing only the lower part of the piece) and two other similar fragments exhibited beside this piece in the Cairo Museum (*l.c.*, pl. 33 A b, 77 a) which come from the same temple, present a style of their own. They are in very low relief with simple modelling and curious inequalities of drawing. Thus, below a large standing figure of the king with collars and an offering-stand, there is a little subsidiary scene where the king is shown slaying captives. The figure of the king is actually smaller than the largest of the four squatting captives on the left, but the two other men are graduated down to correspond in size to the figure of the king. This was badly estimated and the head of the captive seized by Menthu-hotep had to be forced down on his chest in order to bring his hair to the right height for the king's hand. On the second fragment the king wears a white crown with a patterned band as in the queens' chapels. He is accompanied by standards. An odd detail is the fish emblem which lies along the thigh of the prostrate captive seized by the king on the third fragment. Similar inequalities in grouping and inexperienced drawing of the human figures are to be found in the Denderah shrine. But this last is in the bold relief of the queens' chapels. A point to be noted is the considerable inequality of surface both in the background and in the plane of relief.

It remained for the sculptors of the reign of Menthu-hotep III to give breadth to this style in the wonderful reliefs of the king's terraced temple at Deir el Bahari. The figures are conceived in broad masses in fairly low relief, differentiated from Old Kingdom drawing, especially in the simplicity of the wide sweeping lines which indicate the forms in masterly fashion without recourse to minor detailed digressions. The proportions of the human figure are less exaggerated than in the work of the preceding reign. The work can be seen at its best in the fragment at Geneva of a man carrying a bundle of reeds (Capart, *Documents*, I, pl. 27), in the fragments from the hunting scene in Brussels (Naville, *l.c.*, vol. I, pl. XVI), and in the fighting warriors and prisoners in the British Museum (*l.c.*, vol. I, pls. XIV, XV; vol. III, pls. XIII, XIV). The introduction of battle scenes, a precedent for such private representations as those at Beni Hasan, is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. The hunting scene follows Old

Kingdom models. Mlle Werbrouck has recently made a new study of these beautiful fragments ('La décoration murale du Temple des Mentouhotep', *Bull. des Mus. Roy. d'Art et d'Histoire*, Bruxelles, 3rd series, 9 (1937), pp. 36-44).

In the reign of Se-ankh-kara, there was developed an even more accomplished technique. The reliefs of this king at Tod and Erment are in very delicate low relief that has a finish almost equalling the best low relief of Dyn. IV. The figure of Khnum on block No. 66336 from Tod in Cairo is comparable to the Giza reliefs of Ankh-haf, Hemyuwnuw, or Merytyetes. The horizontal and vertical inner lines of the hieroglyphs are not quite as straight as they would have been in the Old Kingdom and the background is more uneven. A similarly fine type of sunk relief was also employed at the same time. Blocks from Tod are at present in Cairo, and a number of reliefs of this reign have been found at Erment, one of which is in Brooklyn from the collection of the New York Historical Society. A block in Cairo (No. 329) from Elephantine (*Recueil de Travaux*, XXXI, p. 64) resembles the reliefs from the Theban district. Certain of these blocks (No. 66333 in low relief, a piece in sunk relief, and the Elephantine block) show a nervous, crisp quality of line. Particularly in the drawing of the hieroglyphs the outline twists into sharp little quirks.

After the advanced workmanship which is shown in the reliefs of the end of Dyn. XI, there were few new contributions that could be made by the sculptors of Dyn. XII. The temple reliefs of this succeeding period continued to maintain the high standard set for them both in relief and in sunk relief. A large part of this sculpture was executed in the decoration of temples and funerary monuments in the Memphite area, and we find that Old Kingdom influences came largely into play again as they did in some of the private reliefs and paintings of Upper Egypt. The royal relief sculpture of Dyn. XII as a whole is more conventional, following a classical tradition, and lacks a certain piquant individuality which characterizes the Theban school of Dyn. XI.<sup>1</sup> In the royal and private work of Dyn. XII we find the last direct influence of Old Kingdom art until the conscientious imitation of Saïte revivalists. The art of the New Kingdom appears to have sprung from Theban sources and is indebted only indirectly to the Memphite school.

It seems advisable to consider very briefly the private reliefs and paintings of the Middle Kingdom (largely of Dyn. XII) as has been done with the royal sculpture, in order to point the contrast between these and the Old Kingdom work, which is the proper field of this study. It is important to note the lasting qualities of Old Kingdom art and the value of its direct contribution to the new monarchy, which arose from the confusion of the Intermediate period, as well as its indirect contribution to later Egyptian art. Characteristic of Dyn. XI and XII is a marked localism in art, corresponding to the various great feudal districts of the country, each of which seems to have patronized its own school of craftsmen. We have seen what the bucolic Theban school had been producing in the Intermediate period in tomb No. 186 at Luxor and in the tomb of Djar, where it seems to be represented in its expiring phase, already displaced by the more accomplished craftsmen of the royal workshops. We have seen that this local school, representing as it did a style which was current throughout Upper and Middle Egypt, had a strong influence upon the official art of Dyn. XI, and naturally the court followed the lead of the king in decorating their mortuary chapels. Almost nothing was left of the Chancellor Khety's reliefs. Two fragments (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, Dec. 1923, part II, p. 17, figs. 8, 10) suggest that there was a mixture of relief work and scenes in sunk relief similar to that of the shrines of the queens. A piece of a hunting

<sup>1</sup> While this is true of certain of the reliefs of Sesostri I, such as those on the shrine recently restored at Karnak, the Karnak column in Cairo (Maspero, *Guide* (1915), p. 99) and the thrones of the limestone statues from Lisht (Cpart,

*Documents*, II, pls. 40, 41), it is certainly an unfair estimate of the magnificent reliefs of that king in the Metropolitan Museum or in Cairo (Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, pl. 47) which show a variety of style and extraordinary freshness and individuality.

scene shows the desert animals set along wavy base-lines such as are known at Meir but which were discarded for the old-fashioned horizontal registers of animals with their feet squarely on the ground in the temple reliefs of Menthu-hotep III. An elaborately decorated burial-chamber with representations like those on the Heracleopolitan coffins occurred in this tomb as well as in that of Queen Neferuw. The reliefs of that queen were badly smashed, but the procession of women each holding or touching the hanging hand of her neighbour shows how attractive the bold relief in this tomb must have been (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, 1924, part II, fig. 10). Another fragment of the bold relief of Queen Neferuw is in the Cairo Museum (No. 49927). A man and a woman (with elaborately braided hair) are carrying a large vessel in a rope sling. Another woman bearing a tray precedes them. The large, smooth, rounded surfaces of the relief on these fragments contrast pleasingly with the delicate detail of the ornaments and hair. The same beauty of outline that one feels in the Deir el Bahari reliefs of Menthu-hotep III is apparent in these also. Characteristically employed at the same time as the bold profile of these carvings were sunk reliefs, of which a painted fragment in Cairo (No. 49926) showing the personification of summer (*šmw*) with bundles of sheaves is an example. The *motif* of a row of women is repeated again in paint in the chapel of Heqa-ib (No. 2) at Assuan (De Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, pp. 143 ff.), and in a relief of similar type at Bersheh showing the daughters of Djehuwty-hotep. The pose is different in the last, some of the girls holding up a lotus to smell and the others not actually touching each other, but the same impression of a frieze of women is obtained (Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. XXIX). The reliefs of Meket-ra, from whose tomb came the splendid series of wooden funerary models, were almost completely destroyed. Some small fragments of painted hieroglyphs in Cairo, presumably from this tomb, show a beauty of colour and a fineness of detail unsurpassed in the Middle Kingdom. The colour range is interesting, different from anything known in the Old Kingdom: brown, pale orange, light ochre (tan), yellow, grey-blue, white, and black. The background is grey and a curious detail is that the black signs, such as *pr*, are filled in with white to make them stand out, as is done against the brownish background of the wood in Middle Kingdom coffin paintings. The tomb is of the time of Se-ankh-kara, and we find the exquisite low relief echoing royal work.

The two best preserved Theban tombs of the Middle Kingdom are that of Daga of Dyn. XI (Menthu-hotep III) and that of Intef-ikr (Dyn. XII). The earlier chapel of Daga (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*) still retains a certain Old Kingdom flavour, while that of Intef-ikr (Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*), although painted at a time when Old Kingdom influences were pronounced at the court in Lower Egypt, seems a logical development from such Intermediate period paintings as those of Ankh-tifnekht at Mialla, and embodies all the characteristics that one would label 'Theban'. In the reliefs and paintings of Daga it is more in the selection of subject-matter that we feel Memphite influence. It must be admitted that this resemblance to the Old Kingdom tends to be slightly exaggerated in a line drawing. The large scale of the painted figures when actually seen on the walls, combined with the blue-painted inscriptions and the altered colour scheme, impresses one as thoroughly characteristic of Dyn. XI and unmistakably different from anything produced in the Old Kingdom. Such details as mat-making, grape-picking, and the watering of a garden distinctly betray their Memphite origin. Particularly close to its prototype is the scene of men in a papyrus boat ferrying the cattle across a swamp, with the little calf dragged ahead and the crocodile in wait. The characteristically Middle Kingdom representation of spinning and weaving occurs, however, among the older scenes. In the fragmentary carvings from the stone-lined central corridor the figures are on a smaller scale than in the paintings. The relief is low with fine modelling and the coloured detail delicate. One fragment, showing a winged sun-disk, is reminiscent of similar workmanship in the reliefs of the nearby Menthu-hotep temple.

There is a different spirit in the tomb of Intef-ikr, although a certain borrowing of subject-matter from the older period can be recognized. The drawing is marked by a kind of baldness of treatment, a reliance upon large simple masses. The outline of the face emphasizes a large nose and slurs over lips and chin. The eyes are big and prominent. In addition to the introduction of elaborate new details in the funeral scene, we have here the first representation in a private tomb of the king seated on a throne (Sesotris I). More important is the abandoning of the old system of evenly distributed registers of approximately the same size. The subsidiary figures also show a considerable variation in size. On one wall, for example, is a register of ploughing with, above it, figures on a large scale closing a bird-trap beside a great clump of papyrus. The fishing scene is reduced to the same size as the bird-trap itself. The winnowing scene, the cattle treading the grain, and the cutting of the grain are shown in small groups placed one above the other instead of being spaced out throughout a long register. The Beni Hasan tombs show a tendency in this direction by placing small figures of the owner of the tomb amongst the subsidiary figures, seated watching craftwork scenes, carried in a chair, joining in the hunt, or pulling the cord of the bird-trap.

The paintings in the chapels at Assuan and Beni Hasan resemble each other to a certain extent in style and in the choice of subject-matter, and the reliefs at Bersheh, although based more closely on older models and employing a type of relief akin to the Theban carvings, have many elements in common with these tombs. The Meir reliefs, although they bear a certain resemblance to the other private tombs, and show a realism in the treatment of the human figure which is consistent with the times, are largely the outgrowth of Memphite originals. The reliefs of Qau el Kebir, in their accomplished drawing, beautiful finish, and originality of subject-matter and decorative detail, stand apart from the others in style. Thus, though there are certain characteristics common to the private tombs at all sites, which give them an unmistakable quality recognizable as belonging to the Middle Kingdom, there is a variety of style from place to place which was unheard of in the Old Kingdom, when one style, that of Memphis, prevailed everywhere, varying only in the quality of workmanship.

In the paintings of Beni Hasan we seem to have the products of a local school with a leaning toward naturalism and originality. Their work shows what artists could do who were not afraid to attempt innovations and yet did not have a background of long built-up technical knowledge to warn them which of their experiments were certain to end in failure. Unfortunately, in trying to draw figures in action, always difficult for the Egyptian, the draughtsman adopted the old makeshift of folding over the shoulders. This convention, which had always been avoided as much as possible by the best craftsmen, became the stock-in-trade of the Beni Hasan painter. Occasionally he almost solved his problem, as in the back view of the man attempting to force down an oryx (Fig. 172). Seldom does the painter escape from a kind of inherent awkwardness, the same harshness of form which we found in the tomb of Intef-ikr and which is a salient characteristic of many manifestations of Middle Kingdom art. No amount of careful drawing or elaboration of painted detail can conceal this quality, but the inventiveness of the draughtsman and the painstaking delineation lend a very real charm to some of the subsidiary groups, as well as providing an invaluable record for the student of the life of the period. The type of face used here is heavy, with a protruding nose and pursed-up lips, a sullen-looking profile peculiar to the site. A predilection for corpulent forms is also evident and a remarkable use of long registers of various kinds of birds and animals, real and mythical, each labelled with its name.

The painter followed Old Kingdom sources fairly closely in his agricultural scenes and in the swamp scene, with its paired figures with throwing-stick and fish-spear and the accompaniment of fighting boatmen, in the vintage, fig-picking, gardening, bird-trapping, fish-seining, and netting of small birds.

But the old subject-matter is constantly embellished with new details. The group of fullers, the goats eating leaves from a tree, the amplified herd inspection, and tending of cattle, as well as the funeral scene, are taken over from the Late Old Kingdom cycle of scenes. The lively dancers of the provincial tombs here become acrobatic dancers and tumblers; the wrestlers and boys' games find a new and

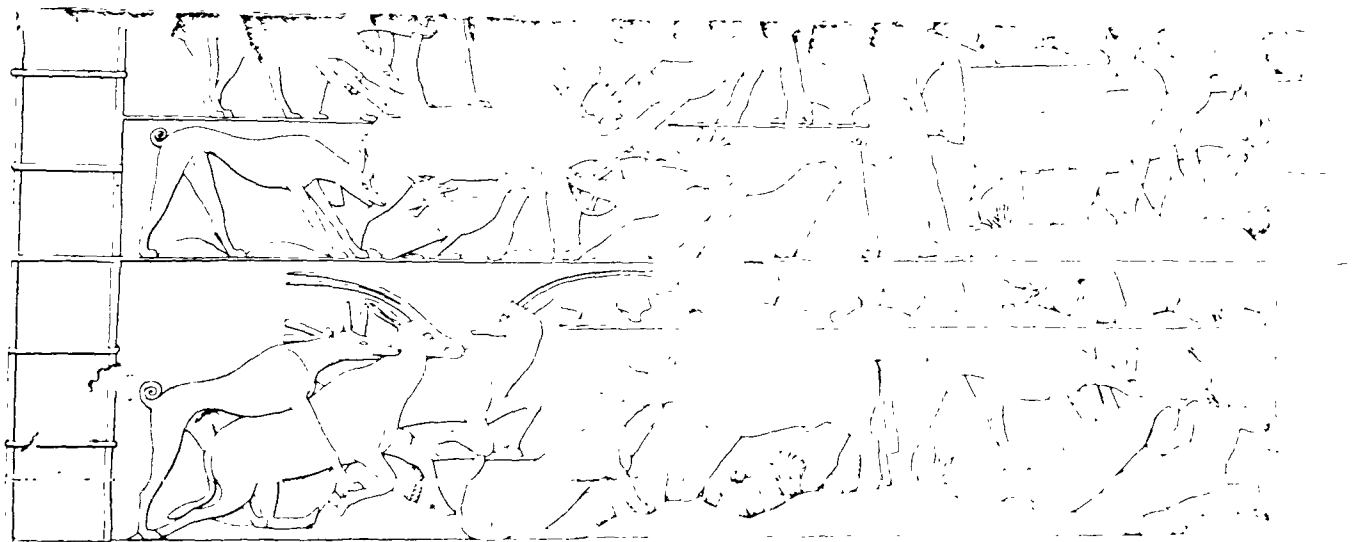


FIG. 92 *a*. Hunting scene in the chapel of Mereruka (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 25).



FIG. 92 *b*. Two figures of lions seizing gazelles from behind hunting net; chapel of Mereruka's son, Mery-Tety.

amplified treatment. The hunting scene receives the addition of a running man, but like that of Intef-ikr and Djehuwty-hotep is stiffly composed in comparison to the more realistic scene at Meir. The spinning and weaving scene, which has appeared in the tomb of Daga and is found again at Bersheh and Assuan, and in the wooden models of Heracleopolitan times, is added here to the older craftwork scenes.

Particularly characteristic of these chapels of the lords of the Oryx Nome are the battle scenes. These had begun to appear at the end of the Old Kingdom, and a fragment from Lisht and another from the Unas causeway suggest that they existed even earlier in the royal reliefs. A large space had been given to them in the reliefs of the temple of Menthu-hotep III. The Beni Hasan scenes present us with new types of figures in action: leaping and crouching figures (like the negro at Gebelein and the dancers at Meir), falling men and piles of slain, bowmen and combatants struggling hand to hand. The

introduction of a fortress with men on the walls and others on the ground below presented a new problem of space relationship, which is treated in the old-fashioned way by piling up registers of soldiers beside the wall of the fort, although the man squatting on the ground shooting an arrow at another warrior above on the wall is an unusual admission of differences in level. These representations of war are not known from any other site, except in the royal reliefs. They are reflected, however, in the attendants bristling with weapons who appear in all the private tombs, the shields, axes, and quivers full of arrows that appear among the personal equipment in all the coffin paintings. The model warriors in wood from the tomb of Meschet at Assiut in Cairo, and from a tomb at Bersheh in Boston, like the soldiers with shields on the wall of the early tomb at Assiut, similarly reflect the spirit of the times.



FIG. 92 c. Lion seizing gazelle, Ptah-hotep (*Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XI).

At Bersheh and Assuan we find a similar use of Old Kingdom material coupled with new elements. The tomb of Sa-renpuwt I at the latter site strongly resembles the Beni Hasan paintings in style and subject-matter. The men with the castanets known from the Hathor feast in a tomb at Meir and similar figures in the tomb of Intef-ikr appear again here, as does the washing of clothing, spinning, weaving, the granaries, and the procession of women like that in the tomb of Queen Neferuw. Very curious is the group of three figures seated on the ground who each hold up a hand partly closed but with the thumb and two fingers extended. They are probably singing as the other hand is held to the ear in the customary attitude (*Catalogue des Monuments*, I, p. 188). The tomb of Djehuwty-hotep at Bersheh repeats many of the Beni Hasan scenes and includes the mythical animals peculiar to that site. It introduces an unusual subject in the famous scene of the colossal statue being dragged from the quarry to a temple in the capital of the Hare Nome, and also a new representation of the purification of the owner of the tomb. The rather flat relief with a sharp edge and the proportions of the figures are not unlike the Theban reliefs of the reign of Menthu-hotep II. The drawing is excellent and the impression given is one of conservative good quality with fewer innovations than at Beni Hasan. A block in Cairo from this tomb ( $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$ ) with six columns of delicately painted hieroglyphic text shows the excellence of this neatly carved relief, which in its precision reminds one of the beautifully painted inscriptions of the Bersheh coffins of Dehwty-nekht in Boston.

Two chapels at Meir present us with a different and more experienced kind of realism than that found at Beni Hasan. The Meir craftsmen appear to have had to their advantage an inheritance from the long period of experiment and conventionalization that made up Old Kingdom art, most probably from the observation of the Old Kingdom chapels at Meir itself, or even by the importation of craftsmen from the court then resident in the Memphite region. The artist at Meir, apparently with as strong an urge toward naturalism, did not attempt the innovations of Beni Hasan which often led to comic results, but poured his new realism into old forms, modifying them only slightly and retaining the old restraint and beauty of line. The realistic details—the pot-bellied old man watching the construction of papyrus barks, the fat men carrying bundles of papyrus stalks (Fig. 172), the wounded hyena (Fig. 70), the emaciated herdsman, the wallowing hippopotamus—all have Old Kingdom embryos. Meir introduced a new background for the hunting scene (Fig. 94) in which wavy lines provide a base-line for the game

and form a new kind of desert setting. In the earlier representations, a subsidiary register with undulating upper line was occasionally introduced for small animals placed above the larger game, but this always had a straight base-line like the main registers (Fig. 92 *a, c*). As early as the chapel of Rahotep an occasional little hillock was inserted between the animals, and in Dyn. V an undulating upper surface was added to the base-line which sometimes, as in the chapel of Ra-m-ka, raised all the animals quite high above the base-line of each register. At Bersheh (Fig. 93) only the upper curving line of these registers remains, forming a kind of transition between the straight Old Kingdom base-line and the undulating curves which break up the surface of the whole wall at Meir. The animals here in the tomb of Senbi assume a more animated movement, as, for example, the beasts which run headlong down a slope, or others which rear up on their hind legs. These begin to suggest the wildly galloping game of the New Kingdom.

The drawing in these tombs is excellent, but the cutting of the reliefs varies in quality. The reliefs of Senbi (B 1) are almost indistinguishable in certain places from the reliefs of medium height of the Old Kingdom. Those of Ukh-hotep I (B 2), on the other hand, are some of them badly cut, the relief being achieved by an incision around the outlines of the figure and a slight gradation of the background to the depth of this incision, but only in the immediate neighbourhood of the figures. The northern wall, on the other hand, shows beautiful, very low relief of the finest quality. The reliefs of Ukh-hotep II (B 4) are largely cut in a plaster-sized surface and again resemble somewhat the older reliefs. They are embellished with painted detail of the most refined delicacy, differing considerably from Memphite work. Remarkable is the pattern of stars on the ceiling of the shrine. This is a type of decoration restricted to royal temples in the Old Kingdom, but it appears again in Dyn. XII on the ceiling of the entrance hall of Hefzefa at Assiut. In the chapel of Ukh-hotep III (C 1) the paintings present quite a different style. The clear pure tones, the use of pale pink and a bright, light blue contrasted with masses of red, white, yellow, green, and black, an unusual employment of pale green for transparent garments, the stippled gradation of tones, and the brilliant black and white false-door patterns of the dado produce a surprising richness of colouring. The use of yellow for the flesh-tones of male offering-bearers, and a refinement of drawing and individuality in the use of line give these paintings a special quality of their own. In the Meir tombs the proportions of the figures vary between Old and Middle Kingdom forms. Most of the subsidiary figures in the Senbi chapel and some of those in Ukh-hotep I differ little from those in Memphite tombs, but the majority of the figures in Ukh-hotep II and all those in Ukh-hotep III, like the large figures in Senbi and Ukh-hotep I, are of characteristic Middle Kingdom type.

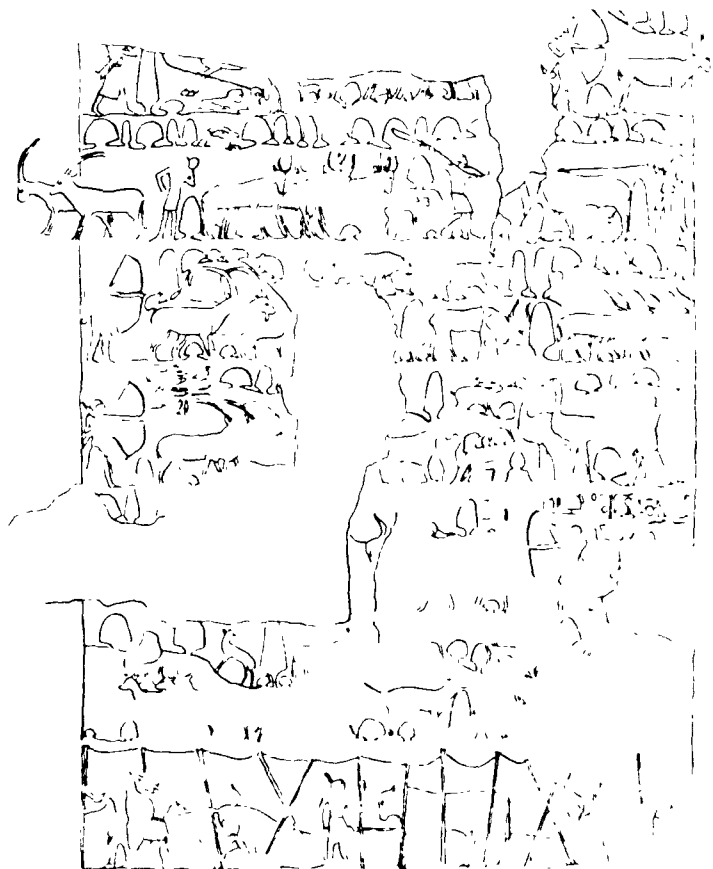


FIG. 93. Hunting scene in chapel of Dehuwty-hotep (Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. VII).



The architectural form of the tombs of Qau el Kebir seems to be based on the terraced temple of Menthu-hotep at Deir el Bahari rather than on the pyramid temple or mastaba chapel that came into use again in the Memphite region in Dyn. XII. Nor do these tombs resemble the other rock-cut tombs of Upper Egypt. This Upper Egyptian type apparently survived as a prototype for the great terraced building of Hatshepsut in Dyn. XVIII, just as the Theban style in sculpture and painting, rather than the Memphite, provided the inspiration for the painting and sculpture of the New Kingdom. The Qau reliefs, on the other hand, follow the traditional form then in vogue at the court. Technically they are the finest private reliefs of the Middle Kingdom (see, for example, the beautiful woman's head in Turin from the chapel of Ibw, Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber von Qâw*, pl. 15). They are very low and

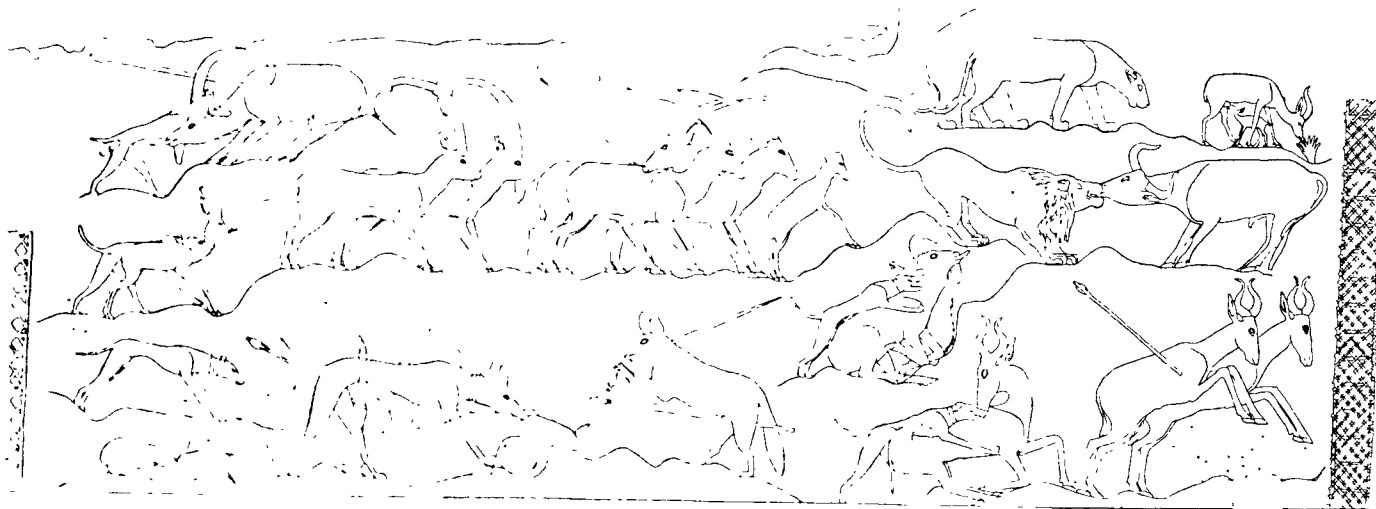


FIG. 94. Hunting scene in chapel of Senbi (*Meir*, I, pl. VIII).

fall little short of the quality of the Se-ankh-kara blocks from Tod and Erment, or the best royal work of Dyn. XII. Proportions of figures and the drawing of hieroglyphs resemble Old Kingdom work in the low relief of Dyn. IV. The facial type and a certain enrichment of detail betray their Middle Kingdom date. The fragmentary condition of the reliefs and paintings and the incomplete publication of the Turin fragments make it impossible to discuss the types of scenes. The paintings of Wah-ka II are a fragmentary remnant of an unusual repertoire of scenes—women removing birds from the bushes where they have been caught, vaguely reminiscent of the acacia trees with birds at Beni Hasan, acrobatic female dancers in exotic costumes, and a slaughter scene in which the sacrificial animals are cut up by large hieroglyphic symbols which have been provided with human arms (Petrie, *Antaeopolis*). The style and curious details of these very fine paintings are peculiarly individual, different from anything found elsewhere in Egypt. It is characteristic of the local variations of style throughout Egypt in the Middle Kingdom that here at Qau the sculpture in the round resembles that of Thebes,<sup>1</sup> as does the architecture, while the reliefs seem to have drawn their inspiration from Lower Egypt and the paintings and decorative patterns of the ceilings have an individuality of their own.

Finally, though the XIIth Dynasty decorations of the Assiut tombs have been almost completely destroyed, we can detect some of their magnificence in the great tomb of Hepzefa. The well-cut figures of the owner in sunk relief have an unprecedented largeness of scale. This was almost forced upon the sculptor by the unusual height of the chapel walls which would dwarf figures of ordinary size into insignificance. A small fragment of painting on the north wall of the transverse hall suggests the clarity

<sup>1</sup> Compare the head of Ibw (Steckeweh, *l.c.*, pl. 15) with the statue of Senet at Luxor (Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX).

of line and the beauty of colouring which the original must have possessed. It shows the red figures of men who have climbed into the branches of a large tree, evidently an example of the fig-picking scene but an unusual one in that the size of the three male figures preserved varies considerably. High above on the left appear to be the blue horns of a goat (?). The meander, spiral (as at Meir and Qau), and mat patterns of the ceiling of this hall again produce a rich effect. The star-patterned ceiling of the entrance hall has been already mentioned.

Thus we see that the art of the Middle Kingdom owed its special character largely to the influence of the new Theban school of art, which based itself upon the work of the Intermediate period extant in Upper Egypt when the Theban Nome began to rise in power. A considerable influence continued to be exerted by the monuments of the Memphite school which still survived throughout the country and which had been maintained to a certain extent by the Heracleopolitan Kingdom, and this influence came to predominate in the royal work of Dyn. XII. In the decoration of private tombs the Middle Kingdom drew largely upon the subject-matter of the Old Kingdom. The craftsmen clothed these scenes in a new garb and embellished them with new detail. The style of the private tombs wavered between the new proportions introduced by the royal reliefs of Dyn. XI and Old Kingdom forms, and was dependent upon the strength of Old Kingdom influence in particular districts. Local schools of craftsmen, too, exerted more influence upon the work of each Nome capital than can be found at any other period of Egyptian history. Particularly characteristic of Middle Kingdom work throughout the country was an increased inventiveness in decorative patterns, a new use of hieroglyphic symbols, a tendency towards punning with elaborate signs in inscriptions, and, finally, a considerable enrichment of scenes by the use of more developed backgrounds of architecture and plant forms. The familiar mat patterns of the Old Kingdom are now used for ceiling decoration in the rock-cut tombs, and are considerably augmented by designs of great beauty such as the spiral and palmette elements found at Qau (Steckeweh, *l.c.*, pl. 9; Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. I) or a similar arrangement of spirals found framing the door of the chapel of Ukh-hotep II (*Meir*, III, pl. XXVIII), and on the ceiling of the chapel of Hepzefa at Assiut (Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, I, pl. VIII facing p. 363), where it would seem that a simple form of the palmette has been included.<sup>1</sup> The use of the *ꜥnh* and *wꜥs* signs provided with human arms and hands to undertake certain actions usually associated with human beings is an amplification of the Old Kingdom usage of such symbols to carry the Wep-wawt standard in Heb-Sed scenes, &c. Elaborate designs composed of *dd* and *ꜥnh* signs are found at Qau or with *wꜥs* and girdle-tie emblems patterning a skirt on a large standing figure in the unpublished tomb of Ukh-hotep III at Meir. The puns formed by unusual hieroglyphs in the inscriptions of Beni Hasan are well known, and Drioton has drawn attention to other examples of cryptographic writing ('La Cryptographie égyptienne', *La Revue lorraine d'Anthropologie*, 1934). Finally we have had occasion to note, particularly at Beni Hasan, a much more extensive use of buildings, trees, and accessories to indicate the setting of a scene than was common in the Old Kingdom, and which may be said to correspond to the elaborate backgrounds given the wooden servant figures in the models of various occupations placed in the tombs from the Heracleopolitan period onwards into Dyn. XII.

<sup>1</sup> See Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 745, comparison with skirt of Keftiu in chapel of Rekhmira and patterns on scarabs. The design is typical of Egypt rather than of Crete.

### XIII

## THE TECHNICAL METHODS EMPLOYED IN OLD KINGDOM RELIEFS AND PAINTING

### a. The Processes followed in the Decoration

**I**N *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb* Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams has laid the foundation for all further study of the technical methods employed by the relief sculptors and painters of the Old Kingdom. The chapels of the Giza mastabas provide us with a wealth of additional material illustrative of the processes involved in the decoration of a wall with reliefs. The various stages of the work are roughly seven in number. The preparation of the surface of the wall is followed by the drawing of a preliminary sketch in red, sometimes corrected in black. The figures are then outlined by a sharp-pointed tool and the background cut away to leave the representations standing away from the background in relief of one plane. The cutting of inner detail and the modelling of the figures then follows. The completed relief is usually covered by a thin film of smooth plaster as a better surface for the colour, and the outlines of the figure are re-drawn in red. The large masses of colour on figure and background are then applied. Finally, the inner drawing and final outlines are added in paint. Each of these consecutive stages does not by any means extend throughout the whole chapel at one given time, or even over a single wall, but the progress of the work in various parts of the chapel is dependent upon the number of craftsmen at work and the speed and caprices of each workman. Finished relief may be found in one register, while the rest of the wall shows only the preliminary sketch (cf. Pepy-ankh called Heny-kem at Meir). In the chapel of Sneferuw-seneb the reliefs of the tablet of the false-door were complete, although the other walls had not even received their final dressing.

Egyptian masonry was laid with the outer surface of the stone rough. Only the faces that were to join another stone were smoothed as each block was set in place. In the casing of a mastaba the courses were laid in rough steps, with lines drawn on the upper surface of each step to indicate the projected angle of the mastaba, measured on the principle of set-backs. The north-west corner of G 7310+7320 gives an admirable illustration of these guiding lines. Whether or not similar guiding lines were used to indicate the final surface of a vertical chapel wall, the same processes were applied for the smoothing of this wall as they were to the face of the mastaba casing. First the large protuberances of the stone were broken away with heavy granite hammers. Then the wall was smoothed with copper chisels until a fairly even surface had been obtained. The final surface was gained by the use of granite rubbing-stones. The rotary motion of these stones has worn a groove into the foundation stone at the corner of the mastaba G 7310+7320. Three chapels at Giza show the first stages in the dressing of the walls. The unfinished exterior chapel of Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240) has only the surfaces of the lower walls smoothed to their final level. The stones of the upper wall still project roughly and have been cut away to various stages of completion (Pl. 58). The chisel marks show plainly, and on the west wall two wide gouges run up vertically in the middle of the wall. It is remarkable here that the usual Egyptian procedure of dressing a wall from the top down has been reversed, and it is only the lower part of the wall that has received a final smoothing. The reliefs have nowhere been commenced except on the tablet of the false-door, where the work is finished. In the Mycerinus quarry the chapel MQ 2 shows on the upper part of the wall reliefs in various stages of completion, but immediately beneath the reliefs the dado has been left with

two courses of undressed stones projecting from the wall. Similarly, two rough stones project beneath the partly finished reliefs on the west wall of G 5480. Ordinarily in unfinished chapels the walls have been dressed, leaving a smooth surface adjoining the uncompleted reliefs. We find wall surfaces in this condition in the chapel of Duwanera (G 5110), on certain of the faces of the false-door of Hordedef (G 7220), the stela of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 1008), G 4940 over the entrance doorway, and in a number of other cases where the preliminary sketch remains on the smooth wall adjoining reliefs which have been begun. Sometimes, as in G 5480, the unfinished wall surfaces are rough and pitted. This is particularly true of surfaces of nummulitic limestone where the dressing is never as smooth as in white limestone.

The preparation of the surface was also accompanied by a certain amount of mending and patching in plaster, depending upon the quality of the stone of which the wall was composed. In work in fine limestone, where the joints of the masonry are accurate, this was almost entirely unnecessary. Ordinarily the same coarse plaster that was used to float the stone into place was employed to fill the interstices remaining between the stones, and to conceal flaws and breaks in the wall surface. This was necessary sometimes even in chapels of the best workmanship, as can be seen by an example in the chapel of Duwanera, where on the east wall a bad flaw in the dog's body has been patched with coarse pinkish plaster and the carving continued in the plaster (Pl. 58). Another example is the patching of the seated figure painting the seasons on the east entrance-jamb of the chapel of Mereruwka at Saqqarah. In the rock-cut tombs and in nummulitic masonry a great deal more smoothing of the surface with plaster was necessary. Characteristic filling of the cracks with plaster can be seen on the south wall of the chapel of Queen Meresankh III (G 7530), on the north entrance-jamb, and on the tablet of the southern false-door. Similar treatment appears in several places in the rock-cut chapel of Prince Khuwnera. There is unmistakable evidence that when the quality of the stone was particularly bad, either the whole of the wall or certain uneven parts were covered with a thick coating of plaster to provide a smooth surface for the carving of the reliefs. On the south wall of the inner room of Meresankh III, the tool has plainly cut through the plaster into the wall behind. This can be seen again on the north wall of Khufuw-khaf II (G 7150) and in a number of other cases, for example on the west wall of G 1151 or the north and south walls of the chapel of Yasen (G 2196). In other examples the plaster was laid on so thick, and the relief was so low, that where the sizing has flaked away there is no trace of the reliefs on the stone beneath. This can be seen in the corridor of G 2091, throughout the chapel G 1029 (except for the large figure at the south end of the west wall), on parts of the north wall of Yasen (G 2196), the south wall of Yeduw (G 7102), the inscription over the statues in the north room of Meresankh III, and in other cases. The sketch on the east wall of the inner room of Meresankh III and the inscription on the unused architrave (hidden later by a block of stone) of the northern portico are drawn on a prepared plaster surface. This carving of the reliefs in plaster sizing does not occur, I believe, before the appearance of the rock-cut tombs, and the chapel of Meresankh III is the first example known to me. This application of plaster is clearly distinguishable from the thin coating of fine plaster which was washed over the carved surface of the wall to smooth out inequalities and give a good surface for the paint (applied probably both to reliefs in rough stone and to those partly cut in plaster and partly in stone). The latter procedure varies from the use of an almost imperceptible thin whitewash to a heavier coating which blurs the outlines of the figures (see G 6020).

The preparation of the surface for painting on mud plaster usually consisted simply in laying down a very thin coating of smooth, fine white plaster on the coarse thickness of rough plaster which covered the mud bricks of the wall. This is to be seen plainly in FS 3080 (Saqqarah) and G 2184, and was similar in the case of G 1234, where a buff-coloured plaster, less than a millimetre thick, covered a coarse layer

of mud (*circa* 7 cm. thick) laid directly on a stone wall. The plaster facing of the crude-brick chapel in front of the mastaba of Weneshet (G 4840), which has only preserved a painted dado, showed about 2 cm. of buff-coloured plaster laid on the brickwork and covered by white plaster which, from the way it has peeled off, must have been put on in four or five very thin layers. In the case of the paintings of Sneferuw-in-shat-f and those from an unnamed mastaba at Dahshur, the final coating was a smooth plaster with a yellowish or buff-coloured tinge. In one mastaba Mrs. Davies has noted, however (*Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, p. 10), that a thin background wash of greyish white was first laid down, and that 'the parts in blue, green, light red, and bright yellow were superimposed on a layer of white, this being intended to prevent the mud from dulling the brilliance of the colours above'. The greyish white which served as a background has almost entirely disappeared. In the case of the other paintings, those of Sneferuw-in-shat-f, the buff-coloured ground was reserved for the skin of women, and in other places in figures and hieroglyphs, although the background was again washed over with a blue-grey pigment which is better preserved in this case. It would appear, then, that the whitewash applied thinly to the wall here did not serve as a base for the whole painting but was laid down only as an under-painting for certain surfaces of bright, clear colour. An unusual procedure was adopted in the burial-chamber of Ka-kher-ptah (G 5560), where a large shallow space was cut in the east wall and filled with coarse mud plaster to take the painted decoration. Over the mud backing was spread a surface of fine white plaster. The most careful preparation of the wall appears in the paintings of Atet's corridor at Medum. Here a section of a fragment of the painted wall shows three layers, a thick, coarse, black mud plaster mixed with straw upon which was laid a somewhat better quality of plaster of a light buff colour. The surface was then covered with a very thin layer of fine white plaster which received the painted decoration.

The next step after the preparation of the wall was the drawing of the preliminary sketch on the smooth surface. This first drawing was ordinarily in red, but Mrs. Williams has noted that in the mastabas of Ny-kauw-hor, Ra-m-ka, and Sennuwka (G 2041) the drawing was in black and that in the paintings of Hesi-ra the first sketch was in yellow line. In the chapel of Meresankh III a very rough sketch on the east wall of the inner room is also in yellow, corrected in black, as are the hieroglyphs on the hidden central architrave of the northern portico (the yellow showing only faintly under the black corrections). In G 1206 part of an inscription was sketched in red on the north wall, while a similar rough drawing on the west wall was executed in black. The first drawing in the chapels of Sneferuw-hetep (G 3008), G 1151, G 4940, Yasen (G 2196), and Ka-m-nofret (Boston) was in red alone, but in certain other chapels there are corrections in black drawn over the red lines. One of the best examples of this is in the little chapel of Shepseskaf-ankh (G 6040), but it is to be found in the unfinished reliefs of Ma-nofer (Berlin), Akhet-hetep (Davies, *l.c.*), on the stela of Min-ankh (G 1047), and in the case of a few unfinished hieroglyphs on the east wall under the arcade in G 6010. The corrections were not always made in black, but sometimes in red, as in the names over the seated figures on the north wall of G 7391, or in the paintings on mud plaster in G 2184, where the hand of the goat-herd was re-drawn, or the leg of the large figure in FS 3080 (Saqqarah). On the east wall of G 3008, two groups of figures have been completely altered in red (Fisher, *Giza, The Minor Cemetery*, pl. 53). In the sunk relief figures and inscriptions on the east wall of the rock-cut chapel of Ian (G 1607) the cutting was carried out inside the original sketch-lines, which seem to have been black alone, and the same is true of the hieroglyphs in the inscriptions around the top of the granite coffin of Seshem-nofer (G 5080, now in Cairo).

The original sketch was sometimes executed free-hand, as in the case of the drawings on the south

wall of G 6040 or the example which Mrs. Williams cites from a wall in the chapel of Ny-kauw-hor. More often the draughtsman availed himself of the aid of a system of guiding lines. These consisted most commonly of a vertical line bisecting the two halves of a vase or bowl, or running from the front of the ear of a standing figure down half-way between the legs and crossing the rear foot. This was marked by horizontal lines at several determined levels. In the case of G 3008 the vertical lines controlled the figures in the different registers, alining the figures one above the other, but in most cases the figures in each register are arranged without strict regard to those in the lines above and below them. The horizontal lines, when they are not reduced to mere dots on the vertical line, are found at the line of hair or wig on the forehead, at the base of the neck, the arm-pits, the line of the elbow, the base of the hip, and the knee. This ordinary system of guiding lines is to be found at Giza only in the chapel of Sneferuw-hetep (G 3008, Fig. 95), but it is known at Saqqarah in the chapel of Ma-nofer (Berlin), Ka-m-nofret (Boston, Fig. 95), Perneb (Metropolitan Museum, Fig. 95), and at Meir in the chapel of Pepy-ankh called Heny-kem. The addition of another horizontal line half-way down the legs is found in the Giza chapel of Nekhebuw (Boston) and at Deir el Gebrawi in the chapel of Zauw (*Deir el Gebrawi*, II, Frontispiece). The unusual occurrence of a line at the crown of the head is noted by Mrs. Williams in the chapel of Akhet-hetep (Davies, *l.c.* II, pl. XVII) and Ny-kauw-hor (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah*, 1907-1908, pl. LXVI). In the chapel of Neter-puw-nesuwt, a system of squares<sup>1</sup> formed by horizontal and vertical lines marked the angle points for the zigzag water-lines of the swamp scene (Fig. 95). Similar squares appear in another swamp scene (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 11) and horizontal lines were drawn for the same purpose on the north wall of Junker's chapel of Kay-m-ankh. The curious diagonal lines that cross at an angle in front of the donkey with upraised leg in the Berlin fragment from the chapel of Seshem-nofer (LG 53, Fig. 95) are difficult to explain. What purpose they could have served is obscure.

In cutting the relief, apparently the most usual method was to run an incised line around the outlines of the figure. The width of this line varies and was probably dependent upon the width of the tool, which was no doubt a sharp copper chisel used with a mallet. The clearing away of the background would then have been continued by means of strokes partly parallel to and partly at right angles to the incised line. The first stage of the carving is only rarely preserved. Mrs. Williams illustrates an example from the chapel of Ra-m-ka (*l.c.*, pl. IV), and I can cite a few others from Giza. These are the outlines of a bird hieroglyph on the wall adjoining the false-door of Hordedef (G 7220), a line around the unfinished animal at the south end of the east wall of Duwanera (Pl. 58), the hieroglyph *k* in the unfinished architrave of G 2140 (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 38), and the outlines of the figure on the right of the slaughter scene on the west wall of the chapel MQ 2. The best examples, however, are to be seen in the figures of the top register of the chapel of Yasen (G 2196, Pl. 60), the figure on the tablet and the pile of offerings on the west wall of G 1029, and the female figures of the lowest register on the east wall of G 7391. Another beginning of the carving is to be seen on the east wall of the Duwanera chapel, where the

<sup>1</sup> The division of the whole wall surface into a network of squares to serve as a guide to the draughtsman is not known in the Old Kingdom. Such examples as have been found on early reliefs can be clearly distinguished as the work of later copyists. In the panels of the false-doors in the substructure of the Step Pyramid, the Sahura reliefs (Borchardt, *l.c.*, pls. 28, 29), fragments from the chapel of Prince Hemyuwnuw (G 4000), and the east wall of the chapel of Ptah-hotep (D 62) at Saqqarah (the squares do not appear on pl. XI, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I; they measure about 3.5 × 3.5 cm.) the guiding lines cross over the finished relief. In most cases they must

have been applied at a time when the colour had already fallen away from the wall. In several examples in the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020) the guiding squares overlie the painted surfaces. It is impossible to determine the date of most of this copying work. In the case of the Zoser reliefs it seems to have been of the Saite period, and this may be true of the majority of the examples. The absence of colour indicates that the copying took place after protecting doors had been removed, exposing the walls to wind weathering, and in some cases it may indicate the loss of the roofing.

sculptor has commenced to cut away the background around the back of the figure at the extreme north end of the wall. He has used short parallel strokes at right angles to the outline of the figure, or parallel vertical gouges where the background is being removed inside the leg of the figure (Pl. 59). The outline of this figure remains rough and must have been smoothed after a large part of the background had been removed. In the majority of cases the unfinished wall remains in a condition where the figures stand out in a flat relief of one plane, while the background is completely removed and smoothed or remains still rough and pitted. This is the second stage in the carving with the simple outlines of the representation blocked out and with the background cleared away.

The condition of the second stage in relief carving is dependent upon the type of relief that is being prepared. In all early reliefs the background has been completely cut away. The stelae of Semerkhet, Sabef, and the niche-stone FS 3073 X with their sharp-edged flat surfaces, little detail, and rough, pitted backgrounds are probably early examples of unfinished work. An example of unfinished early high relief is to be found in the back panel of the false-door of Methen in Berlin. Here the figure is largely in one plane, and the cutting down the back outline of the figure is shallow, where indicated at all. The area in front of the figure is cut to its full depth (at least 12 mm.). The outlines of the figure are sharp-edged but sloping a little in section. On the tablet of Hordedef, and on the panel flanking the false-door on the south, is to be found unfinished work in low relief. Here the amount of background cut away is very slight, but the same sharp edge surrounds the figure on the tablet. The gouging away of the background can be seen well on the adjoining panel. The characteristic small chisel strokes and the pitting of the background show clearly on the unfinished architrave of G 2140, where the hieroglyphs are of medium height, and have as yet received no inner detail. The complete clearing away of the background in bold relief is to be seen again on the south wall of the chapel of G 5110, where the head and shoulders of Duwanera are sharply outlined in one plane, although the lower part of the body has received its final modelling, on the northern figures of the east wall of G 2220 (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 41), the north entrance-jamb of G 7750, and in the figure of the girl on the northern false-door of G 2041 (Boston, Mrs. Williams, *l.c.*, pl. V). In the ordinary relief of medium height there are unfinished examples in G 2036, where a rough block has been left for the inscription over the son's head; in G 7930, where, oddly enough, the surface of the relief is pitted and the background left smooth; and on the north and south door jambs of G 4940. The southern entrance-jamb of G 4940 shows only the cutting away of the background in a small area circumscribed by the head, shoulder, and upraised arm of an estate-figure carrying a basket.

The type of Dyn. V relief where the background is not entirely cut away to the full depth, except in immediate proximity to the outlines of the figures, is found unfinished in a number of cases. Striking examples are to be seen in G 1029, west wall; the north and south walls of Yasen (G 2196, Pls. 58, 60); the west wall of the corridor of G 1151 (Pl. 59); and Mrs. Williams notes the occurrence of unfinished reliefs in Thiy, Akhet-hetep, and Akhet-hetep-her. The G 1151 example and that of Akhet-hetep (Davies, *l.c.*, II, pls. III XI) show walls where all the stages of work are apparent—the preliminary sketch, the relief in one plane, and the finished relief. The reliefs of G 1151 are partly cut in plaster and partly in stone, depending upon the inequalities of the wall. The plaster was plainly applied in layers, for where the upper surface of a figure has fallen away incised lines appear cut through into the plaster beneath, or into the stone under the plaster, when all of that has flaked away. Mrs. Williams noted this in the reliefs of Kahyfy. It would appear that the wall stood unsculptured until the plastered surface had dried, and that it was then decided to give parts of the wall another coating of plaster before the cutting of the reliefs began. An example of unfinished sunk relief might be mentioned to round out

the list. This can be seen on the east wall of G 1607, where the left end of the wall remains decorated only in black line, while the figures to the right of this have been cut out within the outlines of the black drawing.

When the figures had been outlined in relief in one plane the next step was the cutting of the inner details and the modelling of the various forms. The beginning of this work can be seen in a number of cases on unfinished walls. For example, the small figure of the son on the west wall of G 2150 shows along the back of the figure a sharp outline which slopes a little in section, but the front lines of the figure are smoothly rounded off to the background. The inner line of the thigh has been drawn and partly modelled, but the head remains in one plane. On the north entrance-jamb of G 7750, the standing man and wife are in one-plane relief with sharp edges, but the front outline of the man's arm has been given its final modelling. The inner details are not drawn, but the small figures in front of the pair have received their inner details and modelling. On the east wall of G 2220, the central area of the wall is uncut and the paired figures of man and wife at the north end are still unfinished above, but from the waist down the work is completed, as it is in the large figure at the southern end of the wall. Another good example is the figure at the south end of the east wall of G 5110 (Pl. 59). There the front outlines of the figure have received their final modelling, although the back of the man has not been freed entirely from the wall, and only the first preliminary gouges of the chisel show. The beginning of the drawing of inner detail and modelling in the low Dyn. V reliefs can be seen well in the west wall of G 1029 and in the corridor of G 1151 (Pl. 59).

We have noted that the finished relief presents a number of different forms. There is the high, bold type of carving which shows a number of varieties from the very bold surfaces of Iy-nefer, the slightly less pronounced planes of Methen, Rahotep, and FS 3078, with a variation in still lower surfaces in the reliefs of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, to the somewhat mixed type of Khufuw-khaf where some definitely low relief occurs. Other examples of this high relief occur in the chapel of Duwanera, on some of the walls of Ka-wab's chapel, in G 2220, in the fragments from G 4260, and in G 2041. The low reliefs of the Zoser panels, the slab-stelae, the queen's chapel G I b, and the chapels of Ankh-haf and Merytyetes do not show any alteration in the process of relief carving, except possibly for one detail which is not certain but seems to exist. Some of these reliefs look as though a sharp tool had been run around the outlines of the finished relief to accentuate the outer edges of the very low forms. The figures are low and delicately modelled, shading off smoothly to the background. The inner detail tends to be minute and elaborate. The background is cut away to the full depth throughout its surface, although the reliefs of Ankh-haf show a slightly deeper cutting in immediate proximity to the figures. The reliefs of medium height, which appear to begin with the decoration of the chapels in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza (Ka-wab) and are brought into common use in the nummulitic limestone chapels, are apparently the result of less careful craftsmanship. The nummulitic stone, although it is of fairly good quality in the first chapels on the eastern edge of the Cemetery G 7000, was not particularly suitable for either very high or very low relief. The medium height seems to have been a compromise for the saving of expense, and usually produced reliefs of mediocre quality without great attention to detail, which was presumably added in paint.

The bad quality of limestone with which the sculptor was forced to deal in the rock-cut tombs tended to increase his carelessness of fine detail and stimulated greatly the use of relief of medium height. In these tombs began to appear the extensive sizing of the walls with plaster to correct the inequalities of the stone. We have noted that it was probably in cutting these plaster surfaces, where the plaster of the background often fell away and usually required a thin wash of plaster over the



finished carving to smooth over the inequalities, that there was developed the type of carving so popular in Dyn. V. This consisted in leaving the background in great part at a level little lower than that of the original surface, and giving prominence to the figures by gently grading this away to a considerable depth in immediate proximity to the figures. Heretofore the background had always been entirely cut away except in the most careless examples of relief of medium height. In such examples as the east wall of G 2150 the relief may be actually unfinished, and was certainly completed hastily. The new method, while it required a certain amount of dexterity to produce the best result and could be achieved only in white limestone or smooth plaster surfaces, was an even greater saving of time and expense than the reliefs of medium height. The first definite example that we know is in the chapel of Meresankh III (Pl. 44). Here another labour-saving device was employed. The space around the figures was partly cut away, leaving an area of original surface reserved for the inscriptions. This had often been done in the older types of relief, but here, instead of later cutting the hieroglyphs in relief, each sign was cut in sunk relief in the raised space. The height of the large figures was thus gained by simply clearing a small area in their immediate neighbourhood. A similar treatment is often found, but, to cite another example, on the west wall of the chapel of Yeduw (G 7102), north of the false-door, the same clearing of a small space around the seated figure and a reserved area for the inscriptions is to be seen. In this case, however, the hieroglyphs are cut in very low relief, so that an infinitesimal layer of the reserved surface was removed around the signs, instead of the thick layer that would have been necessary to bring their outlines down to the depth of the background near the edges of the seated figure. This is one of the primary differences between the reliefs of the later Old Kingdom and those of the early period, where the surface of the hieroglyphs always tends to be on the same level as the figures.

In special circumstances the sculptor dealt with a problem in an unusual way. For example, in a fragment of relief in Dresden (Albertinum No. 3, Breasted, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, 2nd Edit., pl. 194) showing cattle and men wading in the water, the figures are in ordinary low relief. Where the legs of the figures enter the water the lines are continued incised in the rectangle indicating water, which has been left at the same level as the figures themselves. A somewhat similar method was adopted in a fishing scene in Cairo (No. 236). Here the carving stops at the water-line, and the legs of the figures are indicated in paint alone, although the ripples of the water are incised. In the case of another fragment in Cairo (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 401) a much more complicated treatment appears. This can be explained by assuming that the whole wall was decorated in very fine sunk relief. The fish and crocodile are thus cut in low relief against the water surface which is sunk below the background, as are the details of the boat. A water plant which overlaps both surfaces, however, is cut in sunk relief in the part where it falls against the raised background, and in low relief against the sunk surface of the boat and water. The peculiarity of this piece is largely due to its fragmentary preservation. Had the whole wall been preserved, the balance between the raised background and the sunk relief would have been better proportioned and the eye would have accepted it immediately as ordinary sunk relief, but especially well worked.

Sunk relief can vary from such elaborate examples as that cited above or the beautifully modelled hieroglyphs of the Min-khaf inscriptions or the later examples of the façades of Mereruwka and Kagemni, down through the comparatively simple modelling of the sunk surface as in the hieroglyphs of Meresankh III, to such simple examples as the figures in G 1607 where the area inside the outlines is cut away leaving a flat sunk space. In other cases an inscription may be merely scratched on the wall in incised line. Drawing in incised lines is a most natural beginning for sculpture in relief and it is found on many Predynastic and Early Dynastic objects. Perhaps the earliest example of sunk relief proper is

the granite block from Bubastis with the name of Cheops, but a curious variation of this type of relief is found in the decorations of Neferma'at and Atet at Medum, where the figures were hollowed out and filled with coloured pastes. The finished effect of these figures was very unlike sunk relief, but the actual technique differed little. This was not a popular form of work and was found again only in the hieroglyphs on the base of the statue of Hemyuwnuw. The earliest private example of sunk relief that I know is in the inscriptions in the mastaba of Prince Min-khaf (G 7430-7440) at Giza, probably of the

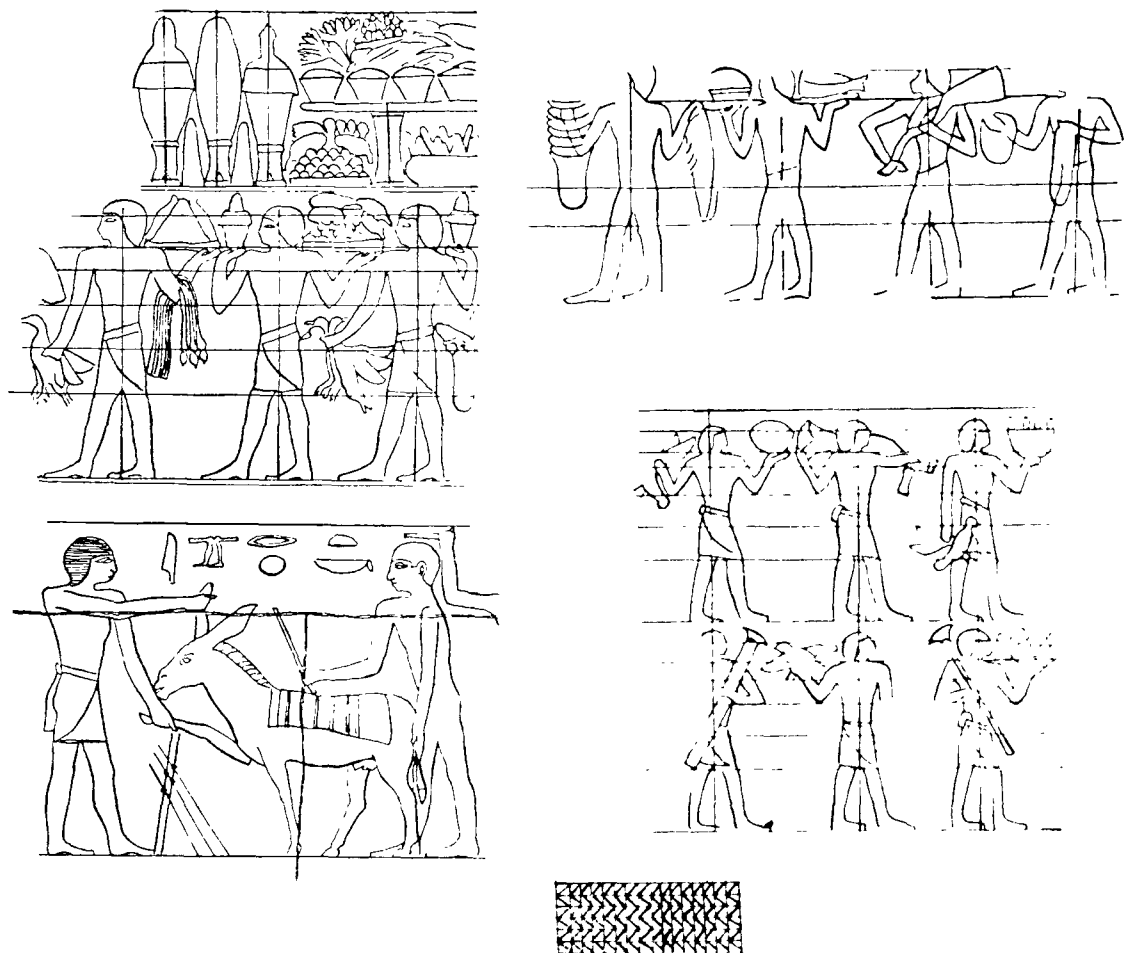


FIG. 95. Guiding lines for the draughtsman: (1) *The Decoration of the Tomb of Perneb*, pl. X; (2) an example in the Boston chapel of Ka-m-nofret; (3) Berlin relief from LG 53 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 80 and Berlin photo); (4) the chapel of Sneferuw-hetep (Fisher, *Giza, The Minor Cemetery*, pl. 55); (5) sketch of guiding squares for water in the chapel of Neterpuw-nesuwt.

reign of Chephren (Pl. 46). Possibly the use of sunk relief inscriptions in the granite casings of that king's temple may have made this type of work better known. At any rate, from this time on the use of sunk relief is fairly common, although it is ordinarily restricted to inscriptions on the outside of the chapel. It is probable that it was developed as an easier method than raised relief for dealing with decorations on hard stone, but it may also have been considered as a more protected form for exterior inscriptions.

At the stage where the relief was completed and the colour had not yet been applied there is often evidence for alterations in the carving. This was probably easier to manage in the soft surfaces of the plaster reliefs, but it is found frequently in work in stone. On the west wall of the chapel of Ka-wab, in the large figure of the owner, the front leg was moved back several centimetres to the right. The lines of the first carving are still plain, although they have been partially smoothed away. It is possible that they were hidden by a layer of plaster which has since dropped off. A similar type of correction is

found in the legs of the large figures on the east wall of the corridor of G 2091, and here a lappet wig has been added to the head of the small figure of the girl. In the case of a hieroglyphic inscription on the east wall of G 2196, the artist was satisfied with covering up the owl-hieroglyph, written by error, with a heavy coating of plaster which sufficiently blurred the outlines, and then painting the group of signs *pri hrw* upon the new surface. Such alterations are met with frequently, but a more elaborate case of correction is to be found on the south wall of Yeduw's chapel (G 7102, Fig. 96). Here the owner is shown set down in a carrying-chair, and the sculptor was so dissatisfied with the original carving that he

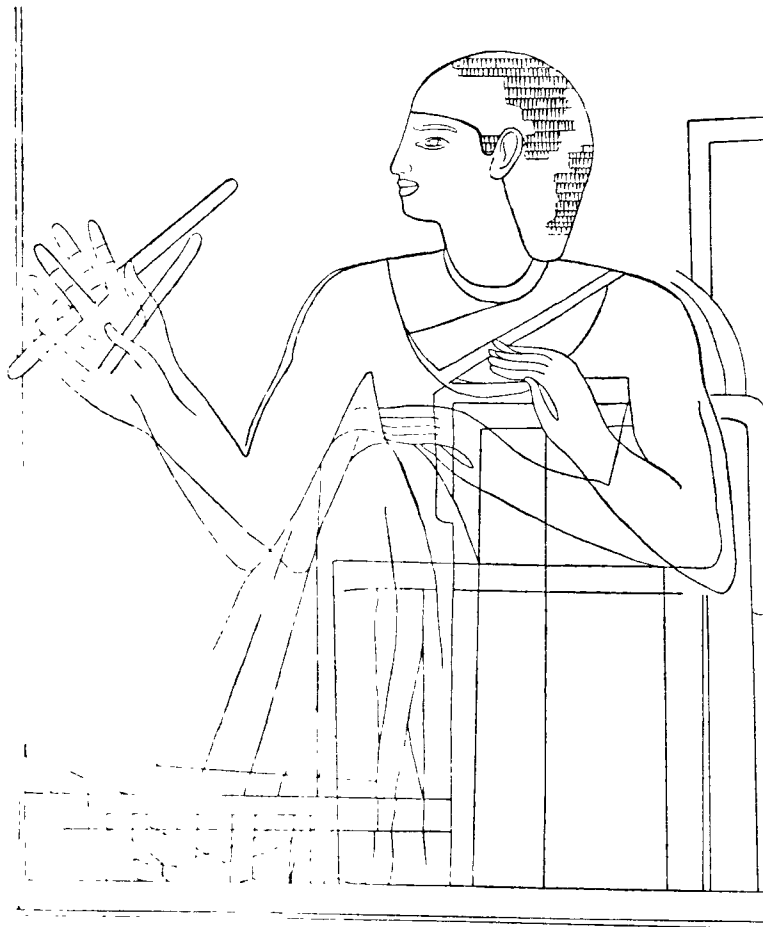


FIG. 96. Altered drawing in plaster relief: south wall of the chapel of Yeduw (G 7102).

has completely recut the outlines of arms, legs, and feet, altering their attitude and changing the height of the chair-arm on which the left hand rests. Probably the old outlines were filled up with a coat of plaster or obscured by the paint, but they now stand out clearly and it is very difficult to distinguish the original drawing from the altered version. In this case the whole of the carving had been done in a heavy layer of plaster laid over the bad limestone of the rock wall. A similar case of large alterations is to be found on a wall of the chapel of Ka-m-nofret in Boston (Dows Dunham, 'A Palimpsest on an Egyptian Tomb Wall', *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXXIX, p. 300), where several registers of finished figures were scraped away and a large figure of the owner with names and titles was roughly outlined on the partially smooth surface through which the old drawing still shows. Alterations are very common in Egyptian reliefs and show probably a succession of craftsmen working upon a given wall space. It is seldom that the man who cut the reliefs followed scrupulously the outlines of the original sketch, or that the painter adhered to the sculptured work of his predecessor.

Mrs. Williams has called attention to the fact that, after covering the finished reliefs and background

with a coating of fine white plaster to give a better surface for the painting, a second sketch was executed in red paint for the guidance of the painter. This painter's sketch is very difficult to trace in the majority of examples as it is covered by the final painting when that is preserved, and is very hard to distinguish from the final outlines of the figures when these are in red. In fact I should suggest that it is sometimes identical with the final outline, and that the flat washes of colour were sometimes applied within the outline of the painter's sketch which served as the final delineation of the limits of the figure. The quality of the plaster wash varied considerably. In some cases, if it occurred at all, the wash is so thin that the paint has the appearance of being applied to the bare surface of the stone. This is evident on the west wall of the chapel of Seshat-hetep (G 5150), where the colour has worn thin and what remains looks as though it had permeated the surface of the limestone. The minute gradations of the stone show through the yellow and red wood graining of the dado and the red colouring of the bodies. The fragments from the chapel of Pyramid G I b and those from Ankh-haf and Merytyetes show the paint resting, apparently, on the fine limestone surface, which in this case would be almost as suitable as would a smooth plaster coating. In other cases a fine whitewash of plaster can be seen where the painted surface is broken. A good example of this is under the red paint of the large figure on the north wall of G 4940. A slightly thicker coating is found on the figures on the table scene north of the false-door in the chapel of Yeduw (G 7102), and innumerable other examples could be cited. This thin whitewash did not obscure the relief, although even the thinnest of plaster washes would tend to fill in slightly sharp incised lines. For that matter the paint itself sometimes clogged the drawing lines, and undoubtedly lessened the effect of the more subtle modelling in the figures. In workmanship of a coarser type, the coatings of plaster were sometimes quite thick, and were applied with such a disregard for the sculpture that the outlines of the relief are sometimes completely blurred. Good examples of this can be seen in the picture list on the south wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf II (G 7150), on the walls of the long vaulted room of Iy-mery (G 6020), in the inner chapel of Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010), or in the fragments from G 2342.

In these last examples the painter seems to have ignored the blurred outlines and has redrawn the figures with only a rough correspondence to the sculptured surface. When this has happened, as can be observed over and over again on the south wall of Iy-mery (G 6020), I suspect that the painter's sketch and the final outlines are identical, and that the colour has been filled into the painter's sketch which may sometimes have been strengthened by a final brush-line here and there after the colour had been applied. Good examples of this are the figures of the cow and calf, the hieroglyphs over the dancers, the men making mats, and the dog under his master's chair on the south wall, the man carrying game boxes slung from his shoulder (the small animals in the boxes are drawn only in red paint) on the east wall in the inner room, or a female offering-bearer at the right end of the north wall in the same room. The red line of the back of the bull (which diverges widely from the relief) on the east wall of Yasen (G 2196) belongs to this category. The red outlines of the figures of Meresankh III on the pillars of the north wall, or the figure of the queen in the boating scene seem at first glance to be of the same type of lines as we noticed in Iy-mery, but on close examination they are found in every case to lie on top of the yellow paint of the body. I have been able to find no example of a painter's red sketch-line on any of the walls of the Meresankh chapel. The red lines which occur occasionally on the wall surface, outlining an incised hieroglyph, seem in every case to be final outlines, similar to the black outlines that surround other hieroglyphs in these inscriptions. The red lines that alter the shape of the tie of Ka-wab's belt on the east wall have been laid down over the grey background, and though now faint were certainly final outlines. To the type of sketch-lines which also served as final lines must belong

also the drawing of painted details which were not indicated in the relief. Such, for example, are the red tendrils of the vine in the grape-picking scene in Iy-mery, although these must have been added on top of the background colour as in the case of the plants in the hunting scene of Ptah-hotep.

As for examples of the painter's sketch when it is distinct from the final outline, Mrs. Williams has quoted a number of examples (*l.c.*, p. 23, all from the tomb of Perneb), to which I am able to add only a few more. On the south wall of the chapel of Yasen, in the picture list on the upper part of the wall, a number of vessels show vertical guide-lines, and short horizontal guide-lines at the top of the ring stands supporting them. These appear where the black paint has peeled off, and where the lines overlap on the background. They are drawn on the final plastered surface, and must have been drawn to assist the painter in balancing the two sides of the vase when he came to paint it.<sup>1</sup> I have been able to distinguish no other sketch-lines, although I am firmly convinced that they exist constantly, except for a yellow ochre line under the final black drawing of the shoulder-strap of a dancing girl on the south wall of the inner room of Iy-mery. The yellow colour is probably due to a thin application of the ordinary red-brown line. On the other hand the red wash which Mrs. Williams found to be an accompaniment of the second sketch is to be seen in a few examples at Giza. She has noted that a red wash was sometimes laid down upon a surface later to be painted black, and sometimes on a surface that was to be a darker red. A number of small figures on the east wall of Yasen's chapel appear to show this preliminary wash of red, as the paint has been carried over the eyes, a space that would have been reserved in the final painting. On a fragment from the chapel of Merytyetes, the blue and green pigment of the playing pieces of the *mn* sign appear to have been laid down over a thin wash of red. A curious use of under-painting is that which I have noted on the south wall of the burial-chamber of Junker's Kay-m-ankh. Here in a number of black-painted hieroglyphs, a yellow wash projects outside the black outlines. This is to be seen in the hieroglyph *r* (lined with blue inside, over the yellow); *rdi* (where the inner triangle is filled with blue); and *t*. The *nh* sign is painted blue, laid down over yellow, but the yellow does not fill the loop at the top, projecting only a little beyond the outlines of the sign. In the chapel of Meresankh III, two black *nh* signs on the north wall have the loop filled with yellow paint. Similar use of yellow paint is found in this tomb in the cartouches of the estate names where this colour serves as the background for the hieroglyphs of the king's name. The inner spaces of the *hr* sign and the rectangle in the corner of the *ht* sign are also filled with yellow. In the reliefs of Sahura (*l.c.*, II, pl. 69) and Neferirkara (*l.c.*, p. 28) the background of the upper part of the Horus frame is painted yellow. These examples are, of course, not under-painting in the same sense as we find it in the Kay-m-ankh hieroglyphs. In the case of a number of hieroglyphs on the east wall of the burial-chamber of Junker's Ka-kher-ptah, black lines are often to be seen laid down over red, but this is, I believe, only a case of the final outline being laid down over the first sketch of the painting.

The problem of the order of the laying on of the colour is difficult. It would seem that in most cases the procedure was to lay down the grey background and then the flat washes of colour on the figures, adding finally the outlines and inner details. This procedure does not seem to have been followed with consistency even on the same wall. Mrs. Williams found that the blue and green, the most valuable colours, were always applied last, but she found conflicting evidence as to the order of the other colours; sometimes the background overlapped the colour of the figures, sometimes this was reversed. If the background was laid down first, sometimes the figures and hieroglyphs were reserved, sometimes a grey

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Williams was the first to notice these sketch-lines in examining this chapel, and referred to them in some notes which she made on the Giza chapels, a copy of which is in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition. I should

like to acknowledge an indebtedness to these notes, of which I have made frequent use, as well as to a detailed notation of the colours on the slab-stela of Nofert (G 1207) in the University of California.

wash ran over the whole surface. In the case of some painted fragments of uncertain provenance, found near the north-west corner of G 5110, the grey paint had not been carried down between the figs of a picture list, where the background remains white. But this oversight may have occurred in reserving the space for the figs, or in laying on the background around the painted fruit. The only evidence here for the order of the colours is that the grey never overlaps the final border-lines. In some fragments from G 2342, in two cases the grey of the background overlapped the body colours, once over yellow and once over red. In both cases the red outlines were laid down over the grey, as were the black outlines. On another fragment from the same wall, however, the yellow of a cake, where the surface is broken, is seen to lie over a freshly preserved blue-grey pigment. Sometimes, apparently, the application of the grey background did not bring the colour up to the edge of the figures, and this was corrected after the body colour had been applied, so that the grey overlapping the body colour may be due to this later painting. Both the chapels of Yeduw (G 7102) and Meresankh III (G 7530) present conflicting evidence. One fact is certain in the paintings of Meresankh. The red criss-cross lines of a box of birds on the east wall were put on before the black of the base-line, for while the black has peeled away the red lines still remain. Also the black framework of the bird-trap must have been laid down after the birds themselves were painted. Twice the yellow neck of a bird crosses the frame where the black has disappeared. The black criss-cross lines of the net have vanished, leaving white marks on the yellow plumage and faint blue lines on the blue. They, too, must have been laid down after the birds were painted.

The usual background in Old Kingdom chapels was a blue-grey colour. This is often not preserved, but seems to have been present originally in all finished work. Such cases as the walls of the burial-chamber of Mereruwka, which have been left white, are due only to the unfinished state of the work, for the completed east wall had a streaky grey background surrounding the coloured forms of the picture list. There are a few exceptions to the grey ground colour. Firth reports that the walls of the burial-chamber of Kagemni were painted yellow (*Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 117). The tomb of Zauw at Deir el Gebrawi had a buff-coloured background in contrast to a dark indigo ground that was found in the neighbouring chapel of Iby (Davies, *Deir el Gebráwi*, II, p. 4). Possibly this buff colour was due to the natural colour of the plaster, as in the case of the Dahshur tomb of Sneferuw-in-shat-f, where it was allowed to show in certain cases when a yellow hue was required, as in the case of women's flesh. But the background in this case was covered with a thin wash of grey, as it was in the other series of Dahshur paintings where this same buff-coloured plaster was used. On the two small architraves of the side doors of the portico in the north wall of the chapel of Meresankh III, the background of the inscription is a deep yellow ochre, in contrast to the usual grey found elsewhere on the walls of this chapel.

The colours used in Old Kingdom painting were all earth and mineral pigments. They are black, white, grey, red, yellow, brown, green, and blue. The black was a form of carbon, the white, gypsum or whiting, and the grey resulted from a mixture of black and white. The red varies from an orange hue, through bright red, to one of purplish-brown (see Wepemnofret stela or the Medum fragments from Atet's chapel). The yellows and browns were all ochres. Petrie has noted a greenish-grey (which appears on fragments of Atet's paintings in the South Kensington Museum and in University College) which was a 'yellowish earth containing brown grains (sand) of some mineral'. He also observed in the Medum paintings a brown, in the feathering of birds, which was produced by a wash of red over black, and orange formed by a wash of haematite over yellow. I have noticed that in the paintings of Ka-kherptah brown was sometimes produced by black applied on top of red (see Pl. B), but as this is only

in drawing lines of unusual width (particularly on the hieroglyph of the blow-fish), I assume that the resulting colour is more accidental than intentional. Mrs. Williams noted that brown was sometimes laid down over a thick yellow pigment, but this can hardly have affected the colour perceptibly. The use of dark blue over light blue is also noted by her. This occurs a number of times and is particularly clear in the chapel of Yasen, but seems to be used only for the drawing of blobs of darker colour (frequently black) against a light blue background, to represent grapes in a bunch. In the picture lists of Iy-mery and Kahyfy, the dark colour has flaked off leaving light spots which had been protected by the dark pigment from the discoloration that has affected the rest of the surface of the bunch of grapes, turning the light blue, dark. It has been mentioned above that in some paintings from Dahshur certain colours were laid down on a prepared white ground to give them added brilliance, but this was an unusual case where the rest of the ground was left the colour of the buff plaster, instead of receiving a final coating of white plaster over the whole wall as was almost universally the case. The stippling of the orange legs of the geese with light red in the Medum painting (Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. I) produces a bright colour, but the practice falls under the heading of broken colour, to be discussed below.

The green used in the Old Kingdom was powdered malachite, while the blue was an artificial frit that consisted, to quote from Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 284), of a 'crystalline compound of silica, copper, and calcium (calcium-copper silicate)'. The Egyptian blue has been the subject of much investigation and experiment. The date of its introduction is uncertain, but it is possible to place the time of its use back earlier than that known to Mrs. Williams (*Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb*, pp. 25 ff.). A fragment of relief from the chapel of Pyramid G I b (Reg. No. 24-II-242 c) contains traces of a bright blue pigment as the ground colour on which are painted black water-ripples. This would be of the reign of Cheops, while another fragment from the chapel of Merytyetes (G 7650), of the time of Chephren, has a blob of blue pigment on one of the playing-pieces of the *mn* sign. This pigment shows the characteristic coating-over of the surface with a dull crust, with the bright blue showing where this is broken. Finally, in the chapel of Meresankh III, probably decorated in the reign of Shepseskaf, there is a plentiful use of the ordinary blue pigment. None of these examples has been analysed, but they are so like the blue frit ordinarily used that there seems to be no reason to question their identity. It seems to me that they suggest the possibility that the dull blue pigment which appeared in the Medum paintings, hardly earlier, if not contemporary with the first of these examples, may have been the usual blue pigment clouded over with the discoloration so often found on this colour. It is only found, apparently, in the painted reliefs of Rahotep, being absent from the paintings of Atet and Neferma'at and from their inlaid decoration. It is absent, also, from the early Giza slab stelae, where grey or black frequently take its place. Green is used very sparingly on the Nefert-yabet piece, many signs ordinarily green being painted yellow. The alternation of yellow and green occurs in a number of examples of Old Kingdom hieroglyphs. At Medum in the inlaid representations of Neferma'at and Atet, Petrie noted that the expensive green pigment was laid over a thick coating of the cheaper yellow, and that the disappearance of the surface colour has left a number of yellow signs which were originally meant to be green. This is certainly not the case on the slab-stela of Wepemnofret, where signs are alternately yellow or green, nor on that of Nefert-yabet.

The paint was applied with fibre brushes, usually reeds with the ends frayed. The brush-strokes are easily discernible in most cases, but Mrs. Williams believes that the blue and green pigments, which seem to have had a more granular composition, were applied by means of a spatula-like stick. The brush-strokes often show as fine striations, resulting either from the application of a very heavy pigment into the surface of which the brush sinks, or from the fact that the plaster coating over which the colour

was laid had not dried and provided a soft surface which would receive the imprint of the brush-strokes. It is difficult to distinguish which is the case in such examples as the painting of the coat of the oryx on the north wall of the chapel of Kahyfy. On the background colour of some fragments from the chapel of G 2342 the brush has made deep incised swirls in the thick paint or plaster. In the case of small areas of blue and green, in hieroglyphs for example, the application of the pigment with a spatula seems perfectly feasible, but it would be more difficult in larger areas of colour, or in painting the long dividing lines (which are commonly painted green in the Giza chapels), where the use of a brush would facilitate the work.

The medium used to bind the colours of the ancient Egyptian painter has never been exactly determined. The wall paintings are not executed in true fresco, that is the laying down of pigment on a surface of wet plaster sized with lime which serves to bind the pigment to the wall, but in a tempera technique on a dry wall of gypsum plaster. The pigments mixed with water would require a binding medium to make them adhere to the wall. It is possible that the red pigment of the first sketch could have been applied by mixing it with water alone, but it is certain that the blue and green colours would not adhere to the wall without some binding medium, and the duration of the other colours would have required some similar vehicle. Mr. Lucas assumes (*l.c.*, p. 293) that 'the possible and likely materials to have been used seem to be limited to size (*gelatine, glue*); gum and albumin (*white of egg*)', but he does not believe that it has been possible so far to detect any of these substances with certainty. In the Eighteenth Dynasty beeswax was used as an adhesive for painting and for coating paintings, but it has not been found in the Old Kingdom. The use of varnish on painted surfaces, which is known also in Dyn. XVIII, is unknown for the Old Kingdom.

#### b. The Colour Conventions

For the identification of objects represented by the ancient Egyptian artist, the colouring of reliefs and paintings is of the greatest assistance to the student. But here we are faced with the problem of how far the artist is to be trusted in the accurate approximation of the original colouring of the object represented. Theoretically, in an art primarily naturalistic, the aim of which was to reproduce objects and scenes of utilitarian purpose for the owner of the tomb, one should be able to expect a realistic use of colour. However, it is at once obvious that cautious interpretation must be applied. To begin with, the painter was limited by a restricted palette, and he early adopted certain conventions in his use of colour just as he did in his methods of drawing. He was affected here, too, more by his desire to produce pleasing decoration, and tends undoubtedly to use certain bright hues, because they were bright, upon objects where they do not seem to us in the least suitable. It must be remembered that the ancient observer also had the advantage over the modern one of knowing the original object represented, and therefore recognizing it with ease no matter what colour it was painted. In the hieroglyphs, as Mrs. Williams has pointed out, the imitation of polychrome objects used for ornament or ritual, copied perhaps from objects of quite a different original material or colour, affects the choice of pigment. Thus the black figure of Anubis may be copied from a painted wooden figure of the god rather than from the actual colouring of the brownish desert animal that it represents. This is certainly the case in the red and yellow cult figure of Anubis (Pl. A) on the Wepemnofret stela. The pink or blue mane, or the green coat of the hieroglyph showing the fore-part of a lion, may have some similar origin. In connexion with this it should be noted that the same brilliant colouring is given to the lion when it forms part of a piece of furniture—for example, the yellow lions with green and red striped manes of the base of a throne in the chapel of Queen Neith at South Saqqarah, or similarly in the Sahura reliefs (Borchardt, *l.c.*, pl. 43),



yellow with red stripes on the manes. A Middle Kingdom fragment in Leipzig from Qau (Steckeweh, *l.c.*, pl. 12) shows a yellow lion with a green mane ornamenting a chair or throne, and a yellow lion's head on a fragment of relief from the Lahun Pyramid temple in University College has green and blue stripes on the mane. The brilliant plumage of certain birds appears to be pure caprice in some cases, as in the bright colours of the *tyw* bird (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. I), ordinarily red or brown, but in others can be set down to certain conventional variations of colour. Thus the bright blue markings on the quail chick (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII), or the green markings in the Sahura reliefs, are due apparently to an indiscriminate interchange of black, blue, and green pigments, the more naturalistic black drawing lines being usually applied to this bird (see Pls. A, B). The blue or sometimes green markings on the wing of the Egyptian vulture (*aleph*) appear to be substituted for more naturalistic grey (Wepemnofret, Pl. A, or *Medum*, Pl. B) according to the same interchange of colour, and this is true of the blue and green marks on the *wr* bird, early examples of which (Wepemnofret, Pl. A; Iwnw, Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XXVII) show grey markings. Similarly the blue mane on the ram (in the name of Khnum-khufuw in the chapel of Iy-mery) would be more easy to understand were it a substitute for black. A ram in the chapel of Meresankh III is actually painted brown with a black mane. Possibly the blue (or green?) stripes down the fox skins in the *ms* sign in Iy-mery would be more reasonable if accepted as such a substitute.

The unusual use of green for the horns of a black and white ox on a wall of Atet's chapel (*Medum*, pl. XXVII), or blue for the horns of cattle on the painted wall of G 1234, is found later in the Middle Kingdom. For example, the horns of a bubalis are painted green on a relief from the Menthu-hotep temple at Deir el Bahari, now in Brussels, while the horns of an ibex are painted blue in the chapel of Daga (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. I). This use of green or blue in place of the more common black or grey seems to correspond to the frequent interchange of these colours that we find in the hieroglyphs. The common interchange of black and blue, of blue and green (which seems to be more common than Mrs. Williams thought), and even black, blue, and green, can easily be visualized by comparing the various signs as they are repeated under each colour heading in the table of hieroglyphs in Appendix A.

In spite of his conventional use of colour, the Egyptian painter was often capable of accurate reproduction, and it frequently repays the effort to study carefully in each case his reasons for choosing a certain colour. Mrs. Williams (*l.c.*) has made the first exhaustive study that has been attempted of the colour conventions employed by the Egyptian painter in the Old Kingdom. Adopting the general outlines which she has laid down, it is possible by utilizing certain evidence to which she did not have access to amplify and illustrate her observations a little more fully. One of the points which she has emphasized should always be kept in mind. This is to distinguish sharply between the colour of lines which are primarily intended for drawing, and colour which is meant to tell as the hue of an object. A second point is that of common interchanges of colour. The first of these, that between blue and black and blue and green, has already been mentioned. The blue and black interchange is the most common in the Old Kingdom and was probably due to a lack of sharp visual perception between these two colours, as was probably the indiscriminate use of blue, black, or green. In usage this interchange has a more perplexing effect than that of green and yellow, which seems to have been confined to fibrous objects, or the common alternation between red and yellow, both of which are more comprehensible to the modern eye in many cases. A third and interesting observation is that the artist occasionally altered the colour of several objects in a row, ordinarily the same hue, in order to distinguish each separate piece more clearly, or to vary the monotony of the colour scheme. Finally, Mrs. Williams has pointed

out that in good painting the artist alters his border-line (or inner drawing lines) from red to black, according to its suitability to the colour which it outlines.

The colour conventions observed in the painting of hieroglyphs are of such a complicated nature and illustrated by so many examples that I have thought it useful to make a table of hieroglyphs in Appendix A, grouping the simple painted signs under the colours in which they occur, and arranging each group in the order and with the numbers given in Gardiner's sign list. It is possible in this way to compare the different colorations of a single sign by turning from one group to the relative position occupied by the sign in the next. The more complicated painted signs, with many colours, I have grouped together, illustrating as many as possible by the coloured drawings on Pls. A and B. In selecting these signs I have endeavoured to eliminate all monuments which display a special colour convention in their inscriptions, and do not employ an ordinary use of polychromy. Thus I have excluded all the green and blue signs from the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir, because there the inscriptions are composed almost entirely of green and blue signs. This conventional use of blue and green is the same as that found in the blue or green incised hieroglyphs of the texts in the Dyn. V and VI pyramids, or in certain incised or sunk relief inscriptions in private monuments where all the signs are filled in with green paint throughout, or sometimes in blue. There is no colour significance for a sign, ordinarily yellow or red, for example, when it appears blue or green in the chapel of Ptah-shepses. The extended use of blue and green, like that of red and black for drawing lines, to be mentioned below, had a certain effect on other inscriptions employing ordinary polychrome signs. This is felt in some of the royal reliefs, although it will be seen that it is not restricted to them alone. It is very probable that the conventional use of green was developed in the painting of sunk relief inscriptions in red granite, where a solid use of one colour would be more readily visible against the mottled colouring of the stone, and where colours such as red would be almost invisible. In the reliefs of Sahura several curious interchanges of colour could be explained by this conventional use of green and blue. Thus the reed leaf (M 17) and the *n* (N 35) are painted blue, while the *t* (X 1), *s:h* (D 61), the *hm* sign (N 41), the *h* (O 4), the *h-t* sign (O 6), and the butcher's block (T 28) are all green. Similarly in the Neferirkara reliefs the *w:šr* sign (F 12), the *nfr* sign (F 35), the land sign (N 17), the *hm* sign (N 41), the *t* (X 1), and the *w:š* sign (S 40) are green. I would suggest that this same influence caused the use of blue in private tombs for the signs *i* (M 17) and *p* (Q 3) in G 1243; for *s:h* (D 61) in Nen-kheft-ka; *n* (N 35) in Naga-ed-Dér 359 and Itety; *d* (I 10) in Yeduwt; *k* (V 31) in Ka-kher-ptah and Kay-m-ankh; and *h* (V 28) in Ka-kher-ptah and Sneferuw-in-shat-f. The use of green for the signs *s:h* (D 61) in MM D 62 and Akhet-hetep, and *h-t* (O 6) in Nesuwt-nofer probably has the same source. Other influences such as the ordinary interchange between blue, green, and black may have been at work in some of these cases. It is difficult to find another explanation for the use of blue or green for the *nfr* sign, ordinarily shown in some combination of red and white or red and yellow, or for the *s:h* sign (D 61), which is more reasonably coloured (if they are toes) with red outlines around white in G 6010. Even in this case the base rectangle is lined with blue, however. Other conventions appear within the limits of a single stela, such as that of Nen-kheft-ka, where there is no black except for the hair parts of the figure and where signs ordinarily black are either blue or green. This carries the blue-black-green exchange to an extreme, for some reason now obscure.

The use of black or red does not necessarily bear any colour significance due to the constant use of these colours for drawing lines, their frequent application in solid mass in hastily painted inscriptions, or their substitution for more expensive pigments. The use of black and red for ordinary writing on papyrus or tablets must also have affected monumental inscriptions. One of these factors has been the cause for the coloration of all the signs that are listed under the heading of black lines around white or

red lines around white, except in such examples as the *nfr* sign (F 35) or the *imsh* sign (F 39), which often present some combination of red and white colouring. The fibre objects *h* (V 28), coloured both red and black; *mh* (V 23), red; or *t* (V 13), black, fall into the same category, as do the somewhat doubtful *pt* sign (N 1); the grape vine (M 43); *hb* (O 22); *krsw* (Q 6); *cnh* (S 34); and the animals and birds listed under the heading of solid red signs. Signs coloured black for similar reasons, and probably all ordinarily another colour (although the *ib* sign is otherwise unknown) are the mouth (D 21); the kid (E 8); the *ms* sign (F 31); the crocodile (I 3); the snake (I 10); the *ts* sign (U 30); and the knife (T 30). There are perhaps other examples of this sort that I have overlooked, but the above are sufficient to mark the usage of black and red in such a conventional fashion, the colour having no significant relationship to that of the original object.

It will be seen that the table offers further corroboration of Mrs. Williams's conclusions as to the variations between yellow and green in the painting of fibre objects, as well as the ordinary interchange between blue and black. But it is to be noted that there are a number of examples of the interchange, the consistency of which she thought doubtful, of blue and green in the Old Kingdom, and of an alternation of all three colours, green, blue, and black. There is an unquestionable substitution of blue for green in the water of two examples of the sign N 39 which appear on the same wall in the chapel of Meresankh III, and this same sign is consistently painted grey on the Wepemnofret slab-stela. There can be no doubt that the widespread use of blue or green for inscriptions, referred to above, must have affected this interchange, as in the case of the *wsr* sign or the *t* found in all three colours. Red and yellow appear in an interchange that is to be expected from their alternate use in the representation of human flesh. Red, yellow, or black are alternately used to represent wood, as in the case of the *ht* sign (M 3). The *nw* pot (W 24) appears in all colours, red, yellow, black, green, and blue, while the pellets (N 33) are red, blue, green, and black, and the stroke (Z 1) is red, black, and blue. The signs for grain (M 33) are either red or yellow. The signs representing desert land (N 18, N 22, N 25, and N 26) are often elaborately dotted on light red to represent the surface of a sandy waste, sometimes with green blobs, apparently intended to represent plant life, amongst the smaller dark red dots (black, white, and green dots, in addition to the red flecks, appear in the representation of desert land in Atet's paintings). Curiously enough, the hillock (N 29) is never shown thus (as a hieroglyph, although its shape is often repeated along the base-line of a hunting scene), but is known to me only in a blue-black variation. The sign N 22 appears green in Rahotep, and N 17 (or 18) may be either blue, black, or green.

Several signs present special peculiarities of colouring for which it is difficult to find an explanation. Thus, neither the red of the Kha-bauw-sokar stela nor the blue of the Naga-ed-Dêr 359 specimen are satisfactory colours for the headless kid (F 26). A curious yellow variant appears in Nesuwt-nofer for the sign F 45, usually black. The reason for colouring the supposed Pharaoh's placenta (Aa 1) green or yellow remains obscure, and the remarkable variation should be noted of the brazier with flame rising from it (Q 7, ordinarily red) coloured blue with green tabs like plants on the base (Ka-m-sennuw, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb*, pl. 1). The water-skin, elaborately coloured black, white, and red (*Medum*, pl. I), is carefully drawn in the chapel of Meresankh III as though made from twisted fibre, yellow with red lines (like the *mh* sign). Finally, the blue colouring of the half-moon and star (N 11 -- N 14) might, with the blue of the *hn* sign (F 26) noted above, be considered as a conventional use of blue as discussed in a preceding paragraph were it not for other curious colourings of this sign, half white, half black for the moon, and yellow for the star (Cairo stela, 1415), or the moon green and the star red (Itety).

For base- and border-lines, the most common colour used at Giza and Saqqarah is black, early

examples being found on fragments from Pyramid G I b, and in the chapel of Khufuw-khaf. Green was also commonly used, being found in the chapel of Rahotep at Medum, at Giza probably on the border of the slab stela of Nofert (G 1207), and in the chapel of Ankh-haf (G 7510), G 4940, G 5170, Nesuwt-nofer (G 4970), Nen-sezer-ka (G 2100 Annex II), and in the temple of Weserkaf. Blue border-lines are found in G 1151, G 2150, G 1029 (blue vertical lines and black base-lines), and G 5080, where a blue incised line is found inside a red border. Blue border-lines also appear on the Cairo stela, No. 1417, and in the temple of Sahura. On the east wall of G 7650 dividing lines are formed by a narrow stripe of green bordered with blue. The red border of the architrave in G 5080 is, as far as I know, the only use of red in a border-line. The chain border that is often found running vertically along the edge of the wall is formed between two blue lines and has white and black inner markings. With its half-moon markings below, this design is evidently adapted from the conventionalized tail pattern. It is found distinctly marked on the tail of the panther skin worn by the figures on the niches of Iy-nefer (Dahshur), on the north wall of G 2001, and occurs as late as the Deir el Bahari reliefs on a figure of Thothmes I (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, I, pl. XIV). Its first occurrence as a border pattern is in the Hesi-ra paintings, as far as I have been able to determine.

Although the clothing of both men and women is usually white, there are a number of instances of coloured garments in Old Kingdom paintings and painted relief. Red dresses occur in the seated figure of Nofert (G 1207) on her slab-stela, in the case of one figure of Sedyt on the east wall of the chapel of Mer-ib (Berlin Museum), a daughter on one of the columns of Selim Bey Hassan's chapel of Hemet-ra, the wife of Nesuwt-nofer (G 4870) on the northern false-door, the wife of Seneb the dwarf, the wife of Meny (Hildesheim; the dress is covered by a pattern of raised squares), the dress of a woman in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, II, pl. 22), and of an offering-bearer on the north wall of G 5170 (Tübingen). A red cloak is worn by the bearded god in the hieroglyph (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XII, from Ptah-hotep, MM D 62). A red stripe appears on the cloak of the hunter (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII) which is green, blue, yellow, and red. Green occurs frequently in the colouring of women's dresses, for example, on a woman in the relief fragments of Pyramid G I b, in the figures of goddesses in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pls. 20, 29, 30, 31; also on the kilts of two male gods, pl. 30); on the dress of a seated woman in the chapel of Iby (*Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. XII), and a standing woman in the chapel of Zauw (*l.c.*, II, pl. XII); on an offering-bearer on the north wall of G 5170 (Tübingen); on the dress of the goddess Ma'at (*Ptahhetep*, II, pl. XVIII); on an offering-bearer in the neighbouring chapel of Akhet-hetep and on one of the figures of the wife of Mereruwka. A green cloak is found on the herdsman hieroglyph (A 47), on the false-door of the dwarf Seneb (Cairo), and on the painted fragment of inscription of Neferma'at of Medum where the black border and stripes are reminiscent of the huntsman's cloak in Ptah-hotep (found also without colour on a block in the mastaba of Yeduwat, not included in the publication of that chapel; and in the Abu Gurob 'seasons' reliefs). The hieroglyph in Thiy, although retaining no colour, has the cross-stripes incised. Green cross-lines imitating an embroidered or woven pattern appear on the robe of the king (*Ré-Heiligtum*, III, pl. 7, No. 173; compare the similar pattern on the British Museum ivory figure (Pl. 1)).

Green appears upon the skirt of a dancer on the south wall of the chapel G 1029, and green stripes decorate the skirts of the acrobats in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, II, pl. 55). The dancers in the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020, south wall of room b) wore skirts striped with red, green, and blue, while similar skirts were worn by the dancing girls of Sneferuw-in-shat-f where the yellowish background was allowed to show through between the blue and red stripes. Similarly striped skirts must have appeared in the tomb of Khufuw-khaf II, although the colour is now gone, leaving only the incised lines indicating

the stripes. Green was the colour usually employed to indicate the elaborate bead nets that fashionable ladies of the Old Kingdom wore over their white sheath gowns. The figure of the queen in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, II, pl. 48) shows a simple system of crossing diagonal lines of green, but more elaborate bead designs are seen on the figures of the Princess Hemet-ra in her chapel in the Quarry Cemetery east of the Second Pyramid at Giza. Here every four crossing beads (arranged in diagonal rows) formed a four-petalled flower or star of green with a dot of blue in the centre. In one case these are laid over a network of red lines, but I believe that these served as guiding lines rather than part of the design, although they lend a pleasant appearance to the pattern. The shoulder-straps of this dress were formed of horizontal bands of green, red, and blue beadwork. This type of beaded shoulder-strap existed more often perhaps than the present condition of the walls of most chapels would testify. It is found at the top of the bead garment of Meresankh III (Fig. 64) and is suggested by fragments of blue and green on the shoulder-straps of the wife of Seshem-nofer (G 4940, north wall). The simple diamond-shaped pattern formed by the crossing diagonal lines is found in the Meresankh III dress, both upon the east wall and on the column of the west wall. In this case the beads are painted blue and not green. Green was the usual colour for these beadwork patterns as another example from G 2375 shows. *Deir el Gebrâwi*, II, pl. XVII, shows the wife of Isy with a cross-pattern of green, yellow, and red with orange(?) centres on her dress. A curious use of green is that for the wigs of Anubis figures (*Sa-hu-rê*, II, pl. 23; also pl. 22, where it is uncertain whether the figure is Anubis). In the Neferirkara reliefs (*l.c.*, p. 29) the wig of a god is shown with blue and green stripes.

Other colours beside red and green are rare in Old Kingdom costume. In addition to the beadwork designs and curious wig decorations noted above, and stripes in many-coloured garments, blue occurs frequently in ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, and occasionally in a crown or head-dress such as that of a lady in the paintings of Sneferuw-in-shat-f. In another unpublished fragment from this same tomb, a garment of the *ic* type which has been hung over a pole is coloured blue with a sort of herring-bone pattern in black. The garment beside this is orange-yellow with black spots and is evidently meant for a panther skin. Possibly the blue indicates the skin of an animal, using a convention which makes blue the fur of a monkey (Ptah-hotep (MM D 64) and Sneferuw-in-shat-f) and the hide of the addax (Yeduw) and that of an ibex (Rahotep). In this case the blue may be a free approximation to grey or the olive colour used in the paintings of Atet for an addax.<sup>1</sup>

Yellow is used sparingly in a few cases, such as the apron worn by male figures over their kilts, and of course as the ground colour for the panther-skin garment. In this case the yellow is sometimes broken up by orange splotches around the black spots, as on the slab-stela of Wepemnofret. One or two occurrences of yellow as the colour of a woman's dress are problematical. The pigment thinly covering the figure of an offering-bearer on the north wall of G 5170 (Tübingen) may have been smeared over from the body colour. There is no trace of yellow paint on the dress of the woman on the east wall of the chapel of Ptah-nefer-bauw, which was painted yellow by Lepsius's draughtsman. This would appear to be a copyist's mistake as the colours have proved extremely durable in that chapel and have altered little on the other walls since Lepsius's time. Yellow is found once as the colour of the hair of Queen Hetepheres II. I agree with Mrs. Williams that in this case the colour represented is yellow, and the red cross-lines are simply the usual red drawing lines common on yellow objects. Lepsius has shown us another lady with yellow hair, the wife of Seshem-nofer (LG 54). The plate (*Denkmäler*, II, 90) shows her

<sup>1</sup> In the restoration which I made of an animal on a fragment from Atet's chapel (*J.E.A.*, 1937, p. 22, fig. 3) I have made the mistake of drawing the animal as an oryx. It was the same colour as the addax on the fragment in the South

Kensington Museum, and must have been an addax or an ibex, but not an oryx, which seems to have been invariably coloured white with salmon under-parts.

twice with the hair coloured yellow. Only the false-door of the chapel is now preserved, and the figure on the tablet has a faint brownish red colour on the hair parts. This can hardly be an under-painting for yellow. It apparently has to be assumed that Lepsius's draughtsman has again made a mistake, a conclusion which I accept the more grudgingly since the copyist's original drawing shows a careful attention to small detail, such as the red and green lines of the basketwork and the colouring of the hieroglyphs, that makes it seem hardly possible that large areas of colour can have been copied wrongly. The colour of the flesh is copied a peculiar brown, however. At best, even if it existed, the occurrence of the yellow on the hair would not have signified careful observance on the part of the ancient artist for it is applied indiscriminately to the offering-bearer as well as to the chief figure on one wall.

### c. The Painting Technique

In attempting to distinguish between colour, which imitates that of the original, and drawing lines where the colour of the line itself has no meaning, there are certain distinctions to be noted which simplify an examination of the material. In addition to the outlines and drawing lines which subdivide the main parts of a figure or object, the large masses of plain, even colour, approximating to the local colours of the original, are broken up in a number of different ways. First there is the painting of small details, not only by means of neutral drawing lines, in conventional red or black, but by dots, hatchings, or small patches of colour imitating the actual hue. Another means employed was the use of fine drawing lines which have lost their conventional width and become mere hair-lines of the brush (or to be more exact, lines of the fine fibres composing the brush) to imitate the deepening and varied colour of fur, feathers, &c. A third device, more rarely used, but which is visible in a few cases on well-preserved walls, was the application of a wash of colour producing an effect of a gradation from light to dark, but actually increasing or decreasing only in the intensity of the hue. Accidents of preservation have naturally affected these surface details more than the body colours beneath, but a careful examination of well-preserved examples of painting leads one to believe that in the Old Kingdom the painter broke up his surfaces, consistently producing an effect somewhat different from the large masses of flat colour that have generally been assumed to be characteristic of his work. In no case is there any observation of the deepening of colour to suggest the shading of a rounded surface as has been observed in a few cases in the New Kingdom. In the few examples where a graded colour is preserved in the Old Kingdom it is simply an attempt to record the change of colour inherent in an object without any regard for its solidity or for any play of light and shade.

References to the use of broken colour and of a kind of shading with pigments in the New Kingdom can be given briefly as follows. Most of these have been collected by Breasted in his *Oriental Fore-runners of Byzantine Painting*, p. 91, footnote 2. N. de G. Davies has called attention to instances of shading in the XIXth Dynasty tomb of Queen Nefretari at Thebes (*Bull. of Met. Mus.*, Dec. 1922, part 2, p. 52). Here Davies states that '... we can scarcely fail to see true shading; that is to say, the deepening of colour when in shadow, and not merely its natural variations', although in an earlier review of Schäfer's *Von Aegyptischer Kunst* he was not so certain of this. There he writes (*J.E.A.*, vol. VII, p. 225):

That the Egyptian was aware of his shortcomings is clear, but his avoidance of a gamut of colour is not less so. Where the edge of the colour is obviously not sharp, as in the spots on the coat of an animal, he renders it by small serrations or streamers or fine spots, as a lithographer is obliged to do when his printings are limited. Thus the areola of the nipple is shown by a blue disk (halved when in profile) with an outer circle of dots.

It is strange that the only attempt at shading comes in the Nineteenth Dynasty; although I know no instance of

it under Akhenaten, I think his artists must have introduced it, or at least have pointed the way. The inclination to indicate form within the outline had by this time greatly increased; for the ankle, the depression of the navel, the dimple of the mouth are now marked by a curving line. In one artist's work there is shading on chin, cheek, and heel; but it is pretty clear that it is only the deepened colour that has been observed, and not its origin in form as a cast shadow. The latter can be predicated only in extreme cases, such as the black spot in the corner of the mouth and the nostril, which now appears, and soon becomes unpleasantly obtrusive.

In the second edition of his book (1922) Schäfer refers to this subject (p. 57) as follows:

Man hat oft hervorgehoben, dass die ägyptische Malerei natürlich nicht den Schlagschatten beachte, aber auch den Selbstschatten nicht wiedergebe, sondern nur mit gleichmässigen, ungebrochenen Flächen arbeite. Das ist im Allgemeinen richtig. Aber es kommt doch in der Neunzehnten Dynastie manchmal vor, dass eine Seite eines Armes, die Halsgrube, das Kinn, die Wange oder die Seite der Nase mit einem tieferen Tone der Hautfarbe versehen werden, um den wärmeren Hauch, den die Körperfarben im Schatten haben, wiederzugeben und zugleich die Rundung der Teile, aber nicht eigentlich den Schatten selbst. Vor dieser Zeit sind die einzigen Stellen, wo ich in ägyptischen Bildern Schattenstellen finden könnte, die lebendigen Falten an den weiten Gewändern des Neuen Reiches. Die ältere Kunst gibt solche Falten nicht wieder, sondern nur die scharfen, durch Liegen der Stoffe bei der Aufbewahrung entstandenen und dann absichtlich festgehaltenen Kniffe, sowie die starre, enge Fältelung, die bei manchen Kleidungsstücken als Schmuck diente.

Schäfer goes on to say that this attitude toward shadow was not unique in Egyptian art but was felt by the painters of the Middle Ages and those of the east. He feels that the black spot in the corner of the mouth and nostril is not really an indication of the shadow but only drawing to indicate the depression. He also points out the use of fine drawing lines to imitate the hair on animals, &c. I believe that an earlier example of the shading of garments is to be found in the diagonal bands of green across the robe of Ukh-hotep III (*Meir*, III, pl. XXXV, north wall). The colour has been stippled on so that it ranges from a pale tone where it adjoins the white of the garment on one side to a solid deep hue at the other edge of the green band. In this chapel should also be noted the transparent over-garments: when these hang free of the figure they are painted a pale grey; when they cover the flesh (unobscured by a thicker garment underneath) they are represented by a tone of red paler than that of bare skin. On a female figure wearing one of these transparent garments the whole body seems to show a gradation of stippled grey tones but this may possibly be due to a soiling of the painted surface. The light red flesh of the cloaked figure on the north wall appears to be a stippled tone rather than a flat wash. This chapel of Ukh-hotep III (C 1) is throughout one of the most remarkable masterpieces of Egyptian painting, richly deserving more attention than it has hitherto received.

To the above references should be added the further material which appears in Nina M. Davies's *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. On p. 199 (Vol. III) mention is made of the high lights in yellow ochre of the sunk reliefs in the tomb of Amenkhopeshef where both the Prince and his father, Rameses III, are thus shown, although the usage does not extend to a neighbouring goddess (pl. CIII). Plates XCI and XCII show examples of the shading in the tomb of Queen Nefretari, while LXXXVII illustrates a similar use of shading in the XIXth Dynasty chapel of Userhet at Thebes. A less obvious example of Dyn. XVIII is that of the feet of the women on the British Museum fragment (pl. LXX). In referring to the Oxford fragment of the Amarna princesses (pl. LXXIV) Mrs. Davies writes: 'Whether shading was deliberately intended is doubtful, since what appears to be such might be due to chance variation of density in the colouring.' Mr. N. de G. Davies denied the use of orpiment for high lights in this painting (*J.E.A.*, vol. VII, p. 4), but Petrie was very positive that these high lights existed when the painting was first discovered, and equally certain that shading existed (*J.E.A.*, vol. VII, p. 221). Finally, Mrs. Williams has noted another example of shading which she refers to in *The Tomb of Perneb*, p. 74: 'Shading with

pigments is not, however, as some of the commonly-used handbooks state, unknown in Egyptian art, because in ceiling paintings of later date, found by the Museum's Expedition [meaning paintings of the reign preceding Ikhнатon's], the rotundity of the bodies of flying ducks and pigeons clearly is indicated by this means.'

To return to the Old Kingdom, it has been observed that the Egyptian artist selected the colour of his outlines and inner drawing lines with a regard to the clarity with which they could be distinguished from the areas to which they were applied. Seldom, if ever, do the red or black lines have any significance in relation to the colouring of the original object, but are purely drawing lines. The ordinary dark red and black surfaces are usually unprovided with any outline, but light red and orange are outlined in darker red lines (rarely with black), and grey is outlined with black. Blue and green in careful work receive black drawing lines, while white and yellow are usually outlined in red, although not so consistently. The various hieroglyphs representing fibre objects are sometimes marked in red, but often in black, and occasionally other white and yellow objects are outlined in black. In less careful work it sometimes occurs that all the drawing lines are in red, as in the chapel of Nesuwt-nofer (G 4870) and Iy-mery (G 6020). In well executed painting the outlines in a single figure alter from red to black according to the changes in the various colours outlined. Mrs. Williams has called attention to a good example of this in the chapel of Ka-m-sennuw in the Metropolitan Museum (*Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb*, pl. I). In the drawing of the Medum geese, black outlines and markings are used for the grey, yellow ochre, brown, or red parts, while the white underparts and orange legs are enclosed in red lines. The orange beaks are, on the other hand, outlined in black. An elaborate observance of this convention is to be noted in the case of a fish in a painting from Dahshur (Mrs. Davies, *l.c.*, pl. IV). The upper part of the body is painted blue, shading off to white beneath. The criss-cross lines marking the position of the scales are black on the blue part and red on the white, while the outline above is black around the blue and the yellow of the mouth, changing to red where it encircles the white belly. A similar disposition in the colouring of the scales is found in the fish hieroglyph (*Medum*, pl. I). The hieroglyph *szc* (*Medum*, pl. XXVIII) shows a black line around the green garment, changing to red around the white border. The yellow of the flesh is outlined in black, but that of the stick in red. The green parts of the lion (on the same plate) are outlined in black, while the white and yellow spaces are marked partly in red, partly in black. A heron in the bird-netting scene (also pl. XXVIII) has the white parts outlined in red, while a black outline surrounds the green wing. A few other examples of this usage can be found at Giza. One of the female estates on the east wall of the chapel of Meresankh III carries a basket over her arm, the cord of which is white outlined and marked with red. But where the colour changes from the white of the handle to the green of the basket, the drawing lines become black instead of red. The same is to be observed in the drawing of the figure of Meresankh on the west wall. Here all the outlines of the body are red, but these change to black when marking the green and blue of the necklace, or the upper border of the panther-skin garment. Perhaps in the latter case, as in the spots on the skin, and the outlines of eye and eyebrow, the colour of the original influenced the choice of the drawing line. This seems to be true of certain examples of the face hieroglyph (*hr*). In Kay-m-ankh (and possibly in Perneb and Ka-m-sennuw) the outlines of the eye and the eyebrow are black like the hair and beard, while those of the nose, mouth, and rest of the face are red. In the Meresankh III tomb, on the other hand, all the outlines are black except the outer line of face and ears, which is red (Pl. B). The hieroglyph *ntr* (Meresankh III and Wepemnofret) in well-drawn examples shows red around white or yellow at the top with black markings for the grey or green of the lower part. Similarly the *iwt* (O 44) sign in Meresankh (Pl. B) has black lines around the green, and both red and black lines for the yellow parts.



The *tj* (U 30) sign in Ka-kher-ptah has black lines around the grey body of the sign and dark red around the light red projections. These examples, although not very numerous, seem sufficient to show that this alteration of the drawing lines to suit the body colours was a common practice in well-painted work, and would be found more often if it were not for the fact that so little painting has been recovered from the Old Kingdom. It should be mentioned that Lepsius's draughtsman has observed in the chapel of Fetekta at Saqqarah that parts of hieroglyphs coloured blue were outlined in black, while yellow signs were given red drawing lines (clearly marked in the original drawings in the Berlin Museum).

Another device adopted to increase the clarity of the drawing was the use of dark and light colours on overlapping figures in a group. This is found at Medum in the red and black oxen of Rahotep (*Medum*,

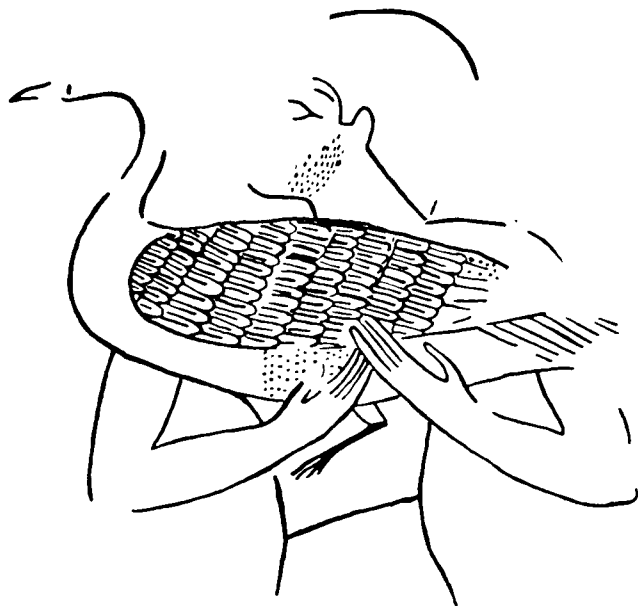


FIG. 97 a. Stubble of beard on offering-bearer in Naga-ed-Dér chapel N 359.

pl. XII) and Atet (pl. XVIII), or the red and yellow oxen of the Atet painted corridor (pl. XXVIII). This use of alternating light and dark hues to distinguish pairs of cattle ploughing or a number of animals in a herd is found frequently later, for example the sheep in the Libyan tribute of Sahura (*l.c.*, pl. 4, red-brown, yellow, black; and red-brown, black, red-brown, black); the ploughing oxen in Iymery's chapel (G 6020) (white, black); and the cattle fording a body of water in G 1234 (white, red, white, grey, white, red, white, and white with various mottlings and spots). Similar fording cattle are found in the Dahshur painting (De Morgan, *Origines*, p. 175) which are dark red, light red, white, grey, red, white, and grey. Another good example is to be seen in the overlapping game of the hunting scene (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 97) where the

ibexes are yellow, the addax brownish buff, and the gazelles a pinkish colour. Another group alternates a dark ochre with yellow ochre and a purplish brown (the colours are more clearly marked on the original drawing than on the plate). In a painting of an unidentified relief by Joseph Lindon Smith (M.F.A., No. 14.921) a light red gazelle overlaps a blue addax. A similar treatment is given to overlapping figures of men in a group. This occurs in the later tomb, No. 22, at Medum (pl. XXVIII) where men pulling a fish-net are alternately dark yellow and light red. A similar use of colour is found in the men pulling the cord of a bird-trap in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (MM D 64) at Saqqarah. In the chapel of Mereruwka, the far man in each pair of men bearing the carrying-chair (on the north wall of the pillared hall) is a dark red, almost chocolate coloured, while the near man in each pair is painted a light red. This is found again in Kagemni's tomb in the overlapping pairs of men pulling large vases on sledges in the inner room. In the chapel of Akhet-hetep-her in Leiden, the alternate figures in the confused group of fighting boatmen are made more clear by the use of dark and light red colour and the same is true of the group of fishermen pulling in a net. The later use of dark and light red to distinguish two figures wrestling is well known in the Middle Kingdom at Beni Hasan.

Another rather different use of alternating colour was more subject to the taste of the painter, and was apparently adopted rather to suit his sense of balance and desire for variety. This is the occasional use of different colours for the same sign when hieroglyphs must be repeated side by side in an inscription. Mrs. Williams has noted, in the chapel of Ka-m-sennuw, three *š-t* thrones which are green, yellow,

green, and *nw* pots which are blue, green, blue; or in Ptah-hotep where the *s't* thrones are blue, green, blue or green, blue, green. On the stela of Nen-kheft-ka, the *s't* thrones are green, yellow, blue, although the triple *nw* pots are always blue. In the case of three ducks (overlapping) serving as a determinative in an inscription in the chapel of Kahyfy, the bodies are yellow, pink, yellow. Three bowls containing meat in a picture list in the newly discovered chapel of Her-neb-kauw at Saqqarah are blue, red, blue, while three vegetables in a basket are green, yellow, green. Perhaps belonging to this same category of colour variation is the use of red, yellow, red, yellow, &c., loaves of bread on the offering-table in the chapels G 6010, G 2184, and Kaninesuwt II.

Some of the earliest and perhaps the finest examples of broken colour occur in the paintings from

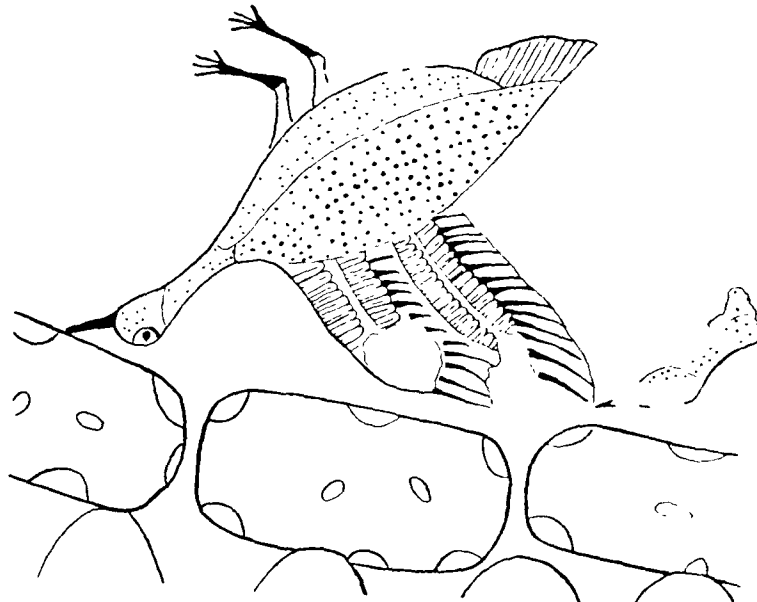


FIG. 97 *b*. Schematic feathering on bird N 359.

the outer corridor of the chapel of Atet at Medum. These have been lamentably smashed and scattered about the world, but they still testify to the minute care with which the painter applied his coloured detail. The best known piece from this chapel contains the famous geese in the Cairo Museum. Here the elaborate drawing lines, the stippling and rippled marks of the feathering, have been supplemented in some cases by a use of finely applied brush-lines to indicate even more exactly the texture and gradation of the colours of the plumage. This can be seen clearly on the tail of the bird on the right, on the top of the head of the bird on the left and in the black marks on the grey back feathers of the second and third bird on the right. A rough later approximation of the elaborate feathering of the Medum geese is found in the procession of large birds on the north wall of the burial-chamber of Kay-m-ankh (Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926, pl. V) in the hieroglyphs of ducks and geese in the offering list of Ka-kher-ptah (Pl. B) and less well preserved in the birds painted on the stone façade of Itety (G 7391, now in Turin). These suggest how much detail has been lost in the disappearance of the paint from Old Kingdom walls. It is interesting to compare with these naturalistic examples a late schematic rendering of feathering from the Intermediate period tomb, Naga-ed-Dêr 359 (Fig. 97 *b*). The body of the bird is divided into sharply defined masses of flat colour, blue on wings and back, salmon on breast, white on neck, and red on head and upper legs. The tail is yellow. The body is covered with regularly disposed lines of dots, the wings with formalized feather patterns, and the tail with slanting stripes. All markings are in black. This is a vast contrast to the delicate system of dots and markings of the birds held by a man on a Medum fragment (*J.E.A.*, 1937, pl. IV; *Medum*, pl. XXVIII partly in Boston and partly in

the South Kensington Museum). The same exquisite painted detail is found on a pin-tail duck held by an offering-bearer on the upper part of the south wall of the pillared offering-hall of Thiy. On the large piece from Neferma'at's chapel in Philadelphia (*Medum*, pl. XXVIII) the lion hieroglyph has a series of fine red lines over the yellow of the mane, and coarser black marks on the white of the tuft beneath the ear. On a fragment of an animal in University College (*J.E.A.*, 1937, p. 22, fig. 3) the tail is marked with a series of closely drawn, broken parallel lines which very effectively indicate the mottled appearance of the hair. Toward the end these marks imitate the furry edge of the tail. The marks are black on the same olive colour that is found on the South Kensington addax (*Medum*, pl. XXVIII). The marking of the white eyeball with a touch of red appears in the Neferma'at painting (*l.c.*, pl. XXVIII). The oryx in Rahotep seems to show an example of the light red or salmon-coloured shading of the flanks (*l.c.*, pl. XIV) which occurs in a number of later cases. At Medum also appears for the first time the breaking up of the surfaces representing desert ground with small dots of colour on the light red background, both in the case of hieroglyph (*l.c.*, pl. XXVIII, which is actually spotted with red, black, white, and green) and in the ground itself which is painted beneath the animals (examples both at University College and Oxford). The stippling is very elaborate, being sometimes red, black, and white on light red; sometimes red, black, white, and green. I do not know of any later examples of the use of black and white dots which seem to be a peculiarity of the painter of Atet's chapel, but in the Dyn. XVIII chapel of Kenamun, the pinkish desert is mottled with red, blue (or grey), and white specks of colour (Mrs. Davies, *l.c.*, pl. XXXI). Red and grey dots appear on a hieroglyph in the chapel of Meresankh III (Pl. B).

The slab-stela of Wepemnofret preserves very finely drawn inner detail. The colouring is often more natural in appearance as it is not always bounded by clear-cut outlines. In this it somewhat resembles the impressionistic blobs of colour representing the flowers on the green plants in the geese panel from Medum. The clean edges of the relief in the case of Wepemnofret, however, provide a boundary in themselves. The grey markings of the *ꜥd* fish, and *wr* bird, the splotchy spots on the back of the frog, and the delicate markings on the back of the pin-tail duck are blended with the body colour by the use of very fine brush-strokes along the edges (Pl. A). The stippling and hatching of the feathering of the owl (Pl. A) is more formal in drawing as are the markings of the *aleph*, the hawk, the *bꜣw* birds, and the quail chick, but the latter shows a graded wash of colour ranging from orange on the back to yellow on the breast, like the grading from olive to yellow on the frog (Pl. A).

In the chapel of Meresankh III, the grey crane on the east wall is a good example of the varying of the surface by the use of fine brush-lines to indicate the feathering. The contrast between this more naturalistic way of approximating the colour of the original and the ordinary use of conventional drawing lines can be seen by comparing this bird with the vulture hieroglyph on the upper part of the same wall, where the feathering is schematically simplified and marked with lines of conventional width (Pl. B). The same is true of the owl and the *ꜣh* bird on the west wall, both beautifully drawn but conventionalized. The indication of the wood-graining on the *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ* coffin in the architrave inscription (west wall) is by the use of red drawing lines, but the result is realistic (Pl. B). The most elaborate wood-graining known from the Old Kingdom is in the Hesi-ra paintings where the knots in the wood are sometimes suggested by splotches of black paint, and where the deep ochre lines on the yellow of the boxes are unusually wide and vary somewhat, seeming to grade to a deeper colour (Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesi*, pls. VIII, X, XIII, XIV). Similar to this imitation of the surface of wood is the illusory stippling of surfaces to imitate coloured stone, particularly granite. A pinkish red background is often splotched with black and white, as in the case of the false-door and ceiling of Yeduw (G 7102). This technique sometimes

achieved striking results in the later imitation of stone vessels by dummy vases of wood, elaborate approximations to the markings and texture of different stones being attempted. I know of no example of this last as early as the Old Kingdom, however.

The marking of the muzzles and under-parts of animals with a pale salmon-coloured wash is a common occurrence in Dyn. V and VI. This usually served as a foundation for dots, indicating the base of the hairs on the muzzle, or fine brush-strokes to represent the hair of the animal's coat. A bull on the east wall of the outer room of the chapel of Iy-mery has a pink muzzle and under-parts, unmarked. The oryx on the north wall of the chapel of Kahyfy has the muzzle thus marked with red dots on pale red, while the neck, breast, and flanks are covered with long brush-strokes of pale buff, marked with finer brush-lines of darker colour indicating the hairs. The belly of the animal is white. The brush-strokes sink deep in the thick paint or wet plaster upon which it was applied and give the effect of lines of darker colour. The naked flesh on the shoulder of the *aleph* in the neighbouring inscription is painted pink with red dots. A photograph of a cow in the chapel of Pepy-ankh at Meir (Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. XXIV) shows a similar treatment of the flanks of the animal (rougher, however) to that of the oryx in Kahyfy. Another example is to be seen in the oryx (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 97). The markings are less conventionalized on the original drawing than on the plate, and show darker lines over buff, rippled lines and parallel strokes. Several blocks from the great picture list in the temple of Pepy II exhibit a similar use of graded colour. A calf's head has the edge of the upper lip salmon red, shading off to a yellowish tone and finally to white in the upper muzzle, all thickly marked with red dots. A head of an oryx has a deep red stripe around the edge where the neck has been cut off, toning down in a gradual transition through orange to white. Fine black parallel lines mark a semicircular loop from the jaw up around the eye to the nostril, and thin brown lines mark the buff-coloured ear. An equally naturalistic treatment is sometimes found in the painting of the bulbous ends of onions in the picture lists. These are sometimes covered with tiny spear-shaped spaces indicated by light red drawing lines to imitate the skin, as in Iy-mery, but may be graded in colour from pale salmon through darkening red to a deep brown on the stems, as in the Pepy II reliefs. The rootlets are usually shown with fine red-brown lines. A gradation from yellow ochre (showing darker brush-lines) to white (tinged with pink) is found in the birds carried by the offering-bearers on the north and south walls of G 2001 (Frontispiece). I noted also a bird in the picture list of Pepy II where the colouring of the body graded from deep green to a pale hue.

The fur of animals is often indicated by fine lines, as in the case of the oryx, mentioned above. The earliest example of this usage appears to be that noted by Quibell in the swamp scene of the outer corridor of Hesi-ra where the hair on the legs of the oxen was indicated by short, stippled strokes. In indicating the hair of the tails of cattle, drawing lines of conventional width are ordinarily used, as on the south wall of room b of the Iy-mery chapel; but there are some examples of a more realistic treatment. The hyena on the east wall of the chapel of Junker's Nofer has fine lines drawn in pale red or pink (a strange colour to select for this and the other markings of the body) to show the furry edge of the tail. Coarser lines are drawn on the back of the hyena led by one of the funerary estates in a painting of Sneferuw-in-shat-f, and there are black bristling hairs on the backs and tails of white hyenas in Lepsius Saqqarah 1 (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 97). The mongoose climbing the papyrus stalk in the swamp scene of the chapel of Yeduwt has long, fine brush-strokes of a darker colour to indicate the hair on the brown back. The body colour of this animal seems to be laid on in a wash grading from dark brown to buff on the under-parts. These details are not very clearly rendered in the coloured frontispiece of Macramallah's *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, where the scale is too small. The bubalis, antelopes, and wild cattle in the hunting scene of

Lepsius Saqqarah 1 have fine brown hair-lines over buff. The tails of the wild cattle have black markings as well as brown. Whether some of the details are due to the conventions of the ancient artist or to the modern copyist is sometimes difficult to decide, but the original of the Lepsius plate is a beautifully executed drawing, and the quality of workmanship carries conviction. Finally, the lion's head at the top of the east wall in the inner room of Thiy has long black lines curving away from the front of the eye and a delicate stippling of black dots on the yellow muzzle. Similar markings on the heads of animals appear in the addax of the Medum fragment of Atet and on an antelope in the Boston chapel of Ptah-sekhem-ankh.



FIG. 98. Drops of blood near throat of slaughtered bull, Naga-ed-Dêr N 248.

Very fine painting occurs on the fragments from a Dahshur tomb to which reference has been made several times. The best fragment is reproduced by Mrs. Davies (*Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. IV). The elaborate colouring of one of the fishes was mentioned above. It shows a grading of colour from deep blue on the back to white on the under-parts. The eel and *nar*-fish have a similar grading from grey-brown to buff on the belly. The surfaces of both these brown fish are covered by fine, parallel dark brown brush-strokes which break up the body colour in a naturalistic fashion. More schematic is the scaling of the other fish, the graining of the foot-board of the boat, and the red lines on the pink stems and dotting of the pods of the water plants. A magnificent formalized pattern is found in the scales (black, and red with black markings on olive grey) and the 'sun-burst' markings of black, with cream-coloured interstices, on the crocodile. A less elaborate, but closely similar, treatment is found in the outer chapel of the Hesi-ra mastaba and in the corridor painting of G 1234.

One other type of colour application which falls within the range of graded colour is the use of fine vertical red or brown lines on the surface of the pyramidal yellow cakes in the picture lists. The most carefully executed example of this that I know is on the south wall of room b in the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020), where short parallel flecks are drawn on the cakes near the top and the base, but somewhat rough examples occur in the Boston chapels of Ptah-sekhem-ankh and Ka-m-nofret, the Saqqarah

tomb of Her-neb-kauw, and the burial-chambers of Mereruwka, Yeduwt, Kay-m-ankh, and the Deshri tomb in the Cairo Museum. The rough but realistic drawing of the blow-fish hieroglyph in the burial-chamber of Ka-kher-ptah (Pl. B), where the lines are drawn in black on yellow, red, and white, is a confusing mixture of graded colour, drawing lines, and indication of local colour. Conventionalized, this fish usually appears marked with plain concentric rings of colour (orange on white, Qar; but see *Deir el Gebrâwi*, II, pl. XV).

Finally, there are certain examples of the application of coloured detail which do not show the refinement of the graded hues and broken surfaces noted above, but which contribute largely to our knowledge

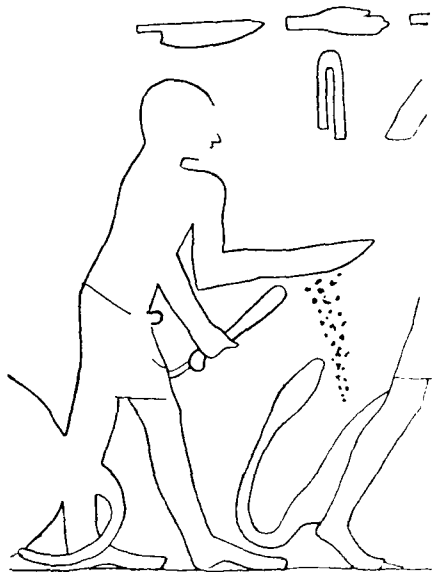


FIG. 99. Blood dripping from knife of slaughterer; chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020).

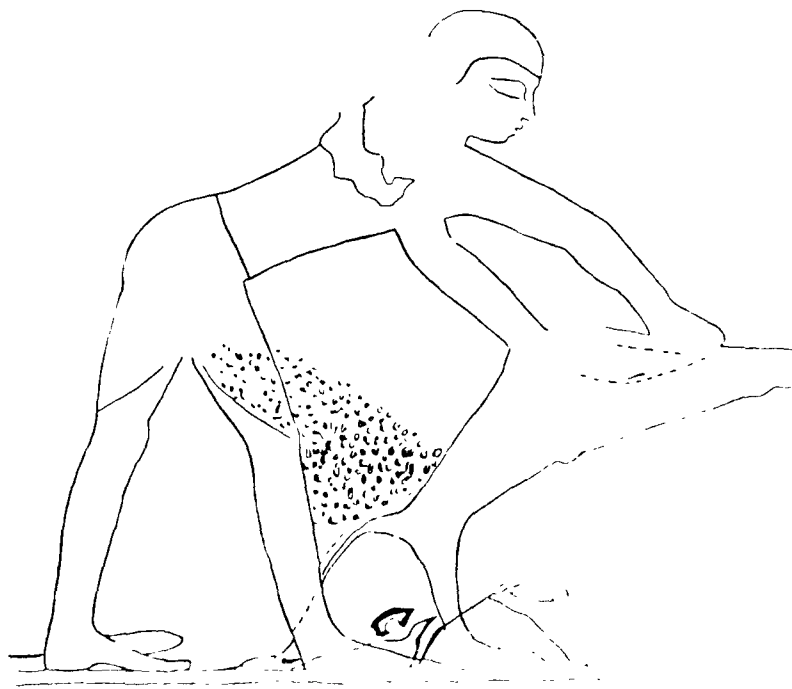


FIG. 100. Drops of blood at throat of slaughtered bull: Naga-ed-Dér chapel N 248.

of the objects and figures represented. Among these should be singled out the brightly coloured plumage of the birds in the picture list on the west wall of the offering-room of Yeduwt, the black and white markings of the kingfishers, the striping of the genet cat, the banding of the bird's nests, and the brown back and buff underparts of the hippopotamus in the swamp scene of that tomb (all more vividly coloured than in the coloured plate of the publication of this chapel). The black dots and strokes to represent the stubble of beard on one of the peasants in the swamp scene in the chapel of Yeduwt are found again in the paintings of N 359 at Naga-ed-Dér (Fig. 97 *a*). The papyrus flowers in Yeduwt are coloured after a well-known formula, which is nevertheless rarely preserved. The wide, bell-shaped form is coloured green with a yellow stripe across the top, and the triangular sepals which surround the base are red with black borders and black triangular centres. Traces of this colouring are preserved on the heads of the papyrus clump in the bird-hunting scene in the chapel of Yasen (G 2196) and in Nekhebuw, on the hieroglyph *wꜥd* on the slab-stela of Wepemnofret (Pl. A), and on the false-door of Rahotep where the stems are coloured green with a black and red sheathing at the base. In the case of the papyrus flower ornamenting the back of the chair on the slab-stelae of Wepemnofret the colouring is similar, except that the grey of the chair wood has been substituted for the green.

Other examples of unusual coloured detail will be found noted in the table of hieroglyphs in Appendix A and in the plates of hieroglyphs. For example, there is the Naga-ed-Dér 359 *rꜥd* fish with its blue

body stippled with deep blue and the light red markings and fins, or the lion *rw* with the tiny stippled marks on its neck (Pl. A), or the black and red markings on the *ph*ty sign (Pl. A). A hound on the south wall of the chapel G 2001 has a very gay marking of black spots and dots. The outlines are red and he wears a red collar. A realistic application of colour is the blue gallinule with orange-red legs in the bird-trap of Meresankh III. Traces of blue can be seen also on the gallinule in the Yaseh (G 2196) swamp scene. The realistic black and white markings of the Yeduwet kingfishers have been noted. In Yaseh there must have been a differentiation in colour between two types of kingfishers, although the spotting

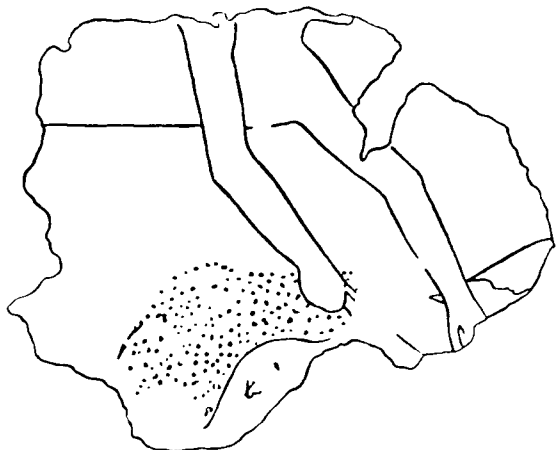


FIG. 101. Drops of blood beside heart (?) of slaughtered bull; Naga-ed-Dêr N 359.

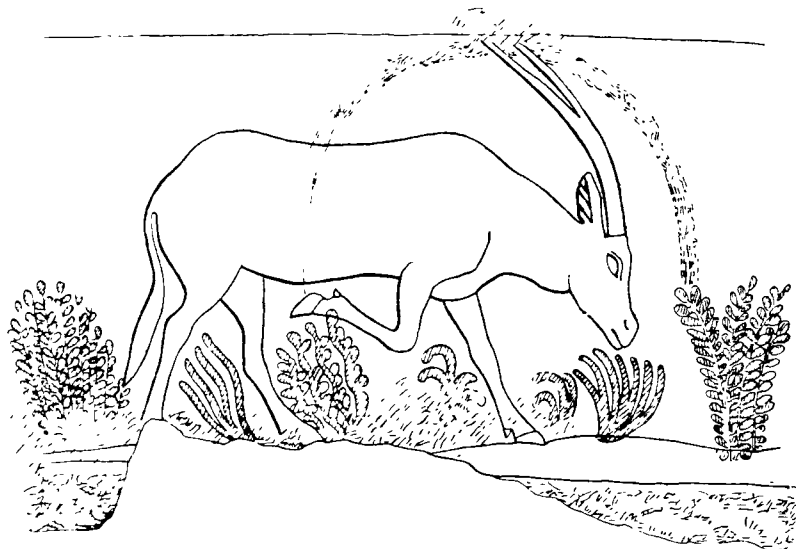


FIG. 102. Oryx kicking up gravel: Abu Gurob reliefs in Berlin (*Ä.Z.*, vol. 43, 1906, p. 74).

of the black and white variety can only be seen from stains on the plaster where the colour of the spots has flaked away, and the other bird retains only a fleck of green on the wing.

There are a few examples of a slightly different type of coloured detail. This is the addition in paint of certain small features of a scene not delineated by the sculptor. The addition of plant forms in paint in the chapels of Ptah-hotep (MM D 64) and the Abu Gurob reliefs has already been mentioned, but a very fine piece of observation made by the painter on one of the walls from the latter site is the curved shower of gravel pawed up by an oryx<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 102). In the fig-picking scene on the west wall of room b of the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020), the tree with its branches was sculptured, but the foliage was added leaf by leaf in green paint and the figs were drawn in with red outlines, a detail not fully observed in any of the old copies of the scene (although the leaves are shown by Wilkinson). The stems and tendrils of the grape vine of the vintage scene on this same wall are carefully drawn in red paint. Finally, in the slaughter scene on the south wall of the same room red drops of blood are shown dripping from the blade of the slaughterer's knife (Fig. 99), and a red smear appears on the bull's body where the man plunges his hand in to pull out the heart. Small red dots are marked on the wall around the man's arm here, and in another place where the bull's leg is being severed. The same observation is recorded where a leg is cut from a bull in a slaughter scene in the paintings of Naga-ed-Dêr 359 (Fig. 101), and twice again in N 248 (Figs. 98, 100).

<sup>1</sup> This was observed by Sethe, *Ä.Z.*, vol. 43, 1906, p. 74, where he notes a sculptured example in the case of a bull on a

wall in the chapel of Senezem-ib (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 77), and an imitation in the bull determinative of the word *mtwn*.

## XIV

# THE MODE OF REPRESENTATION OF THE SINGLE FIGURE

### a. The Treatment of the Principal Figure

THE conventional attitudes of the principal figure which dominated the scene, whether king or owner of a tomb, were established at an early time and were the least subject to alteration of all the subjects in Egyptian art. It is surprising, nevertheless, to find how much variety made its way even into these traditional representations. The earliest positions that we know of the chief figure are naturally those in which the king is represented. As early as the reign of Wedyмуw we find the familiar standing figure facing right with staff in left hand and mace (instead of the *shm* wand of private men) in his right hand (Fig. 36). This is found again in a private figure on a faience plaque from the Abydos temple (*Abydos*, II, pl. I) where the man has a staff in his left hand and the right hand hanging clenched at his side. Similar standing figures of Semerkhet, but where the king carries weapons of different kinds, are found at the Wady Maghara (Fig. 32), and these representations are continued by the relief of Sa-nekht at the Wady Maghara (Pl. 30) and those of Zoser in the Step Pyramid reliefs (which for the first time face to the left). The Semerkhet figures both show two left hands, although the hands of the Sa-nekht figure appear to be correct. The earlier drawings do not enable us to be certain of this detail. The earliest dated example of the private man with staff and *shm* wand appears on one of the Hesi-ra panels of the reign of Zoser, although another early representation is that on the alabaster tablet of Ab-neb in Leiden. But while one figure of Hesi-ra and that of Ab-neb correspond to the later representations, a second figure of Hesi-ra does not rest the staff on the ground but holds it raised, grasping the scribe's equipment in the same hand (Fig. 103).

We have exemplified in the Hesi-ra carvings all the conventions of the standing figure. The head is in profile, with the eye full front. The full wig falls on the broad shoulders (or the short wig stops at the base of the neck) which are shown front view with the collar-bones well marked. The arms, which hang from the shoulders, are in profile, showing the most characteristic outline of the arm and either the back or the front of the hand. The hand never appears properly in profile, as this would entail foreshortening and hiding part of the fingers. The upper part of the chest is seen from the side, showing one nipple of the breast, but the torso is twisted slightly lower down to show the navel in what is almost three-quarter view. The legs are again shown in profile, the feet well apart as if in a striding position, while the inner side of the foot is always shown, giving the figure the appearance of having two left feet, or two right feet if facing left. Evidently the sacrifice of the other four toes was necessitated by the difficulty of drawing them from the outside, and this was not mastered until the New Kingdom. Curiously enough in the drawing of the paws of animals the toes are often shown correctly from the outside (see the figure of

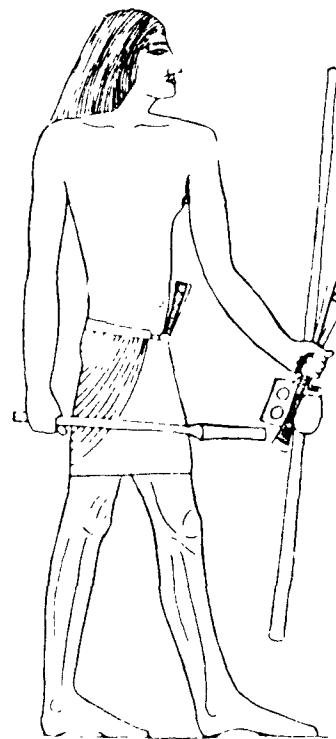


FIG. 103. Hesi-ra holding staff in unusual position (Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesi*, pl. XXIX, 2).



Anubis on the outer entrance-jamb of Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 104) and the representation of the king as a griffon in the Sahura and Ne-user-ra reliefs (Figs. 104, 105)). In two of the griffons in the Ne-user-ra

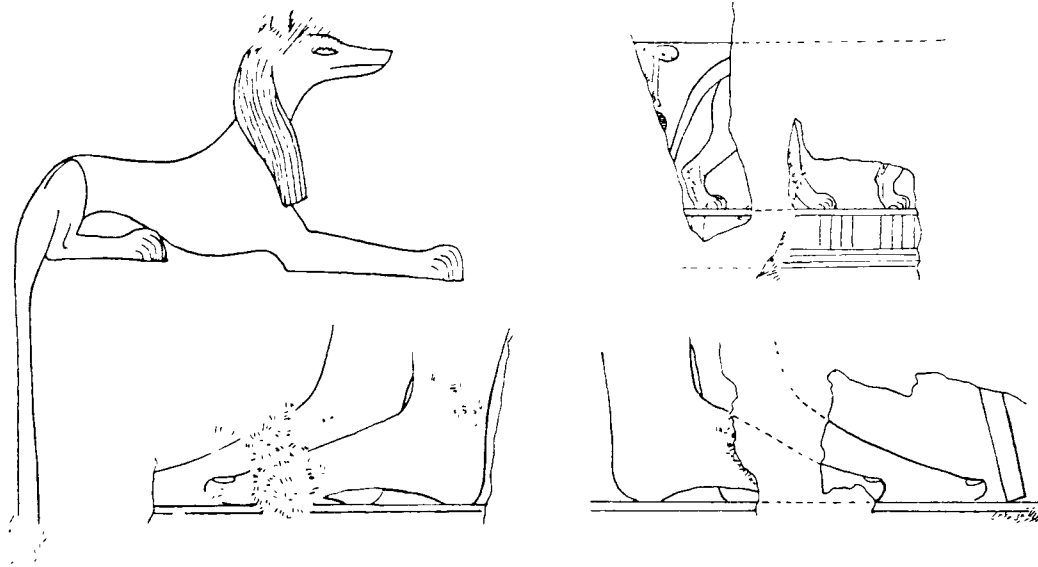


FIG. 104. Drawing of animal's paws contrasted with human feet: (1) figure of Anubis from entrance-jamb of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140); (2) paws of lion on throne of Sahura (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 43); (3) feet of seated king facing left (*l.c.*, pl. 43); (4) feet of seated king facing right (*l.c.*).

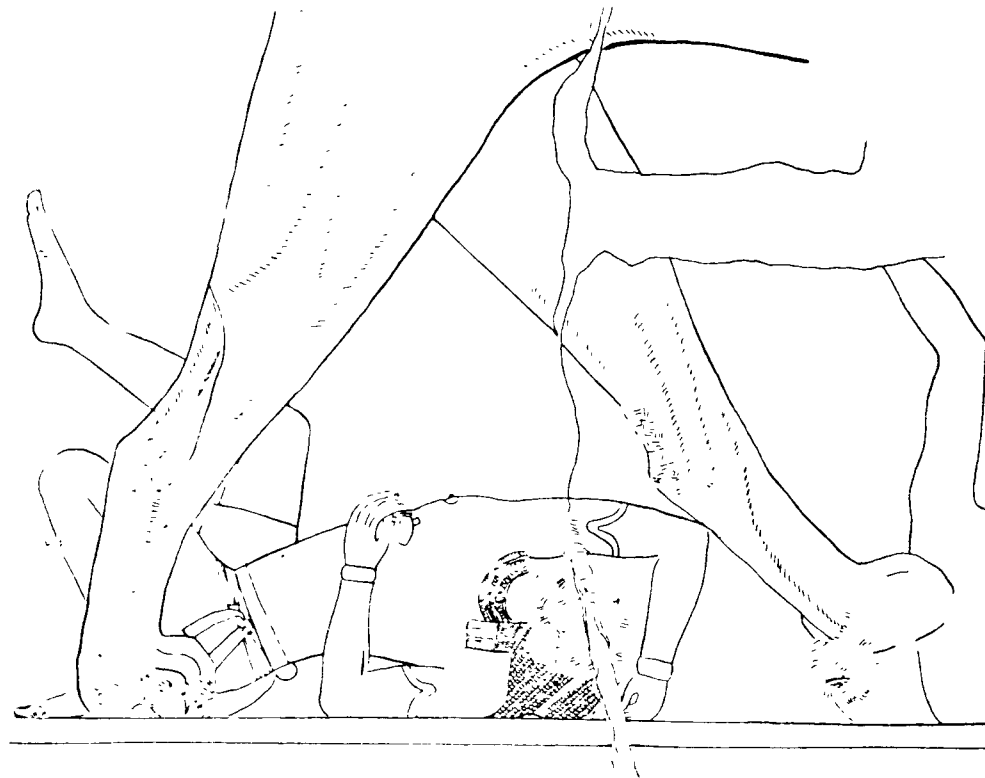


FIG. 105. King as griffon trampling on captive (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 8).

reliefs there is even a suspicion that the artist has shown both the near and far paws correctly, with two claws on the far paw and three claws on the near paw (Fig. 106).

We know from statues that the man really carried his staff in his left hand and the wand in his right. This could be satisfactorily imitated in relief when the figure faced to the right, but the artist met difficulties which he seldom solved satisfactorily when the figure faced to the left. These difficulties were

threefold. First his conventions did not permit him to place the arm with the staff on the left shoulder, and attach the arm holding the *sh*m wand to the right. An attempt to draw such a figure shows at once how impossible this would have been from an Egyptian's point of view. The arm with the staff hides part of the body and the upper right arm, while the staff crosses the face and makes a confusing line with the wand. It is obvious that the pose was invented for a figure facing to the right, and it testifies to the ancient draughtsman's feeling for the clarity of the design that he juggled the parts of the figure facing left to make his reversed pattern correspond. The second factor that entered into the problem was just this feeling for balance and design, as the figure facing left was usually employed to

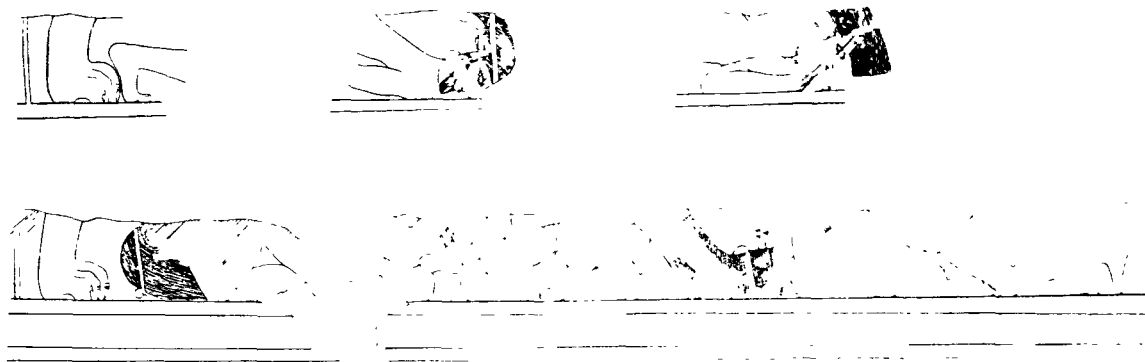


FIG. 106. Apparent differentiation between near and far paws of griffon; Borchardt, *Ne-user-rié*, pls. 9, 10.

flank another figure facing right. The third was the very important fact that the artist knew that the staff should be in the left hand and the wand in the right, and his realistic impulse made him wish to retain this feature. The importance of this fact can be seen from the fact that for positions where there was no traditional reason for objects being borne in a certain hand, the artist often reversed his figure without altering the hands. A good example of this is the hieroglyph of the kneeling man holding bow and arrows (*mšr*; Fig. 107). The means ordinarily adopted by the artist make it appear at first glance as though he had turned his figure around to show the back of the shoulders and torso. One unusual example, in the chapel of Rahotep, seems to support this, as the whole of the waist-tie shows on the figure facing to the right, while only the end of the knot projects in front of the standing figure facing left (Fig. 108). One of the standing figures on the niche of FS 3078 shows a similar drawing of the lion skin as though seen from the back. But these are isolated examples. Other figures have the waist-tie represented fully on men facing in either direction, and a further examination of the collar-bones, the navel, the hands, and the *sh*m wand, shows that the figure facing left is really meant to be seen from the front, or rather in the usual combination of front view and profile common to standing figures. What the artist has done in the case of Rahotep is to place the left hand (seen from the back) holding the staff on an arm attached to the right shoulder, while a second left hand (seen from the back) is placed on the left arm, and holds the *sh*m wand which passes behind the figure (further confused on the niche of FS 3078, where the wand passes in front of the figure). This treatment is unusual as the hand holding the *sh*m wand is usually a right hand on the left arm (seen from the front). This more common convention is found also in the Rahotep chapel, as well as on the niche of Iy-nefer (Pl. 36), those of Kha-bauw-sokar (Pl. 36) and Hathor-nefer-hetep, the door-jamb of Akhet-a'a, G 2130, Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 109), and innumerable other examples. The same custom prevailed in figures of gods facing to



FIG. 107. Hieroglyph of kneeling soldier facing both ways (*Medum*, pl. IX).

the left carrying a staff in one hand (left hand attached to right arm) and an *ꜥnh* sign, or sometimes an axe or knife which passes behind the body, in the hanging hand (right hand attached to left arm).<sup>1</sup> This applies also to figures carrying staff and handkerchief facing to the left (Khufuw-khaf, façade; Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep, Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXI, Davies, *l.c.*, II, pl. XX), and one carrying a papyrus roll (Min-khaf, G 7430 ÷ 7440, southern subsidiary niche).

In some cases, usually where the figure facing left stood on a wall where it did not flank a figure facing to the right, the artist did not retain this convention, but showed the hands correctly drawn, as though the staff were held in the right hand and the wand in the left. In this case the wand passes in

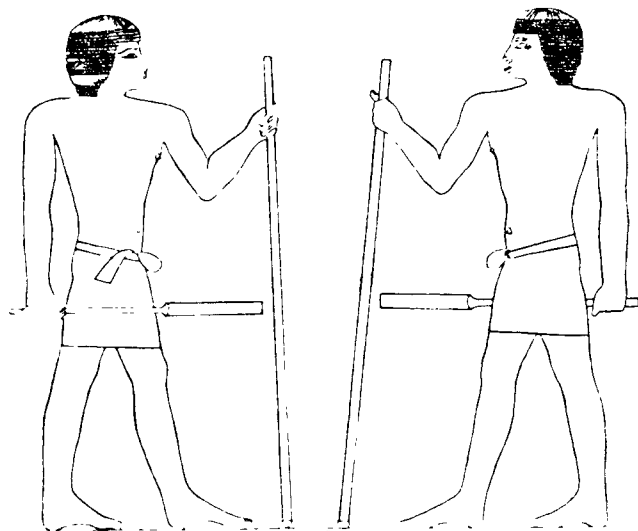


FIG. 108. Reversed figures of Rahotep (*Medum*, pls. X, IX).

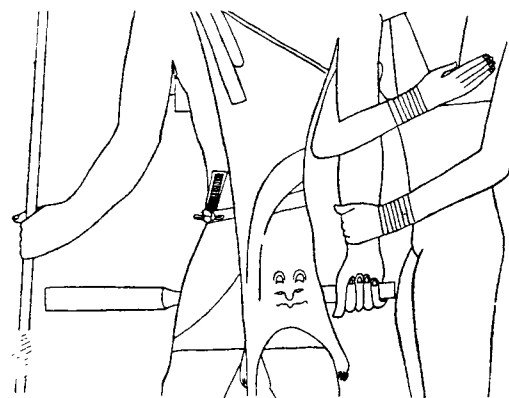


FIG. 109. Khufuw-khaf (G 7140): west wall showing ordinary reversal of hands.

front of the body. This is found in the figure of Mer-ib on a wooden panel in the Louvre; in the case of the large figure of Ka-wab on the east wall of the chapel of Meresankh III (handkerchief instead of wand, Fig. 110); in G 2220, G 7391, G 7101, G 2001, G 7820, LG 63, and possibly G 7760. On the façade of the rock-cut chapel of Khnum-hotep, excavated by the Service des Antiquités at the foot of the Giza plateau, and perhaps on the false-door of Kanofer from Dahshur in the British Museum, flanking figures show correct drawing of the hands. It is also found in the case of a figure of Khuwnera where the hanging hand holds a roll of papyrus, and in Yasen (G 2196) where the left hand holds a handkerchief. Two other variations appear, one where the hands are drawn correctly but the staff passes behind the body instead of in front of it as it should (G 2150, Fig. 111; Khafra-ankh, LG 75; and shown by Lepsius in Mer-ib, G 2100 annex), and one in the chapel of Methen where the hands are reversed (left hand on right arm and right hand on left) but the wand passes in front of the body. I take this from the Lepsius drawing (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 4) and have not verified it with the original. Another curious pose shown by Lepsius, in the chapel of Seshat-hetep (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 23), is corrected by the new drawing of this figure in Junker's *Giza*, II, fig. 28. The position is the ordinary one, and not as Lepsius has shown it with the staff held by a right hand. The artist in G 1029 has even made a mistake in a figure facing to the right, where the staff is held in a right hand attached to the left arm (Fig. 112), while in a figure facing right on the east wall of the chapel of

<sup>1</sup> In the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 18) the goddess Nekhbet faces left holding an *ꜥnh* sign in each hand. Her hands are correctly drawn, the back of the left hand and the front of the right hand show.

Nofer (G 2110), although the right hand is correct, the *sh*m wand passes behind the body. The left hand is missing with the rest of the upper part of the wall.

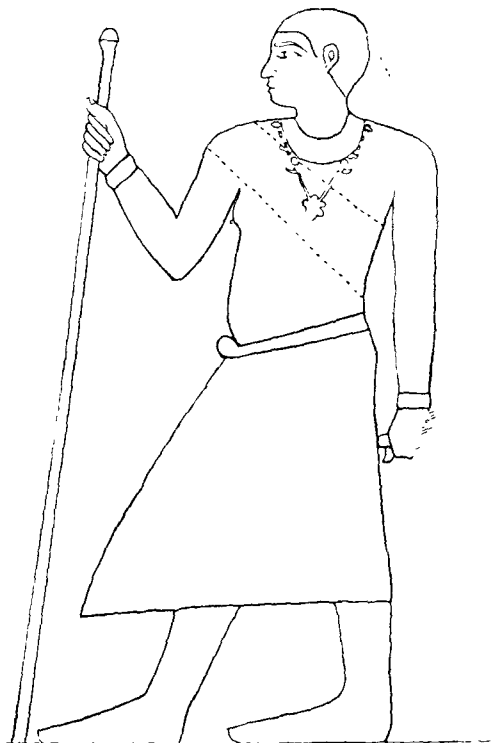


FIG. 110. Properly reversed figure of Ka-wab (east wall of chapel of Meresankh III, G 7530).

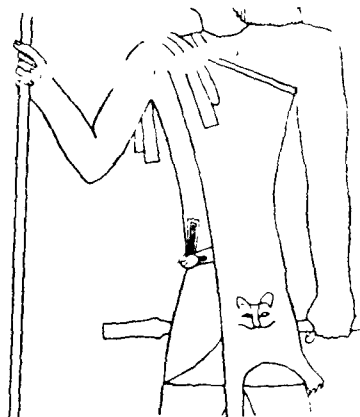


FIG. 111. Properly reversed hands, but staff passes behind figure: G 2150.

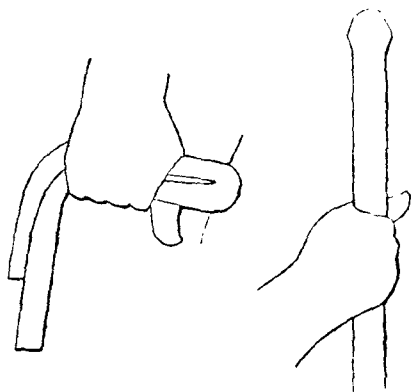


FIG. 112. Wrongly drawn hands on figure facing right: G 1029.



FIG. 113. Figure facing left holding staff against breast: south door-jamb of G 7750, hanging hand wrong.

A variation of the figure with the staff and wand is that in which the man faces right, holding the *sh*m wand in his right hand and with the left arm bent with the staff held vertically against the breast. This occurs on one of the Hesi-ra panels, on the false-door of Nefer-shemem in Brussels, and on the entrance-jambes of G 7750 (Fig. 113). In the latter case the figure faces left, and while the closed

right hand holding the staff is correct, the wand is grasped by a second right hand on the left arm. In the hieroglyph representing an old man a staff is held in one hand, while the other hand hangs open (Fig. 114). The hand holding the staff is drawn correctly, whether the figure faces to the right or to the left, in examples at Medum (*Medum*, pls. XIII, XIV), but the hanging hand is always drawn wrong with the thumb away from the body (hand drawn partly in profile). The hanging hand, like the hand extended open, towards a table of bread, for example, is always drawn incorrectly (except possibly once on a broken part of one of the panels of Hesi-ra). A very early example of the hanging hand drawn partly in profile is that of the attendant on the Narmer palette.

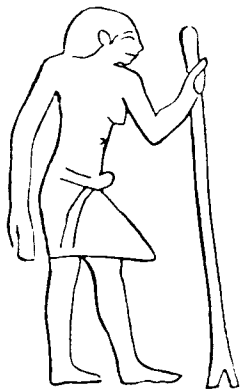


FIG. 114. Wrongly drawn hanging hand on hieroglyph (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. IV).

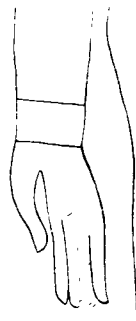


FIG. 115. Hanging hand of Merytyetes (G 7650).

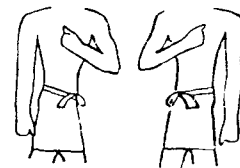


FIG. 116. Figures with hanging clenched hand reversed correctly (*Medum*, pl. XIII, Rahotep).

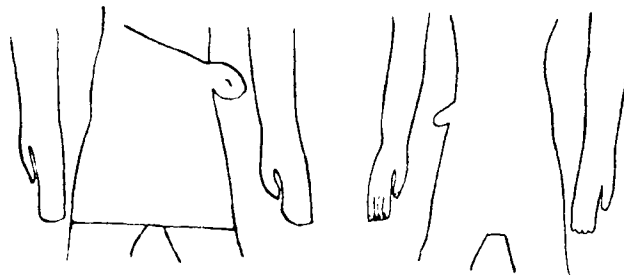


FIG. 117. Wrong hanging hand on figures facing both ways, Neferma'at (*Medum*, pls. XVII, XXIV).

The incorrect drawing of the open hanging hand (Fig. 115) is a constant feature of the ordinary position of the standing woman with one hand open on breast (right if facing left and left if facing right), or closed grasping the ends of her shoulder-ties (Meresankh III) or holding a lotus flower to her nose. The same drawing of the hanging hand is to be found in the child with the other hand to his mouth (*Medum*, pl. XXIV). If the hanging hand is closed it is shown correctly (Neferma'at, *l.c.*, pl. XX). Thus the male figure standing with one hand clenched on the breast and the other hanging closed at his side is always provided with correct hands whichever way he faces (Fig. 116, Rahotep), while the figure with both hands hanging open at sides (a position not common in chief figures) is certain to have the hand which hangs behind him incorrectly drawn (Fig. 117, Neferma'at). Good illustrations of this are to be found in *Medum*, XVII, XX, XXVI, and the panel from the chapel of Shery in the British Museum (No. 1192). There is possibly one case (*The Tomb of Hesi*, pl. XXIX) where the right hand is drawn correctly behind the body but this is unfortunately broken in such a way as to preclude certainty. The curve of the hand is so great as to suggest rather the back of the hand than a wrongly drawn thumb. Oddly enough, the hanging hand of dancers is sometimes correctly drawn, although this is never the

case in the chief standing figures (Fig. 118, G 2184, Deir el Gebrawi). A standing figure of Neferma'at (*l.c.*, pl. XXIII) is in an unusual position for a principal figure, with arms at sides, holding the tails of his panther skin in his hands. This is the attitude sometimes assumed by the *šm*-priest, but is unique so far as I know for a figure of the owner on a false-door. Neferma'at faces right and the hands are drawn correctly. Two other variations of the ordinary standing figure are that assumed by Narmer on the Hierakonpolis palette, where he carries a mace in his left hand and holds a flail against his chest with his right hand (the figure faces right), and that of a man on the east wall of the chapel of Khafra-ankh (LG 75) who faces right, holding a *šm* wand in his right hand while with his left he seizes the tie which hangs down from his shoulder. The drawing is complicated by the unusual catching up of the tail of the panther skin to hang over the man's left fore-arm.



FIG. 118. Correct drawing of hanging hand of dancers: G 2184; *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, pl. XVII, pl. XX.

The figure of Hetep-heres II (Pl. 44) on the west wall of the chapel of Queen Meresankh III has an unusual attitude with her hands crossed on her breast. A variation of the hanging hands is displayed by the goddess Imentet in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 1) who places her left hand (drawn wrongly) on her right wrist. Other examples of simple standing attitudes of large figures are to be seen in the Sahura reliefs, such as the king presenting a cake to a god (*l.c.*, pl. 38) or offering a cup (*l.c.*, pl. 35), and the suppliant gestures of the family of the Libyan chief (*l.c.*, pl. 1).

A frequent and less formal attitude of the standing male figure is that in which the owner of the tomb is shown leaning on a long staff. In this position the man places one hand on top of the staff while the other hand is extended along the staff. The man is often in the usual standing position, with both feet well apart and flat on the ground. The figure is found so in the chapels of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140), Ankh-haf (G 7510), Merytyetes (G 7650), G 5110, G 5080, and in many of the later Giza chapels. While this is the ordinary position, one of the earliest examples of the figure shows a more easy, relaxed pose with the forward knee bent, the heel raised, and the weight resting partly on the toe of the forward foot, partly on the flat back foot. The whole figure is thus thrown slightly forward. This appears in a minor figure of an overseer in a boat on a fragment from the outer chapel of Prince Ka-wab in Boston (Fig. 62) and in similar subsidiary figures, one on an Old Kingdom block from Lisht (Metropolitan Museum, No. 22-1-26) and another of Dyn. V date in the Barracco Collection in Rome (not the Vatican as stated in Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 2nd edition, pl. 200). It is found in the case of principal figures in the chapels of Khafra-ankh (LG 75), G 2184, G 2001, Qar (G 7101), and Zauw at Deir el Gebrawi (*l.c.*, II, pl. IX). A remarkable feature of the Khafra-ankh scene is that the whole group of the

large figure leaning on his staff and accompanied by his dog, watching a varied scene of tending cattle and agricultural and swamp occupations, is repeated again on a small scale among the subsidiary figures. The figure of Mery in the Louvre (and again on a smaller piece of the false-door in Cairo) belongs apparently to the first type of standing figure with both feet flat on the ground. Although he leans on a staff he also carries a *shm* wand in his right hand causing a confusing juncture where wand, staff, and hand meet. This is further complicated by a little slip of cloth which the figure leaning on a staff frequently holds between the fingers of one hand, for what purpose is not clear. The same clumsy drawing

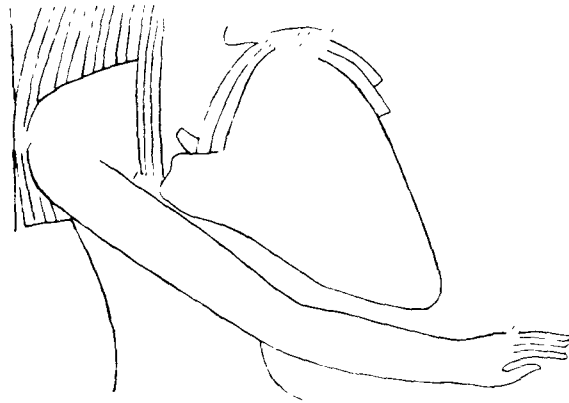


FIG. 119. Hand of Merytyetes extended to table (G 7650).

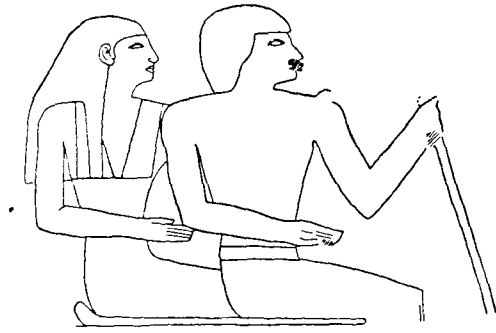


FIG. 120. Correct hand of wife placed on man's arm: G 2110, west wall.

of staff and wand appears in a similar figure on a panel in Copenhagen (Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, II (1911), pl. 121). At Deir el Gebrawi, Zauw, leaning on his staff, also grasps a *shm* wand, held vertically by a hand placed well down on the staff (*l.c.*, II, pl. IX).

Whether the figure leaning on the staff faced to the right or to the left, the open hand laid on top of the staff is always the wrong one. While the Egyptian artist nearly always drew the clenched hand correctly he had continual difficulty with the open hand. This appears to have been due partly to an aversion for representing the palm of the open hand. He usually drew the back of the hand with four fingers partly in profile curving over at the top, and the thumb, in profile, curving up from below. This served particularly for the hand outstretched to the table of bread and would have been a fairly correct approximation of the left hand in profile when the figure faced to the right, or the right hand when the figure was reversed. Unfortunately, except in unusual cases, the artist employed this convention for both hands. Thus the usual table scene with man or woman facing right shows the figure with two left hands

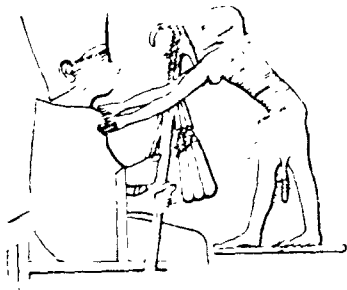


FIG. 121. Man adjusting Heb-Sed robe; *Ri-Heiligtum*, pl. 16.

(Fig. 119). This applies ordinarily to all attitudes in which the hands are raised before the body open, as in praying, in the respectful bowing attitude with hands on knees, or such gestures as that of the family of the Libyan chief (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 1), or where the hand hangs behind the body as noted above. However, when the hand is shown from the back flat, although open, the thumb is placed in its proper position. See, for example, the cases where a woman places her hand upon the arm of her husband or a child (G 2110, Fig. 120; G 7660, G 1607, LG 89), woman facing left with son (Fig. 154), or the man who adjusts the king's Heb-Sed robe (Fig. 121). The hieroglyph of the arm and hand (D 36) similarly shows the flat, open hand seen from the back with the thumb up (in some cases it may be the palm of the hand that is shown) (Fig. 122). Whether the sign D 41 shows the palm or the back of the hand is

uncertain (Fig. 122).<sup>1</sup> One unusual example of the sign D 38 shows the back of the hand with the thumb disappearing behind the cake (Fig. 122), but ordinarily the sign is drawn with the semi-profile view of the hand with the thumb up (Fig. 122). The sign D 39 holding the *mc* pot is usually drawn similarly (Fig. 122, note exception).

When faced with a complicated problem to which he could not apply one of the old conventional forms, the draughtsman was perfectly capable of observing and drawing a hand correctly, even when this called for a certain amount of simple foreshortening or the hiding of part of the hand. Usually the

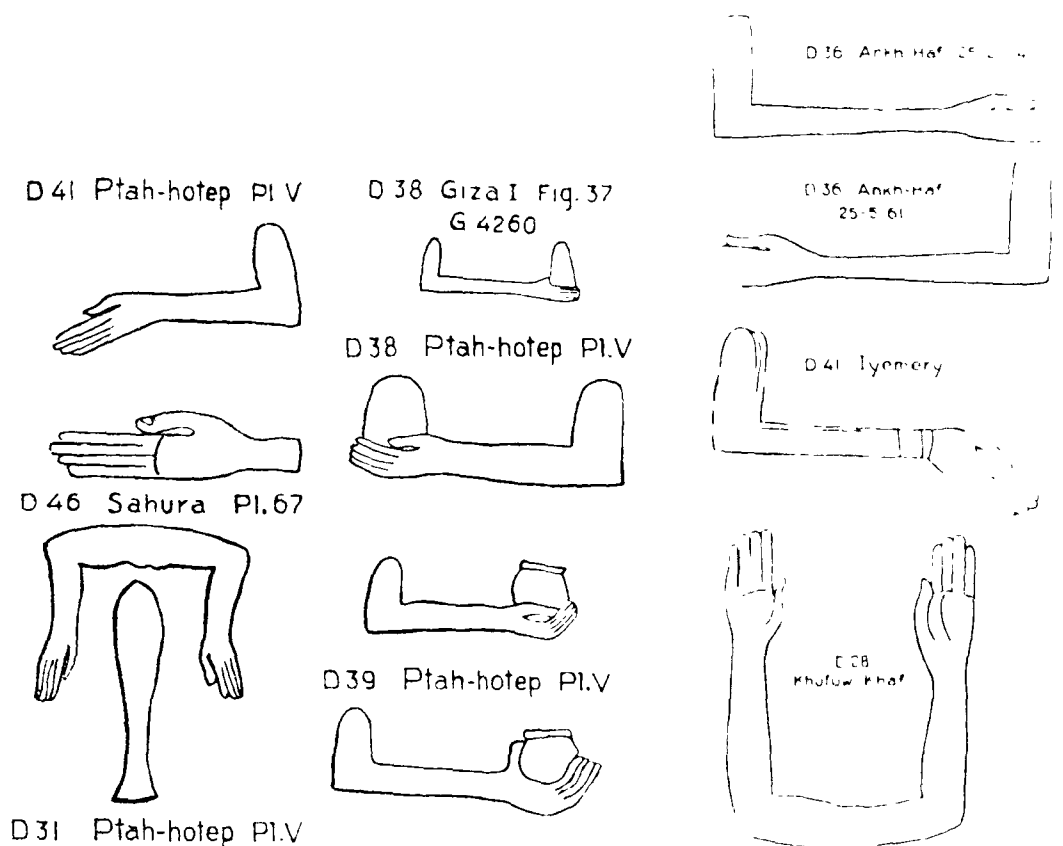


FIG. 122. Hieroglyphs showing different types of hands.

expedient of turning up the conventional open hand so that the thumb was at the top and the fingers curved up from below sufficed for a figure holding something in the near hand. It is remarkable, however, how rare this correct drawing is among figures of the chief personage. I can cite only a few examples. In the Sahura reliefs the figure of the king hunting grasps a bundle of arrows which hang down from his right hand, while at the same time he pulls the string of the bow (Fig. 123). In the group where the king is being suckled by a goddess, Nekhbet holds her breast with her right hand. An observation of the rounding of the surface requiring a certain amount of foreshortening is certainly to be seen here in the way that the hand curves round to disappear behind the breast (Fig. 124). This is reversed correctly in a figure of Sekhmet suckling the king in the Ne-user-ra reliefs (Fig. 125) and while the king's right hand appears to be drawn incorrectly in the Sahura example, here the hand passes behind the arm of the goddess and the fingers are in the right position. The goddess in the Unas reliefs holds the correct hand to her breast but the whole hand is shown without foreshortening (Pl. 54). Finally, in the

<sup>1</sup> The drawing in Fig. 122 is taken from the south wall of room b of the chapel of Iy-mery, in the inscription over the women clapping and singing for the dancers. The arm and hand are painted yellow and a green bracelet encircles the wrist.



table scene of Nefer-seshem-ptah at Saqqarah, the man places his right hand to his mouth, the thumb and index finger correctly above the others and bent towards each other as though he had just finished placing something in his mouth (Fig. 126*a*). The position is unique for a table scene, but it is repeated by his wife who squats at his feet.

In subsidiary figures facing to the right and carrying some object, the hand is often correctly curved with the thumb above. This is to be seen in the Sahura reliefs in the case of the minor gods with their

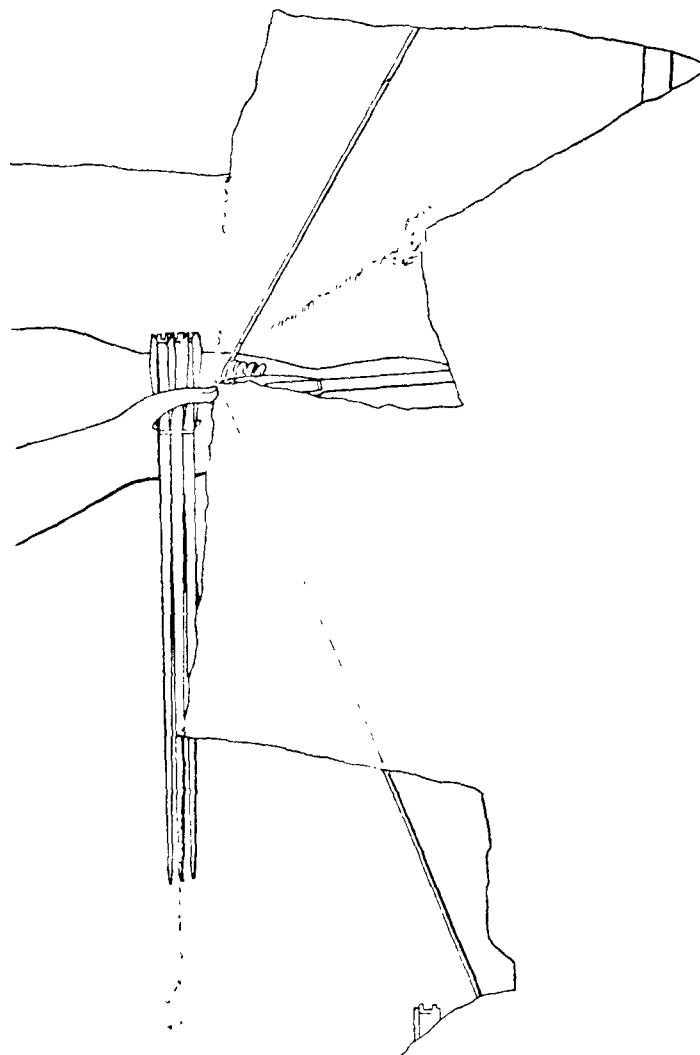


FIG. 123. Hand of king holding arrows and bow-string;  
*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 17.

offerings (Pl. 53, Fig. 71, facing left); or in the chapel of Thiy the man carrying a scribe's case (Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 115), a cake (*l.c.*, pl. 133), a *hs* vase (*l.c.*, pl. 66), or the hands holding a bowl (Montet, *Scènes de la Vie Privée*, p. 165). Similarly correct is the right hand held up to a necklace by a man in the Sahura reliefs (Borchardt, *l.c.*, pl. 54), or the position of the man in the bird-snaring scene in Thiy (Steindorff, *l.c.*, pl. 116), who holds back his right hand (open) to signal to his comrades, and the hand of a man placed on a statue in the same chapel (*l.c.*, pl. 63). A slightly different drawing is that of the raised hand of the *sm* priest (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 47), for in this case the hand is seen straight from the back with the fingers not drawn in semi-profile. A singing figure in the Cairo relief of Nenkheft-ka (Fig. 127*a*) has the hands both drawn correctly, if the one held up forward is meant to show the open palm. Hands held up this way are sometimes shown in semi-profile aspect. When drawn

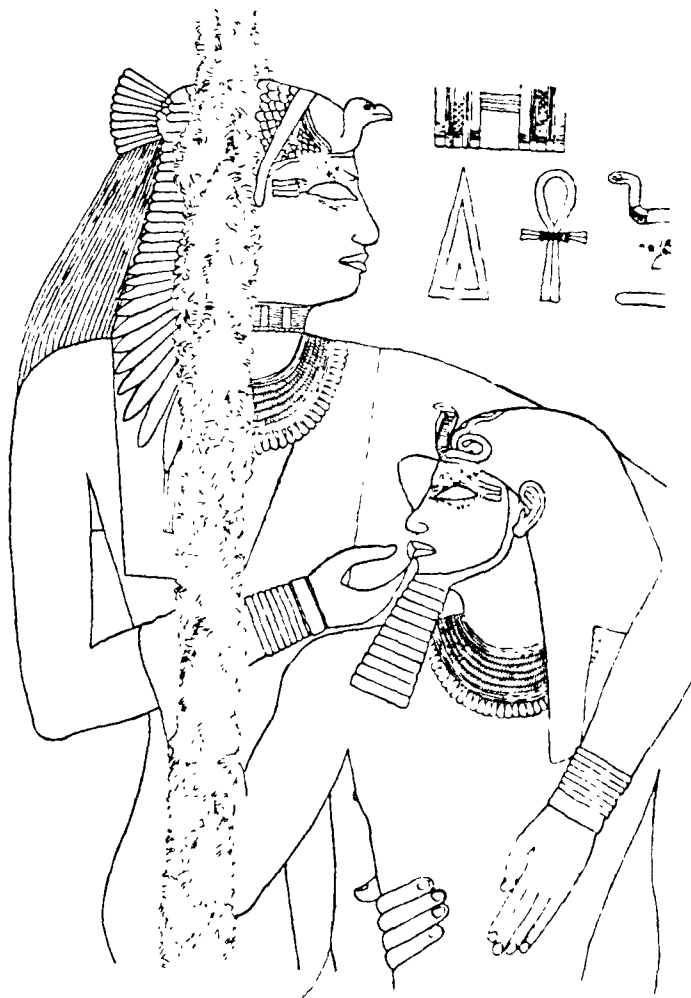


FIG. 124. Sahura suckled by goddess (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 18).

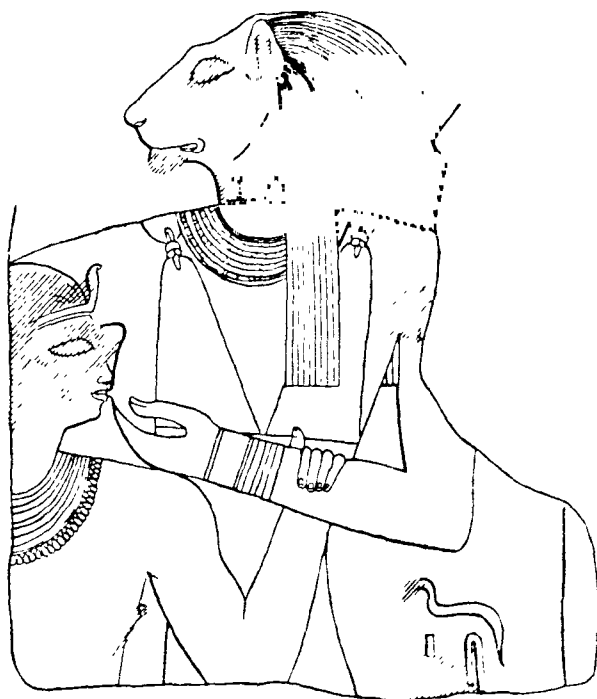


FIG. 125. Ne-user-ra suckled by goddess (*Ne-user-ré*, p. 41, fig. 23).

in this manner the old confusion between right and left hand appears (see *hry-hb* priest, Von Bissing, *Rê-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 6). Often the drawing is not careful enough so that the front can be distinguished from the back of the hand when it is shown open. Although ordinarily the palm of the hand is not shown a few well-drawn hieroglyphs represent the open hand in this way (Fig. 122). The palm is shown plainly in the hand hieroglyph (D 46) in the reliefs of Sahura (*l.c.*, pl. 67); Nofret (Mogenson, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. XCI); Iy-nefer, and on the Cheops slab-stelae. This hieroglyph in Iy-nefer and on the slab-stela of Kanofer as well as the sign D 28 (which is drawn with the palm plainly visible in two cases) in Khufuw-khaf shows unusual markings on the palm of the hand, evidently meant



FIG. 126 a. Nefer-seshem-ptah placing hand to mouth; Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, II, pl. CI.

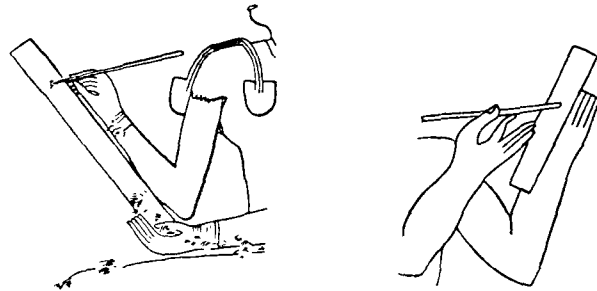


FIG. 126 b. The Goddess Seshat writing (*Sa-hu-rê*, III, pl. I); scribe, Louvre.

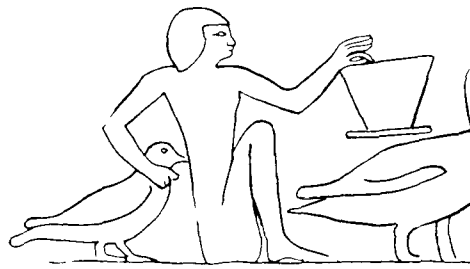


FIG. 127 a. Singer, Cairo relief of Nen-kheft-ka; man feeding pigeon, Nefer-seshem-ptah; man censuring, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 66.

for wrinkles in the skin (Fig. 122). Although D 28 is thus drawn with the open palm seen flat from the front (though the thumbs are on the inside making it appear as though the hands were seen from the back), the similar sign used in the word *hm-k* (D 31 and D 32) seems always to represent the hand from the back, either flat or more often slightly curved in semi-profile. The open palm appears early, well modelled on a slate palette (Fig. 27).

A certain number of other simple and correct positions of the hand were made possible for minor figures by the use of the semi-profile drawing, with the thumb either above or below corresponding to the hand which was represented. Thus we have the hand holding a piece of flesh in Thiy (Montet, *l.c.*, p. 170), or the figures on the Nofer relief in Paris (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 30), one holding a ewer and basin, the other lifting the lid of a bell censer. By bending the index finger forward the same drawing of the hand serves to show the snapping of a singer's fingers on a relief of Nen-kheft-ka (Fig. 127 a), or for the gesture of picking up an object, as in the case of the man taking grain or pellets from a basin to feed a bird in the chapel of Nefer-seshem-ptah (Fig. 127 a; as it is the left hand the thumb is down), or for lifting the lid of the bell censer in Thiy (Fig. 127 a; again the thumb is below, correctly).

Occasionally the artist was called upon to draw more difficult attitudes of the hands of his principal

figures. A very remarkable piece of drawing appears in the hand holding the lotus of the figure of Hetepheres I (G 7000 X) in thin gold relief which decorated a piece of furniture now completely destroyed. The position of the fingers is not unlike that devised for the hand holding the harpoon, and is totally different from the usual drawing of the hand holding the lotus flower (cf. Fig. 55 with Fig. 133 showing Meresankh III). The stem is held between the thumb and forefinger, while the other three fingers are folded back into the palm of the hand. In spite of this careful piece of observation, the right hand, which is extended in semi-profile, is drawn quite incorrectly with the thumb down. Excellent observation is shown in the drawing of the hands of the Goddess Seshat writing (Fig. 126 *b*). This is repeated in the hands of a scribe on the false-door of Mery in the Louvre (Fig. 126 *b*) and in the reliefs of Kanofer (*Giza*



FIG. 127 *b*. Harpers: Iy-mery (G 6020); Ptah-hotep, pl. XXXV.

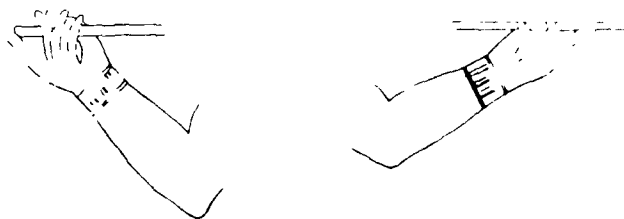


FIG. 128. Hands holding harpoon, *Deir el Gebráwi*, I, pl. III.

*Necropolis*, I, fig. 262). A similar difficult problem was solved well in the hands where Mereruwka's wife plays the harp (Fig. 145). The artist in Ptah-hotep showed great skill in treating the hands of a harp player in a minor figure (Fig. 127 *b*); less successfully dealt with by the draughtsman of Iy-mery (Fig. 127 *b*). A large degree of success was achieved in the curved back fingers of the hand holding the harpoon. This position of the hand called for a partial hiding of the thumb, a display of part of the palm, and some foreshortening in the drawing of fingers. The example (Fig. 128) set by large figures (Weserkaf; Berlin, No. 1119, Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, p. 37; *Deir el Gebráwi*, pl. III, Iby) was copied by subsidiary figures, both for the handling of the harpoon (Thiy, *l.c.*, pl. 113; and Mereruwka, Montet, *l.c.*, pl. II) and the boating pole (see Fig. 129, Cairo, No. 1535, and also Thiy, *l.c.*, pl. 110; Ptah-hotep, Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII). This drawing of the fingers was found suitable in the case of a principal figure throwing a lasso, a very rare representation found on the west wall of the court of G 2184 (Fig. 130). In the only subsidiary figure imitating this action where the fingers are well preserved (Sahura hunting scene, *l.c.*, pl. 17), the hand drawn back with the rope is the right hand (on the left arm) instead of the left (Fig. 130). The damaged hand of the figure on the south wall of the chapel of Ra-m-ka (Metropolitan Museum) appears to be correct (right hand on right arm).

The last example cited brings up an interesting point. It would appear that once a new attitude had been satisfactorily solved by a clever artist it became part of the stock models of the ordinary craftsmen who often used the new attitude with a total lack of discrimination. A strange jumble of mistakes in

drawing results from this, when the carefully worked out drawing of a part of the body is applied to an entirely inappropriate position. It is a strange fact that the Egyptian artist, although perfectly capable of correct observation when faced with an entirely new problem in draughtsmanship, was perfectly content to use over and over again the formulae already at hand in his repertoire with not too nice a



FIG. 129. Man with boating-pole, Cairo relief No. 1535.

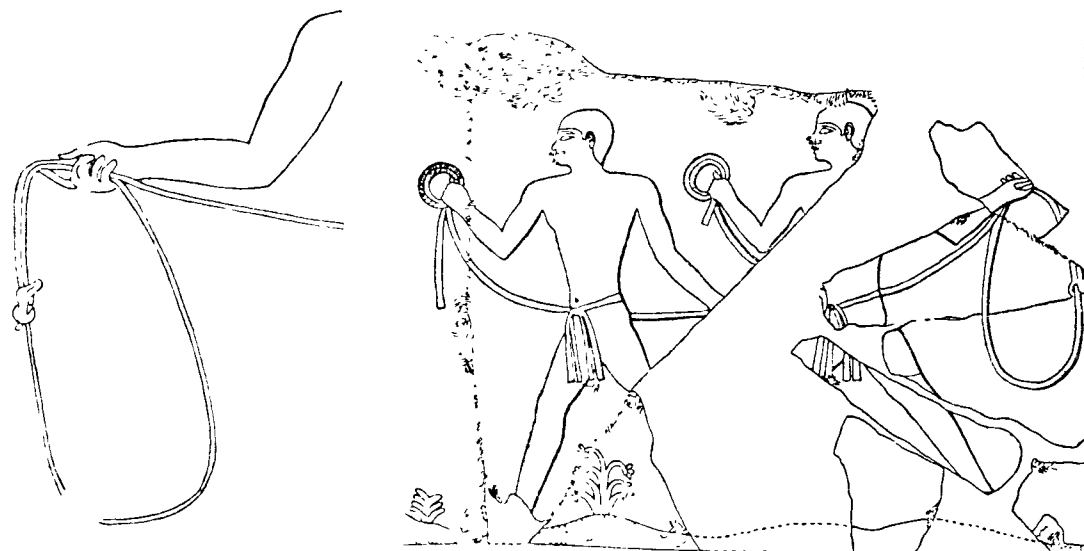


FIG. 130. Figure throwing lasso: chief figure G 2184; *Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 17.

regard for their suitability when they had been transplanted from the position for which they were originally invented. Occasionally the adaptation was correctly applied, as in the 'harpoon hold' used for a hand seizing the head of a bird (Fig. 131, *Thiy*), but more often confusion ensued. Thus, adapting a convention which had been worked out with care for the right hand lifting an object (when the figure faces to the right), the artist applies this to the left hand for the gesture of raising an ointment jar to the nose (Fig. 132, *Qar*; *Ptah-hotep*, Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXVIII; *Isy*, *Deir el Gebráwi*, II, pl. XVII), or for a man with his fingers to his forehead (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 53). This is easily excusable if one attempts to draw a left hand in this same gesture according to Egyptian conventions. It is nearly correct,

too, if we think of the semi-profile drawing as showing the palm and not the back of the hand. The attitude had been invented for the right hand, however (or the left hand if the figure were facing to the left), and the semi-profile drawing in all other cases seems intended to show the back of the hand. Similarly, the raised hand holding an object, with thumb up, is suitable for a right hand when the figure faces right, but it was frequently employed for the figure facing left (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pls. 14, 35, 47;

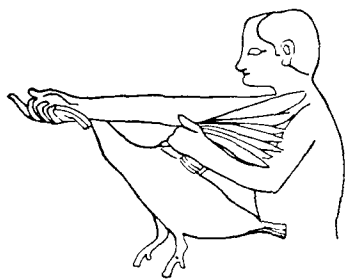


FIG. 131. Man seizing bird, Thiy (Montet, *Scènes de la Vie Privée*, pl. VI).



FIG. 132. G 7001, Qar, inner room, north wall.



FIG. 133. G 7530: Meresankh III, south door-jamb.

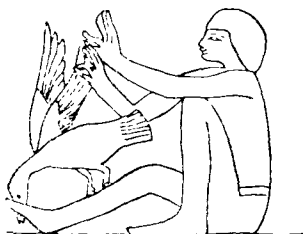


FIG. 134. Man plucking bird, Nefer-seshem-ptah.

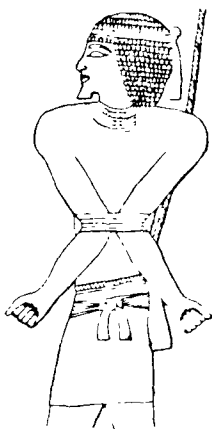


FIG. 135. Bound captive, *Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. V.

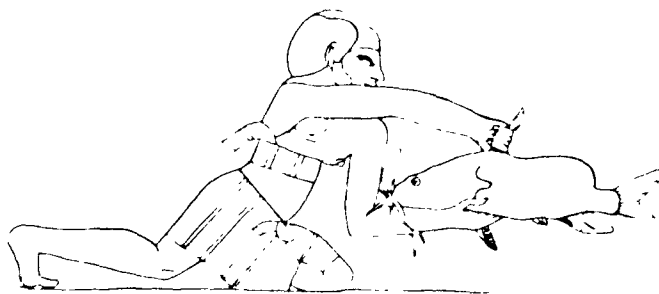


FIG. 136. Man with fish, Thiy (Montet, *Scènes de la Vie Privée*, pl. IV).

*Ne-user-ré*, pl. 16; Meresankh III smelling lotus on south door-jamb, Fig. 133),<sup>1</sup> and even is applied once to a left arm in a figure facing right where both hands are wrong (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 38). The hand seems to be misapplied interchangeably in seated figures receiving a lotus flower from an attendant, whether the figure faces right or left (Fig. 141). In subsidiary figures the hand with thumb and index finger holding some object is often placed on the wrong arm (Thiy, Montet, *l.c.*, pl. VIII). In a figure in Nefer-seshem-ptah, where a man plucks the feathers of a bird (Fig. 134), his right hand is simply repeated after the model of the left one.

<sup>1</sup> The hand of the Meresankh figure resembles that of Nenkheft-ka's singer and was possibly intended to show the palm of the hand. In this case the drawing would be correct.

While it is possible to analyse the causes of many of these mistakes in drawing, there are other examples, where the artist has exceeded the limits imposed upon himself by his conventions, which have to be set down as unreasonable blunders. Such, for example, are the arms and hands of the bound captives led by the gods in procession in the Sahura reliefs (Fig. 135); the prostrate foreigners trampled by the king as a griffon in the Ne-user-ra corridor (Fig. 106); the man seizing a fish in Thiy (Fig. 136);

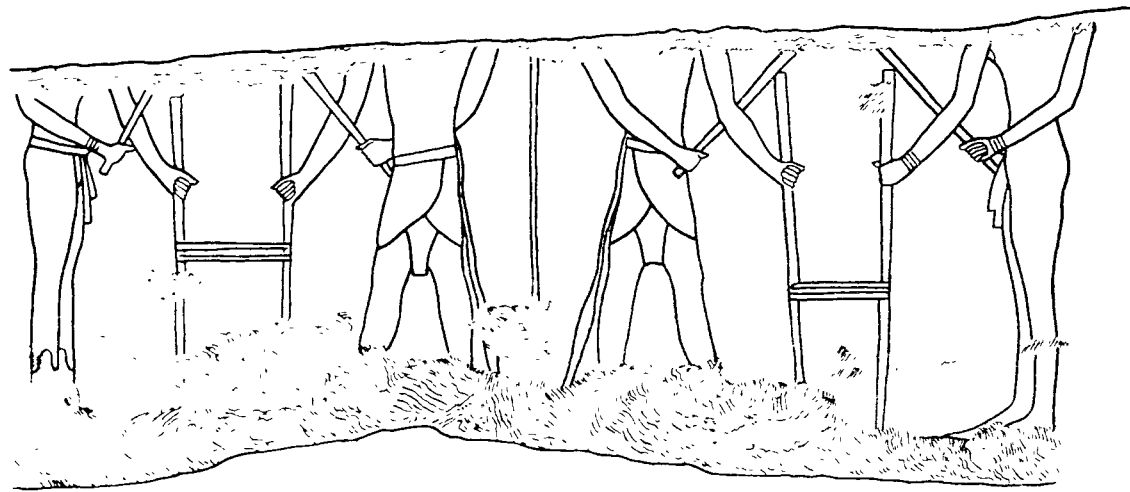


FIG. 137. Confusion in drawing of hands (*Rê-Heiligtum*, II, pl. I).

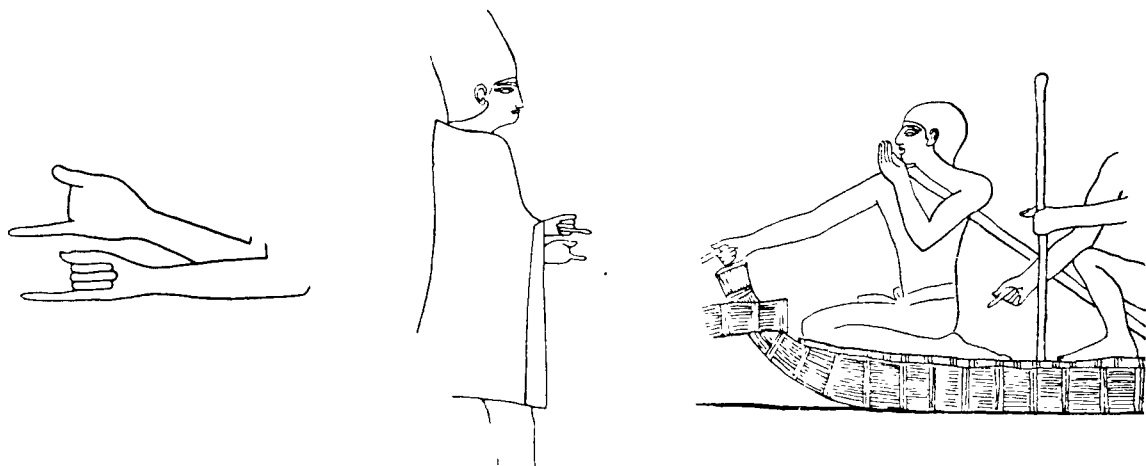


FIG. 138. Gesture of attendant at funerary meal, Qar (G 7001); king, *Rê-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 13; boatman, Kagemni, Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 52.

the hands of the two pairs of figures, king and goddess, pounding boundary poles in the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 137); the figure holding up a haunch of beef on a table (*Sa-hu-rê*, pl. 58); or the peculiar gesture of the hands of a figure in Qar (Fig. 138). This gesture for warding off evil is found employed against the crocodile in a correctly drawn hand (Fig. 138) and in a figure of the king in the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 138), where again the hands seem to be correctly drawn. In none of these cases, nor in many others of the same kind, is there any reason why the proper hand should not be attached to its correct arm, following ordinary Egyptian conventions. Interesting in the same light is the spurious plausibility of the careful drawing of linked hands in a pair of figures. In the case of Khufuw-khaf and his mother (Pl. 44), and the two sons of Khafra-ankh (Pl. 46), not only the hanging back hand of the first figure is wrong, but so is the front hand of the second figure, while in an example of Ankh-haf (Fig. 139) the wrong hand of the first figure grasps the correct hand of the second. In the case of the running figures from the Nekhebuw chapel the hands of both the first and second figures are correct, although there is

some confusion due to the fact that the figures are running in pairs (Fig. 80). In the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 139), where two figures lay their hands on each other's shoulders, both hands appear to be correct. In the Ptah-hotep games, the group of boys who clasp hands and swing around two boys in the centre seem to have the hands correct, but they are really confused by the same misplacement that usually results from reversed figures (Fig. 221). The hands of the girls performing a similar action in Mereruka's chapel are less clearly drawn (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 164). The joined hands of dancers are sometimes quite correct, as in the entrance-jamb of Akhet-hetep (Louvre, fig. 76) or Iby (*Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. X), but in the latter case the free hand of each figure is wrong, following the



FIG. 139. Pair of figures (*Ré-Heiligtum*, III, pl. 8); clasped hands, Ankh-haf (G 7510); attendant at funerary meal, G 6040.

usual convention of the extended open hand. Finally, the single figure with hands clasped in front of him usually shows a correct placing of the hands (Fig. 139).<sup>1</sup>

To return to the attitudes of the principal figures, next in importance to the simple positions of the standing figure is the seated figure of the owner of the tomb. The earliest known seated figure (if one excepts the squatting figure of the Hierakonpolis paintings, and the seated king in Heb-Sed dress which has a form peculiar to this particular representation) is that carved on a small fragment from Abydos (*Royal Tombs*, pl. V A, 12). This is badly damaged but appears to show a smaller figure sitting on the lap of a large one. About the same time a crude version of the man seated at a table of bread appears upon the Naga-ed-Dér cylinder seals (Fig. 46). This was to become the most common pose for the seated figure. The ordinary position in this case is for the figure to face right, with the left hand on breast (either clenched or grasping the shoulder-ties of the long garment, depending upon the costume which the figure wears; open flat on breast usually in case of women). The right arm, provided with a left hand, is extended to the table. The attitude is found reversed, but the extended hand is always wrong (Pls. 32, 33; Fig. 119). The common variation of this attitude is that both hands are extended open towards the table, the near hand being invariably wrong. Occasionally the far hand is placed upon the knee and the near hand is extended to the table (G 2110; G 7140, Fig. 142; G 4940). Other rare

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Metropolitan block, No. 09.180.14; inner room, south wall; Von Bissing, *Das Ré-Heiligtum*, II, figure on south wall of G 5180 (Tübingen); G 6040, south wall pls. 18, 12 (Fig. 139); rock tomb LG 64; G 5080, south wall; G 6020,



variations occur such as the early seated figure of Hesi-ra, who holds a staff and wand against his breast (Pl. 31) or figures which hold an ointment pot to the nose or their hand to their mouth, mentioned above in connexion with the correct drawing of hands (Figs. 132, 126 a). Certain late figures (G 1151, G 2001) hold a handkerchief in the closed near hand while the far hand is extended to the table. A group may occur, also, either with the wife sitting behind the man in the same chair, or opposite him on the other



FIG. 140. Seated figure presented with bowl, Naga-ed-Dêr 248.

side of the table; even at a separate table. A late representation is that of the man repeated twice, once on each side of the table of bread. There seems also to be one example where the son of the owner sits opposite him at the table (Wash-ptah, M.M. D 38).

An important use of the seated figure is that in a scene related to the table scene, where a man (sometimes also his wife) sits, usually in an arm-chair, in a mat pavilion (*sh*) with a great picture list of offerings in front of him, and often scenes of the preparation of a feast, music, and dancing. The figure may place his near hand open upon the arm of the chair, or hold it closed about the handle of a fly whisk. His other hand is usually extended open to receive a lotus flower handed him by an attendant (Fig. 141) but he may hold the flower up to his nose (6020), or even hold a staff in that hand (G 6010, where the scene in front of him is not the usual accompaniment to the *sh* scene). In Naga-ed-Dêr 248, a late example of a table scene, the chief figure is handed a bowl by an attendant (Fig. 140, hands correct). The open

hand, whether laid on the arm of the chair or extended to receive a flower is almost always drawn incorrectly. One exception is the figure on the south wall of G 6040 where the extended left hand is correct (Fig. 141).

The seated figure appears often outside the table and *sh* scenes, but the attitudes show few variations from those noted above. The king upon his throne is found as early as the carving of Cheops at Hat-nub (Fig. 54), where the monarch is shown facing to the right with a staff in his left hand and a mace held

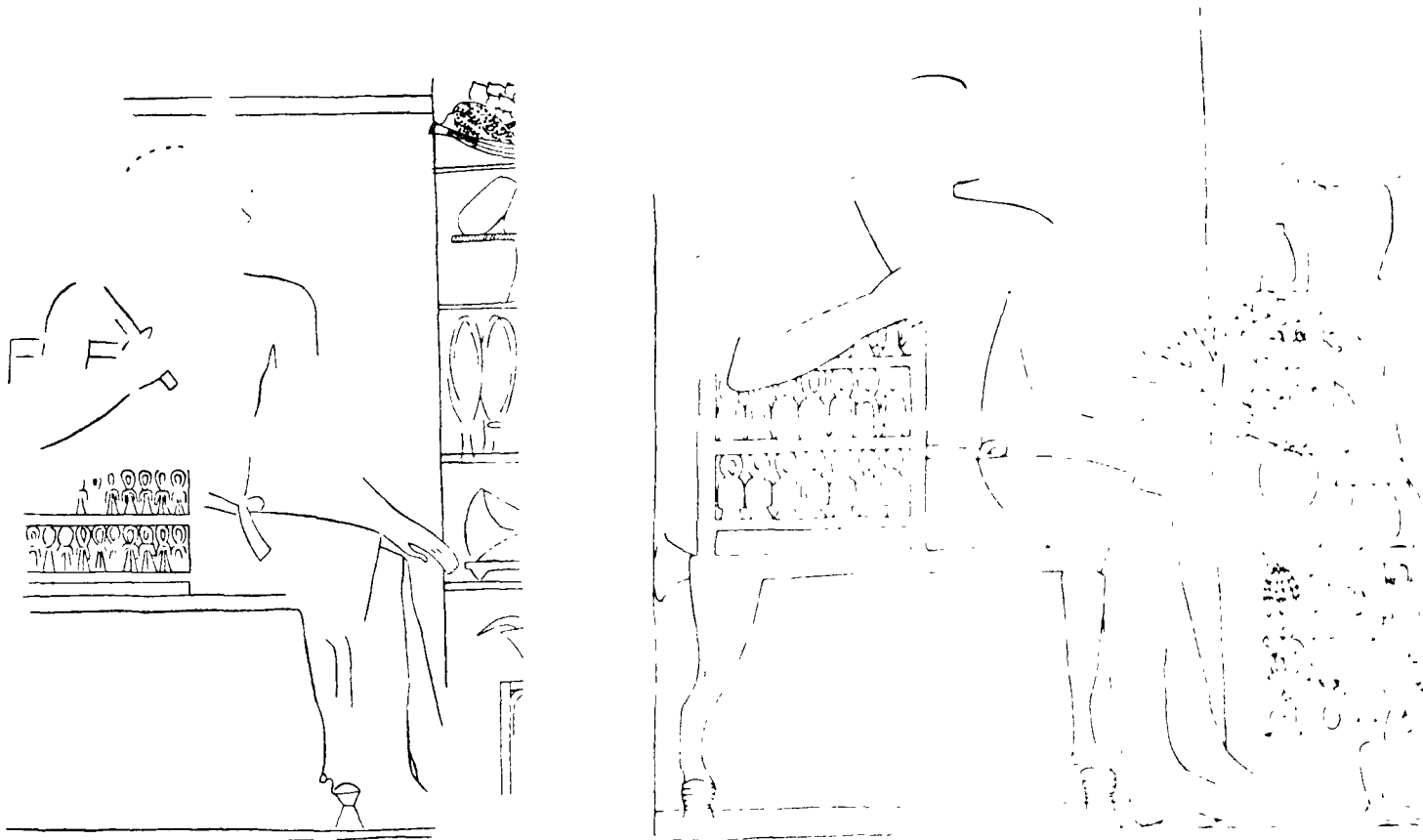


FIG. 141. Shepseskaf-ankh in pavilion (G 6040); Seshem-nofer in pavilion (G 5080).

over his right shoulder. We see Sahura, again, seated upon a similar box throne, this time decorated with the joined plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, facing to the left with fly whisk in the right hand and a small object in the left hand which is always carried by striding figures of the king in the Heb-Sed scene. Ne-user-ra is shown enthroned with the Goddess Buto and Anubis who administers life in the form of *anh* signs to the king. The box throne serves also as a seat for certain great ladies. Thus we find it for Queen Meresankh III, both on the south wall of her chapel and upon the tablet of her false-door where the side of the throne is decorated with a seated lion (Fig. 13).<sup>1</sup> A more elaborate decoration of lions has been already mentioned on the base of a throne of Sahura and Unas and upon throne bases belonging to a queen of Pepy II. Queen Kha-merer-nebty is shown seated on a simple box throne with her son Prince Khuwnera in the latter's tomb. She holds a flower in her left hand and reaches out her right hand to the prince, shown as a small boy (Fig. 153). Queen Meresankh II is seated on a box throne in a boat on a fragment from her chapel (Fig. 63) as is a similar figure of Meresankh III. We find the Goddess Seshat seated on a throne in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 1) as well as in the temples of Weserkaf

<sup>1</sup> See also Fig. 54, the hieroglyph showing Queen Hetepheres, and Fig. 55, a larger figure of the queen, where, however, the shape of the seat is not preserved. Another example

is in the inscription on the granite door-jamb of the chapel of Queen Khent-kauws, discovered by Selim Bey Hassan.

and Pepy II. The scene of mother and small son is repeated again in the chapel of Sekhemkara where he is shown with the seated Queen Hezet-hekenuw (Fig. 154). Appearing in similar family scenes are the seated figure of Atet on the false-door of her chapel (*Medum*, pl. XXIV) with her husband above and children below; another figure of Atet on the architrave of her deep niche (*Medum*, pl. XXII, where the lady receives a bird from her son at the end of a register of bird-netting); and the seated figure of Merytyetes on the east wall of G 7650.

The chair upon which Atet sits (*l.c.*, pl. XXIV) shows the seat drawn in plan as well as in profile. This peculiarity of drawing is found most frequently at the period of transition between Dyn. III and Dyn. IV, occurring throughout the Medum tombs. It appears frequently upon the primitive niche-

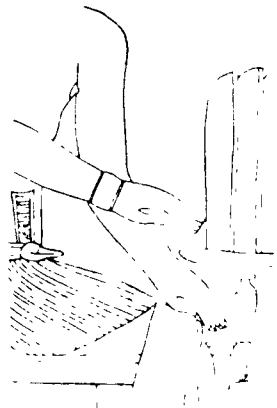


FIG. 142. Khufuw-khaf  
at table of bread  
(G 7140).

stones, but is used so inconsistently that it is of little use as a criterion for dating purposes. For example, the convention appears as early as the chair of the seated figure on the Naga-ed-Dêr seals, although not on all of them. It is not used on the Hesi-ra panel (Pl. 31) but appears in the beds and chairs in the great painted picture list in that tomb (Fig. 46). It is found as a hieroglyph in Mariette's mastaba A 1 (Akhet-hetep) and also in an inscription of Iy-nefer (Pl. 36), but is not used on the stool of the seated figure of Iy-nefer on the back of the inner niche, nor upon the chairs of Hathor-nefer-hetep and Kha-bauw-sokar. It disappears completely during the Fourth Dynasty at Giza but in Dyn. V a figure of Ptah-hotep on his false-door is shown seated upon a chair drawn in such a fashion (Fig. 46), although in this drawing the artist has combined the old-fashioned convention for the seat with the more sophisticated version of the chair showing all four legs, the far legs overlapped and partly hidden by the near legs (a type of representation found only in rare examples of late Dyn. V and VI; Fig. 217).

The ordinary type of chair is an armless construction with a very low back over which the seat cushion extends. The legs are carved in the form of those of a bull or lion, while the back of the seat is ornamented by a representation of a papyrus flower, or more rarely a plant form resembling the capital of the palm column. On the door-jambs of the chapel of Kay (Junker, *Giza*, III, fig. 15), the chair on the north side has the papyrus decoration, while that on the south has the palm form (an imitation of the use of the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt found on the sides of the king's throne). The seat may be enormously extended to allow for the strange convention which places the wife behind the husband on the same chair, instead of beside him where she really must have sat. Another type of chair is also common. This has a higher back and arms, and is a representation in relief of such a chair as that found in the tomb of Queen Hetep-heres I. Resembling the open-work arms of that chair are two drawings, one in G 6040 and one in G 5080, where the arms are carved with a pattern of girdle-tie emblems (Fig. 141). The arm-chair, like the plain chair, can be extended to hold the figure of the wife. Iy-nefer (*Annales*, III, pl. II) sits on a very simple stool of different type with bent wood supports resembling that found in certain archaic statues.

The figure of Iy-nefer shows a variation from the normal type of seated figure. He holds a staff in his left hand and extends his right arm along his thigh with the hand open. This is the type of seated figure that is found in the scene of the presentation of sealed equipment on the east wall and entrance-jambs of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf (Pl. 42), once with the near hand closed holding a handkerchief. It is found also with the near hand clenched on the thigh in G 7391, and on the panel from the false-door of Shery in the British Museum. On the entrance-jambs of G 5110, Prince Duwanera holds a *shm* wand vertically in his near hand. A peculiarly distorted version of this pose is that of Ptah-

hotep, mentioned above in connexion with the drawing of the chair seat. The figure faces left and the arm holding the wand passes behind the body in an impossible fashion. Finally, a seated figure of Ptah-hotep (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 2) is portrayed in an unusual connexion, apparently a sort of morning *levée* where the noble is attended at his toilet. There is nothing remarkable in the drawing of the figure itself.

One type of figure which falls into a classification of its own, bearing little resemblance to other types, is that of the king seated, wearing the Heb-Sed dress and holding in his hands the flail and sceptre. The body and arms are concealed by the long robe, and the torso of the figure is in approximately true profile. Only the hands appear from beneath the garment. Even here there is room for a number of different variations in the position of the hands. Ordinarily the near hand is seen from the back, closed around the handle of the flail, while the other hand is seen from the front with the fingers grasping the sceptre, an attitude of the hands found also in the standing figure of the king in Heb-Sed dress (Fig. 143). But the left hand may be extended open (seen flat from inside), while the right hand holds flail, sceptre, and *was* staff. In one case (Fig. 143), the extended open hand passes wrongly on the near side of the handles of the staves. The figure may also hold only the flail in his right hand, while the left hand is laid, in semi-profile, along the knee. Again this hand passes on the near side of the flail in one case (Fig. 143). The figure on the sealing of Zer (*Royal Tombs*, II, pl. XV) faces left and holds the flail back across the body.

Another type of representation belonging to the category of seated figures is that of the noble in a carrying-chair. The earliest example of the fully developed figure is that on the corridor wall of Atet's deep niche (Fig. 144), although we must not forget the figures seated apparently in palanquins that have been set down on the ground, both on the first and second great mace-heads from Hierakonpolis. The carrying-chair, as it is known in the actual example from the tomb of Queen Hetep-heres I, was constructed so that the occupant sat on the floor of the chair with his knees up. This is shown in many examples in the reliefs, for instance, in the chapels of Qar (G 7001), G 6020, or Yeduw (G 7002, Fig. 96; where the carrying-chair has been set down on the ground, as in the wooden funerary model found by Quibell in the tomb of Karenen). The carrying-chair was frequently covered by a baldequin, an elaborate example of which is shown by Wreszinski in the tomb of Zauw (*Atlas*, III, pl. 10). The draughtsman of the Atet tomb may have intended to portray a different kind of chair, where a sort of box throne was mounted on poles. This would seem to be the case on a relief in Berlin, No. 15790, and the Dyn. VI relief of Ipy in Cairo (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 405), where the framework of the carrying-chair is shown as of the ordinary type, but where the owner is seated above, as though the arm of the chair were really a box throne, with his feet resting on what would ordinarily be the railing of the front part of the chair. That

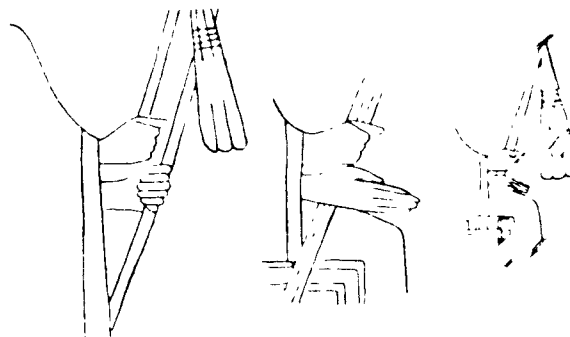


FIG. 143. Figure of king in Heb-Sed costume (*Rê-Heiligtum*, II, Titelblatt, pl. II, pl. 4).



FIG. 144. Neferma'at in carrying-chair (*Medum*, pl. XXI).

the box throne mounted on poles really did exist is shown by the rather differently represented carrying-chair of Sesh-seshet, the wife of Mereruwka (*Atlas*, III, pl. 11), where the son sits at his mother's feet (Fig. 146). It is possible that the Berlin and Cairo examples may result from a confusion in the artist's mind between the ordinary type of carrying-chair and that of Sesh-seshet. There is another possibility in the case of the early Neferma'at drawing. This is that the artist hesitated to conceal a part of Neferma'at's body and has for that reason shown him seated at the level of the arms of the chair. The analogy of the position with that of the figure on the box throne suggested the attitude with staff in left hand and

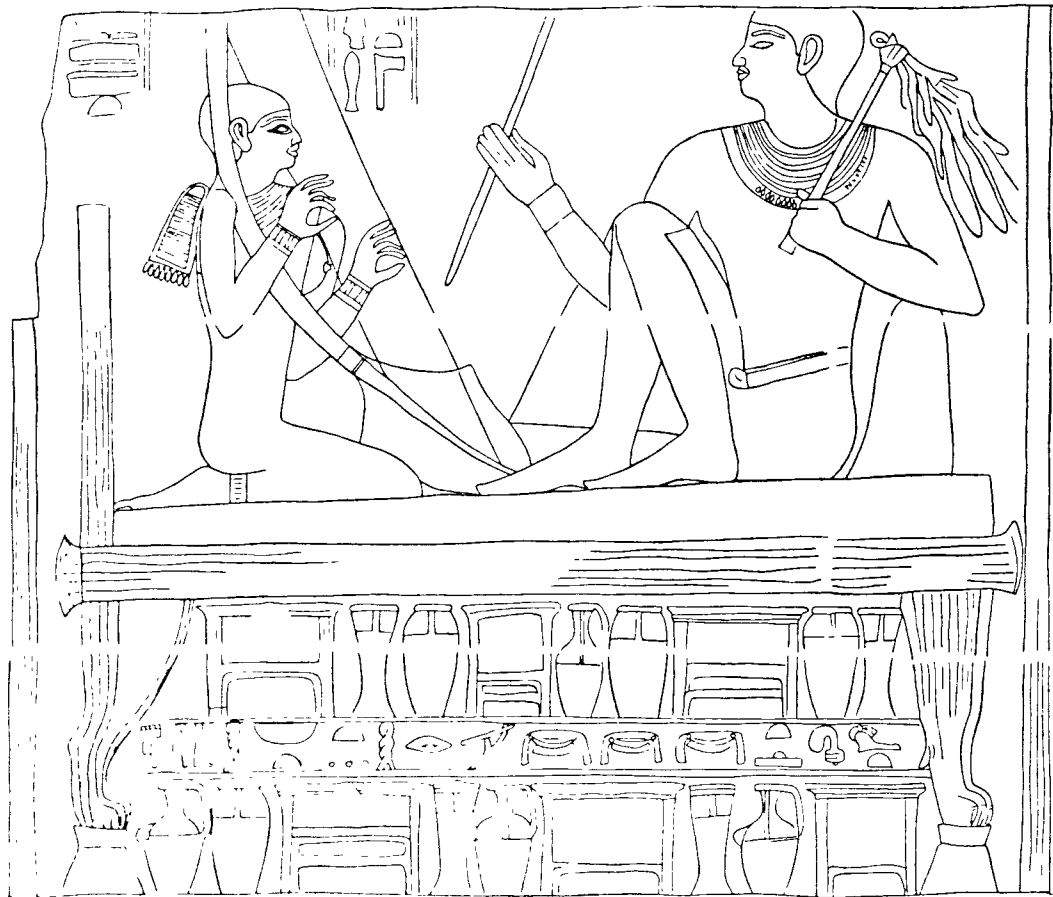


FIG. 145. Mereruwka and wife seated on bed (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 95).

right arm hanging, rather than the normal position with fly whisk in one hand and a short baton in the other. This would be perfectly consistent with the point of view of an artist who continually drew objects which were supposed to be inside a box, above its lid. It would also explain the very unusual use of a box throne for a private man. As far as I know it is only used for kings and queens throughout the reliefs and paintings of the Old Kingdom, except in the case of Mereruwka's wife, where it is decorated with a lion in relief on the side as on the throne of Meresankh III. Sesh-seshet was an eldest daughter of a king, however; her son Mery-tety was given the title of prince, whether out of courtesy is not clear, and Walter Federn has even attempted to prove that she was a divorced wife of Pepy I.<sup>1</sup> The explanation of the construction of the curious throne upon which the king is carried in the Heb-Sed scene (*Ré-Heiligtum*, II, pl. II) is by no means clear. The position ordinarily assumed in a carrying-chair, with the knees drawn up, is found in the unconventional figure of Mereruwka seated

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Königin Sescheschet'; *Orientalia*, vol. V, 1936, p. 379, but see Charles Nims, 'Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 58, pp. 638-47.

on a long couch, listening to his wife playing the harp (Fig. 145). In one case, the wife of Mereruwka is shown squatting beside her husband in a carrying-chair (*Atlas*, III, pl. 8).

The squatting figure should perhaps be grouped with the seated figure. It occurs for chief figures only in the subordinate position of the wife, at her husband's feet, or before or beneath his chair. Ordinarily this figure of the wife is drawn on a smaller scale than that of her husband, although the wife of Mereruwka, playing the harp to him, is of a size equal to that of her husband. The position is known as early as the Hierakonpolis tomb, but, of course, is only rudely approximated there. The position of the wife differs from that usual in small subsidiary figures in that the raised knee is not shown, but only

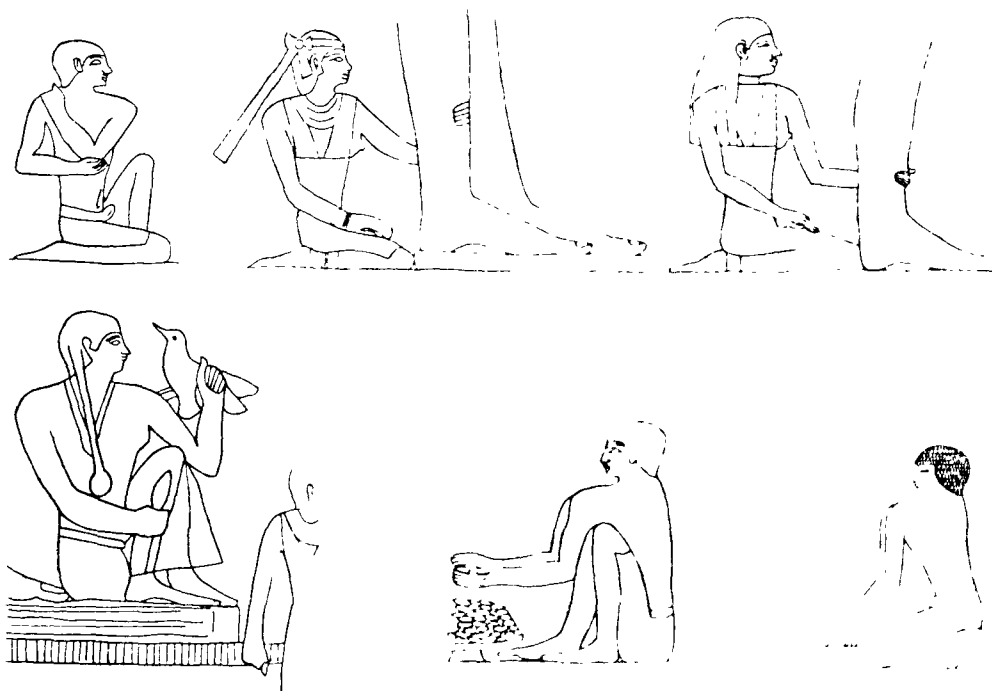


FIG. 146. Squatting and kneeling figures: Ptah-hotep (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 2); Yeduw (G 7001); *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 94; Mery-Pety, the son of Mereruwka (*Atlas*, III, pl. 11); *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pls. 52, 67.

one leg which passes under the body with the foot laid out flat, the top of the foot down. Apparently a woman sat back upon both legs which were tucked under her, while a man drew only one leg back under his body and raised the other knee (Fig. 146). More probable and comfortable positions are shown by the statues which perhaps better approximate actual usage than do the two relief types mentioned above. Squatting women in the statues often draw their feet in at the side of the body, without actually sitting on them, and the same is true of a male statue (No. 39143 in Cairo). Another type of statue, of which there are several examples, is that of Ny-ankh-ra in Cairo, found by Professor Junker. Here one knee is drawn up, while the other leg is laid across behind the first leg and not drawn back under the body. The positions of the hands of the squatting figures present similar simple variations to those shown by the standing and seated figures.

The previous types of chief figure have all been in more or less static positions, but the principal figure of a scene may also be shown engaged in energetic action. An early attitude of the king is that where he strides forward with the left knee slightly bent and the right foot raised on the toes, grasping a prostrate captive by the hair in the left hand (which usually also holds staves or weapons), while he raises his right hand with a mace to strike the victim. The clenched hands are drawn correctly and would probably have been so when the figure was reversed, as the draughtsman does not seem to have

been troubled by the representation of the closed hand as he was by the open one. I do not remember an Old Kingdom example facing left where the hands are preserved. This position of the king is a very old one, being known from a crude example in the Hierakonpolis tomb, from inscribed objects from the royal tombs, the Hierakonpolis palette of Narmer, and the Wady Maghara rock carvings. It had a later variant in the royal reliefs of Dyn. V and VI, where the king seized a mixed group of foreigners instead of a single man. The attitude was copied both in royal and private reliefs for the figure in the bird-hunting and fish-spearing scenes.<sup>1</sup> In the adaptation either both hands held the harpoon or spear, one raised and one lowered, or both arms were bent at the elbow with the hands raised, one holding the throwing-stick and the other a group of captured birds by their legs. The attitude served also for the man hunting with the



FIG. 147. Reversed figures of striding king; *Rê-Heiligtum*, II, pls. 13, 14.

split spear, being copied closely by the figures of Yasen (G 2196, Pl. 60) and Nebemakhet (LG 86), which raise the spear in one hand and clutch the papyrus stems with the other, just as the king raises his mace and seizes the hair of the captive. It was also used for the rare position of the man throwing the lasso, either in the hunt of wild game, or the throwing down of a bull for slaughter. The one chief figure in this attitude is partially destroyed (G 2184, Fig. 130), so that it is impossible to determine in which pursuit he was engaged. A very early example of the attitude is found on a slate palette (Fig. 25). The well observed drawing of the hands of many of these figures has been noted in an earlier paragraph.

Another common position of royal figures is the striding king in the Heb-Sed scenes. Except for certain alterations in the crown or waist-cloth, this figure is very similar in all examples and shows the same position of the feet as does the striding figure mentioned above. The earliest example of this position is on a plaque of Wedymuw, where, however, the execution is summary (Fig. 34). This figure faces right, but strangely enough the first well executed examples of this pose are those from the Step Pyramid enclosure where the figure faces left. In the reliefs of the Abu Gurob Sun temple there are good examples of the king facing right. The remarkable detail of these postures is that the objects carried by the king remain held by the proper arm and hand when the figure is reversed. This is the

<sup>1</sup> Very early examples are those shown in *Abydos*, I, pl. XI; *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XI, Wedymuw and pl. XXXII, where Wedymuw is shown spearing some animal. See Figs. 37, 39.

only example of such correct observation that I know in the drawing of the principal figure in the Old Kingdom. Thus, when he faces to the left, the king holds up the flail before him in his right hand, and the small object of uncertain use against his breast with his left hand, while when the figure faces to the right, the small object is held forward in the left hand, and the flail against the breast with the right (Fig. 147). This is consistently observed, even in the Wedy-muw plaque.

The large figure shooting with bow and arrow is only preserved in the Sahura hunting scene, and is not common in the Old Kingdom, although a fragment of such a figure occurs among the Metropolitan blocks from Lisht, as well as a beautiful piece with an elaborate pattern of interwoven minor figures shooting with bows (which might be from a battle scene). It is repeated in small figures again in the Old Kingdom, in the fragment of a battle scene from the Unas causeway reliefs, once very late in the Intermediate period at Naga-ed-Dér (N 3737, Fig. 148), and once at Deir el Gebrawi (kneeling figure). The careful drawing of Sahura's hands has been noted above (Fig. 123). The feet are in the same position as in all striding figures. The earliest example of the action is that on the Louvre and British Museum slate palette (Fig. 25).

Certain other actions of the large figure appear in rare examples. The scene of the king and the goddess driving boundary poles is known from the Khasekhemuwy door-jamb at Hierakonpolis, a fragment of early royal relief from Gebelein (Pl. 30) and the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 137). On the mace-head of the Scorpion king, that monarch is shown with a hoe in his hands, in a scene that has been interpreted as the opening of a canal (Fig. 30). A very odd subject occurs on a sealing (Fig. 39) where the king appears to be struggling with a hippopotamus. One wonders if this can have any connexion with the remarkable, but very fragmentary, hippopotamus hunt on a wall in the temple of Pepy II. Finally, in the Atet chapel at Medum (*Medum*, pl. XXVII), Neferma'at is shown in what is really only a variation of the ordinary standing figure, but holding in his left hand, not only the staff, but the ends of the leashes of hunting dogs that attack desert game in two of the registers before him. A trailing black line on the ground suggests that the leash of the dog in the central register has slipped from the master's hand, but the wall is too broken to permit certainty. A man with dogs on a leash appears already on a Predynastic pot (Fig. 44) and we know in temple reliefs the figures of the king presenting calves which he holds similarly at the end of a cord or leash (Fig. 72).

FIG. 148. Huntsman,  
Naga-ed-Dér N 3737.

The grouping of large figures follows a few simple patterns, and shows usually the owner of the tomb accompanied by his family. Thus the wife is shown standing or seated behind her husband, or squatting at his feet. She stands behind him upon most occasions, or sits with him at the table of bread or in the *sh* scene, and frequently she accompanies him in the boating scene in the marshes. The standing figure of the wife assumes a number of positions—with one hand around her husband's back resting on his shoulder and the other hand hanging or closed around his hanging arm (Fig. 149); in a similar position with the hand laid flat upon the hanging arm of the man (Fig. 149), once placed upon his chest (*Giza Necropolis*, I, fig. 258), and once around his waist (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 38, LG 93); or three variations of a position in which she clasps his hanging arm. The most common of these is to place one arm around the hanging arm with her hand on her breast, while she clasps the forearm of her husband with her other hand (Fig. 109, Pl. 43), but the arm which encircles that of her husband may hang down, while her other hand is laid across it above the wrist (this hand may either be closed around her other arm or laid flat upon it; see G 7391 (Fig. 150), G 7820, G 2220), but this is varied at least once by having the



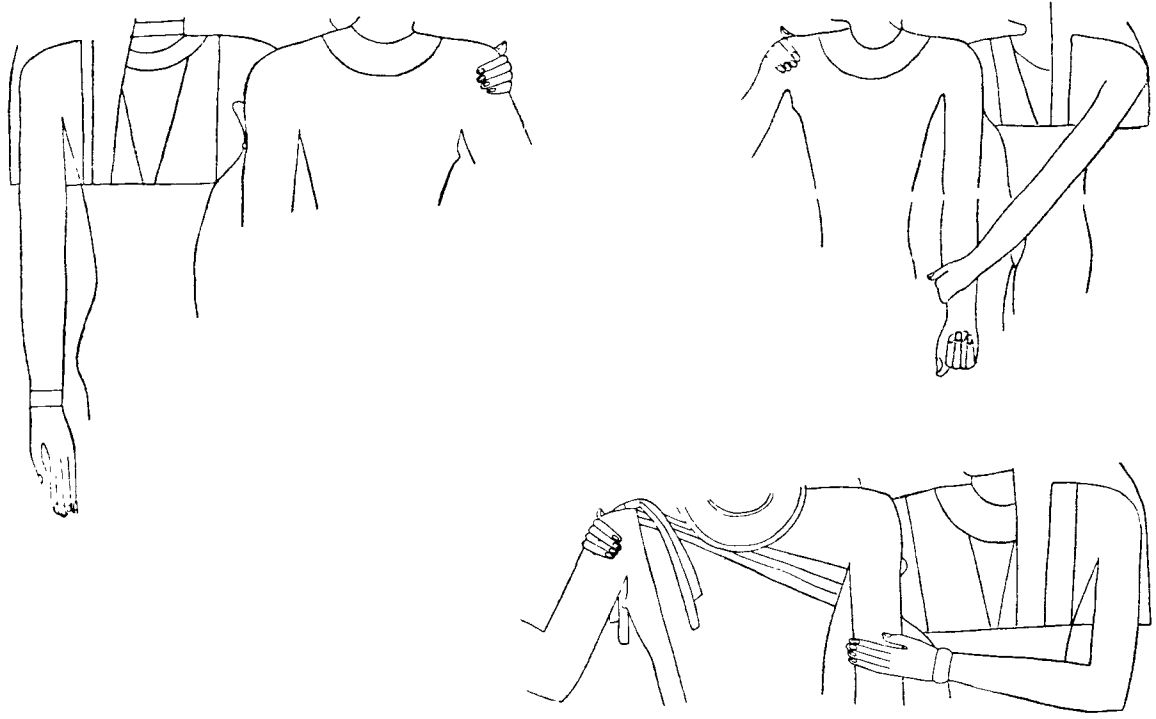


FIG. 149. Man and woman: Mer-ib, G 2100 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 21); Senezem-ib, G 2370 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 78); Ka-m-sekhem, G 7760 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 32).



FIG. 150. Husband and wife: G 4940 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 27) G 7391; Ukh-hotep (*Meir*, II, pl. II).

second arm hanging at the side holding a lotus flower (G 4940, Fig. 150). In one case, Neferma'at holds his wife's hand in his hanging hand, while she places her other arm around him (*Medum*, pl. XXVII). The wife actually must have stood beside her husband on these occasions, and the realistic draughtsmen of Meir in the Middle Kingdom have given a much better approximation of this position, although this forced them to hide a little more of the wife's figure. This is particularly successful in the chapel of Ukh-hotep II (Fig. 150). When seated behind her husband, the wife usually places one arm behind him with her hand on his shoulder and the near hand laid flat against his waist or at his elbow (Fig. 120), but in one case (G 1607) she places the far hand upon her breast, the elbow and part of the arm being hidden by the man's back (Fig. 151). When seated behind the man in an arm-chair, the wife sometimes places her near hand on her husband's arm (Sekhemkara, LG 89). The squatting figure of the wife usually places one arm around the leg, or legs, of her husband, while she holds the other hand flat on her breast, extends it open, or holds up a lotus flower to her nose (Fig. 146).

The children usually stand in various attitudes of respect in rows in front or behind the chief figure. The smallest children often place a finger to their lips. The favourite son, or rarely the daughter, stands between the chief figure and his staff, holding the staff with one hand and usually a flower or a bird in the other. The artist does not always follow the conventional groupings, and occasionally achieves a charming informal pose, such as the small boy in G 4940 (west wall) who turns his head towards his father and reaches back his hand to touch the man's leg (Pl. 50). Less attractive is the position of the daughter who stands behind her father's chair on the east wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf, reaching up to touch his back with her hand while she holds a lotus flower in the other hand (Fig. 152). A magnificent composition has been achieved in the grouping of the father and sons on the north wall of the pillared hall of Mereruwka (Pl. 56). This was copied in the tomb of Pepy-ankh, called Heny-kem at Meir, but by reducing the size of the sons the artist has destroyed the balance and rhythm of the original. A particularly happy group is that on the door-jamb of the rock-cut tomb of Khafra-ankh (Pl. 46) with the two plump naked boys holding hands while the forward boy twists his arm around his father's staff. A group showing a seated mother with her small son is found in the chapels of Khuwnera (Fig. 153) and Sekhemkara (Fig. 154) while we have mentioned already the seated figure of Atet receiving a bird from one of her sons in connexion with a bird-trapping scene. The figures of Meresankh III and her mother in the boating scene of the daughter's tomb (Fig. 64) belong to this type of family group, as does a particularly happy drawing of a mother and daughter on the stela of Ihat and Nykauwra in Cairo (Fig. 156) or the group of Khufuw-khaf and his mother holding hands on the façade of his chapel (Pl. 44). Similar in idea to these representations is the badly preserved relief of Sahura (*l.c.*, II, pl. 48) which shows a goddess (?) with her arm around the shoulders of the queen, likewise the figures of Sahura, Ne-user-ra, Unas, and Pepy II being suckled by a goddess. Such groups as these are reflected in subsidiary figures by the seated woman nursing her child. This occurred in the figure of a woman sitting on the cabin of a freight-boat in the reliefs of Dyn. VI. It appears in the chapel of Kagemni (Fig. 155) and on a relief of Ipy in Cairo (Capart, *Memphis*, Fig. 173, p. 157). The woman on a stela in Berlin (No. 13466) is not in a boat.

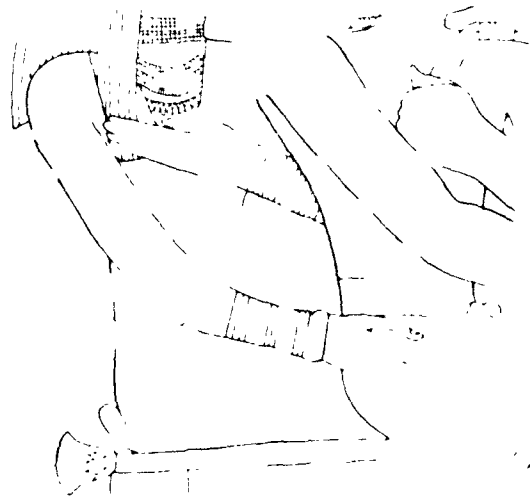


FIG. 151. G 1607, seated figures of man and wife.

It has been noted that the figures of Khafra-ankh and his dog are repeated on a small scale in the midst of the agricultural scene that the large figure is surveying. This is an unusual representation, but other examples are known of the principal figure participating in a scene, all the figures of which have been reduced to fit into a particular space on a tomb wall. The most common of these representations are those of the boats, usually found over the doorway of the L-shaped chapel at Giza, and often in

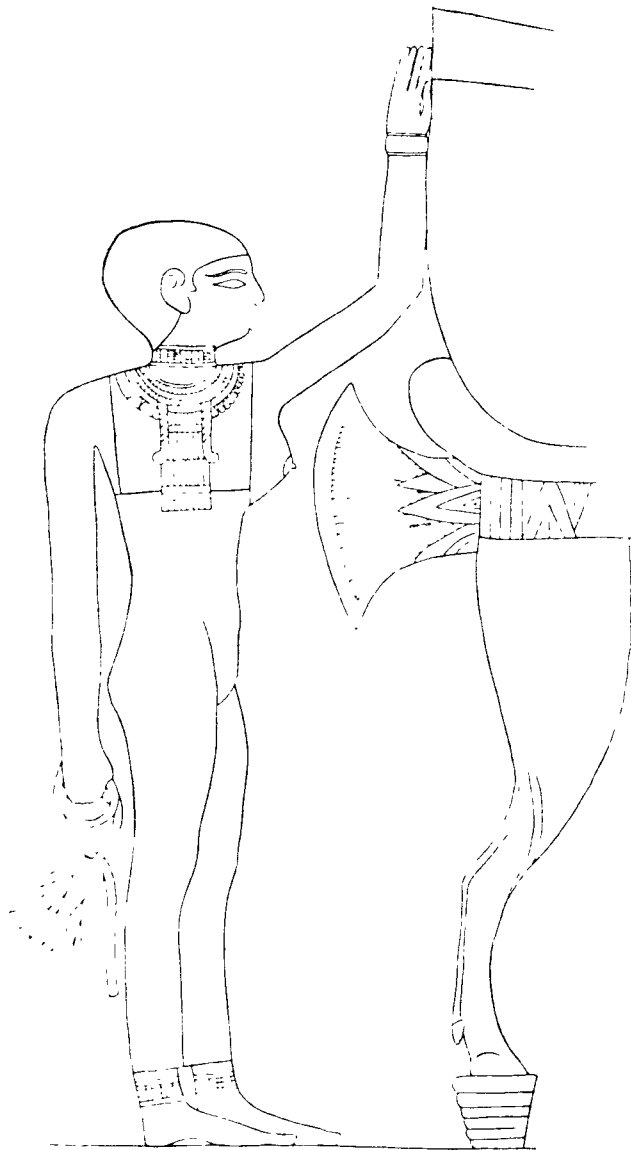


FIG. 152. Daughter standing behind Khufuw-khaf, G 7140.

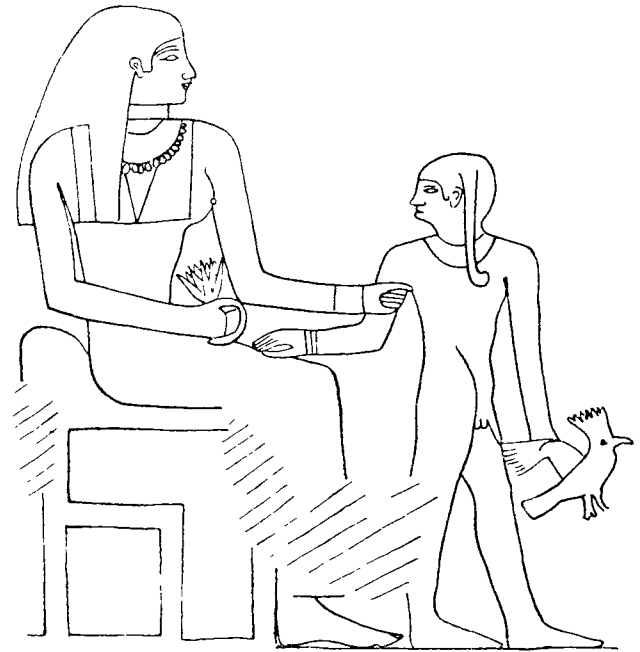


FIG. 153. Khuwnera and his mother, Queen Khamerer-nebty II.

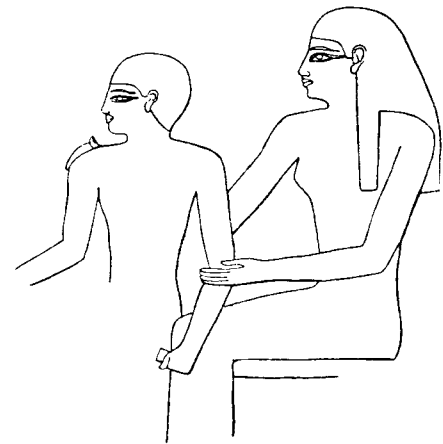


FIG. 154. Sekhemkara and his mother, Queen Hezet-hekenuw (*L.D.*, II, pl. 42).

other chapels at Giza and Saqqarah. Here the owner sits in the boat, drawn the same size as the oarsmen. An early example of this is the fragment from the chapel of Meresankh II (Fig. 63), although the figure of the queen seems to be on a slightly larger scale than the boy punting her. A typical example is the figure of Meresankh III seated in a boat on the east wall of her chapel. The swamp scene is often reduced to a small scale, as in the chapel of Nebemakhet, where the owner hunts with a split spear, or in Thiy, where he leans on a staff and watches his men harpooning hippopotamus. In these examples the principal figure is larger in size than the subordinate ones. The owner is also shown picking papyrus, as in the case of the mother and the daughter in the chapel of Meresankh III, or the over-door decoration

in the corridor of Thiy. A very battered scene of this sort occurs again over the door in room b of the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020). One of the most striking of these reductions of a large figure is that shown by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 43 a), where Werekhuw is shown riding in a carrying-chair that has been strapped on the backs of a pair of donkeys.

The individual characteristics of the principal figure are seldom observed. Usually the figure is shown in the prime of life, with the profile rendering of the head corresponding to the conventional Old Kingdom conception of masculine or feminine beauty. It is true that a large proportion of the heads of the figures in the chapels of the great personages of Dyn. IV have been destroyed, but those which are preserved do not often give the same impression of careful portraiture that is so often evident in the statues. The Cheops ivory, the statues of Rahotep and Nofret, the reserve heads of the Western Cemetery at Giza, the statue of Hemyuwnuw, the bust of Ankh-haf, and the statues of Radedef, Chephren, and Mycerinus have made us familiar with the faces of the royal family and the people of the court of Dyn. IV. The heads on the north and west wall (Pl. 43) of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf recall vividly the best of the reserve heads, but this is a general impression produced more by the clean-cut style of the reliefs and the perfection of the drawing of the features, than by the similarity of any particular characteristic of facial structure. The same is true of the head of Merytyetes from the east wall of her chapel, or the beautiful head of Akhet-hetep in the Barracco Collection in Rome, which I believe came also from the Merytyetes chapel (Pls. 41, 42). There is a resemblance between the head of Khufuw-khaf's wife on the west wall of their chapel and the reserve head of G 4540. The head of Khufuw-khaf himself on the north wall is not unlike a profile view of Sneferuw-seneb. It is more like it, in fact, than the relief head on Sneferuw-seneb's own false-door. The Akhet-hetep relief slightly resembles the profile of the head from G 4640. These resemblances are partly stylistic, partly due perhaps to a common family likeness, or to a similarity in type of the ruling class of this time. The heads of the slab-stelae also belong to this type of well drawn, carefully sculptured, conventionalized face. The fact that they are in very low relief gives them less of a resemblance to the portrait heads than those just mentioned. Throughout there is none of the attempt to capture individuality which differentiates each reserve head from another, and makes the royal sculpture a series of as fine portraits as survive from Egyptian art.

It is true, of course, that the Egyptian artist was hampered by his convention of the profile view of the face with the eye seen from the front. He could not use the drawing of the eye to help him in catching a likeness. The shape of the nose was the easiest characteristic of the face which he could emphasize in profile, and he was thus more successful in his portraits in relief when the individual was possessed of a prominent nose. More rarely he observed the shape of the mouth, the line of the throat, the thickness of the neck, or the configuration of the skull. Ordinarily he was content with two or three conventional methods. Thus he drew a concave line from the forehead, cutting in to the bridge and out to the tip of

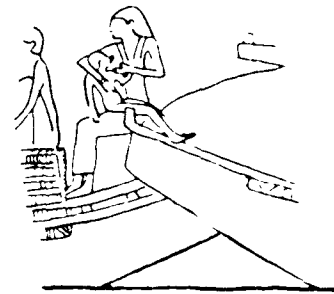


FIG. 155. Woman nursing child on freight-boat, Kagemmi (*Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 53).

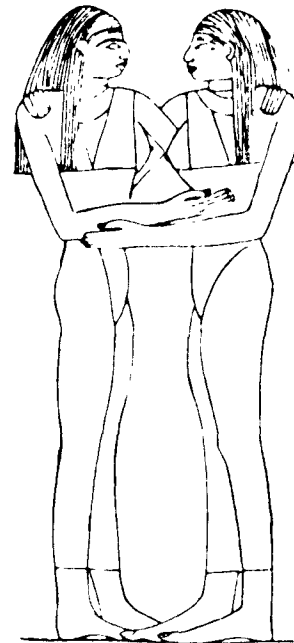


FIG. 156. Mother and daughter on false-door of Ihat (Borchardt-Reisner, *Works of Art from the Egyptian Museum at Cairo*, pl. 21).

the nose. We see this in the head of Akhet-hetep, mentioned above (Pl. 42), in the heads of small figures in the Ankh-haf chapel, in the head of the wife of Khufuw-khaf, and in that of his mother on the façade (Pls. 43, 44), as well as the heads on the slab-stelae of Kanofer, Yeny, Ka-m-aha, and G 4140 (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. 17, 19, 20, 57). Another method was to continue the rounded line delineating the top of the head to include the forehead, changing at the bridge of the nose to an almost straight line that ran to its tip. This appears in some of the heads in Khufuw-khaf and on the slab-stelae of Nefert-yabet and Nofret (*Giza Necropolis*, I, pls. 18, 19). The head of Wepemnofret has a slight bulge in the line of the forehead (Pl. 32), repeated again in the well-cut head of Mer-ib on the south wall of his chapel (Pl. 46), and that of another Mer-ib on a wooden panel in the Louvre, while the head of Merytyetes (Pl. 41) allows a curve to the nose-line. The heads of Hetep-heres and Meresankh give more prominence to this curve and accentuate the size of the nostrils (Pl. 44). The head of Mery in the Louvre shows a more continuous curved line from hair-line to tip of nose with less of a break at the bridge of the nose. The drawing of the lips, the slightly rising curve of the throat, the unobtrusive chin, and the shape of the back of the head are very similar in all these heads. Of all mentioned so far, there is perhaps a hint of individuality in the trim, piquant lines of the face of Nefert-kauw (wife of Khufuw-khaf (Pl. 43); but note her resemblance to Meresankh III); the rather prominent curve of the nose of Merytyetes; and the bold nose and definitely pronounced nostrils of Hetep-heres II (Pl. 44). In the latter case a comparison can be made with the pair statuette found in the chapel of G 7530 (Pl. 16) and the relief thought to represent the same two ladies in the chapel of G 7350 (Pl. 45). Except for a vague resemblance between the close-fitting hair and rather plump face of the statuette of Meresankh and her heads in relief in both chapels, the statuette provides little evidence as to the accuracy of the portraiture in relief. The fact that the skull of Meresankh actually protruded markedly at the back receives no recognition either in the reliefs or the statuette. There does seem to be a certain resemblance between the heads of Hetep-heres in the reliefs from the two chapels. The complete dissimilarity of the heads of the rock-cut statues of Meresankh and the three of Hetep-heres is a little disheartening, but it is, of course, idle to expect careful portraiture in nummulitic rock-cut statues.

The stylistic resemblance between heads in relief and in the round, seen in the case of the reliefs of the reign of Cheops and Chephren and the reserve heads, seems to me to be evident in the Archaic period as well, in the reigns of Zoser, Sa-nekht, and Sneferuw. Certain characteristics, at first appearing highly personal, are found in several heads and make it difficult to judge how far the artist has indulged in a taste for portraiture. Thus the same beak-like nose is seen in four heads of Sa-nekht, two at the Wady Maghara, and two on the relief in Cairo attributed to this king by Professor Borchardt;<sup>1</sup> on six heads of Zoser in the Step Pyramid reliefs; slightly refined in the aquiline nose of Hesi-ra on his wooden panels; and in the heads of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep. Deep furrows at the corner of the mouth and in the cheek appear likewise on the heads of Sa-nekht; on the seated figure of Hesi-ra; on one jamb of Hathor-nefer-hetep; and less pronounced in the Zoser reliefs. The high relief of the heads of Akhet-a'a throws a similar shadow around the cheek, at the extremity of the mouth. The head of the statue of Zoser found in his *serdab* seems to possess these same characteristics and bears a strong stylistic resemblance to the reliefs of that king and those of Sa-nekht. I believe that a similar resemblance is to be observed between the face of Hathor-nefer-hetep and the full-throated, wide faces of the statue of Neset in the Louvre, the Turin seated princess, and the standing statue in Brussels. The slender hieroglyphs with their dry, rather cramped modelling carry out this resemblance in the inscriptions of the Zoser statues, the boundary steles, and the Turin Heliopolis reliefs; the inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> I have suggested in a previous chapter that the Cairo relief may be a portrait of Zoser.

of Hesi-ra, Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, and Akhet-a'a. That this style did not prevail universally is shown by the very different hieroglyphs, broad and bold in style but in low relief, of the Step Pyramid panels (contemporary with the first examples in this series), and the even bolder hieroglyphs in high relief of Iy-nefer, FS 3078 and Methen, roughly contemporary with the three monuments mentioned last. In type this bold style seems to be a later development, the trend being away from the low reliefs, and the slender, sometimes cramped, forms toward the high carving with broad simple masses. It seems to me that one can see a reflection of this change of style in the heads as well. The badly battered head of Sneferuw from the Wady Maghara shows a full-throated plump face that seems not unlike that in the Cheops ivory. This is reflected in the heads of Iy-nefer, and the subsidiary figures in FS 3078 and in Rahotep and Nofret. The chief figures in Rahotep and Nofret begin to show a type of face more like the conventional Dyn. IV type, and this is even more pronounced in the heads of Methen. The heads of the subsidiary figures of Iy-nefer, 3078, and Nofret are remarkably similar, presenting frequently a coarse, boorish face, with a snout-like nose. The heads of the primitive niches are often too crude or too badly weathered to present any pronounced characteristics, but the two figures on the stone of Waten and those of Emery's Tety present affinities with the first group of heads mentioned above, resembling the face of Hathor-nefer-hetep.

In spite of these stylistic characteristics, some of the faces of the Archaic period can perhaps be taken for fairly accurate portraits. The statue of Zoser shows a pronounced resemblance to his relief portraits, and the fact that these also resemble the heads of Sa-nekht may easily be due to a close relationship between the two men.<sup>1</sup> The heads of Hesi-ra show a peculiar narrowness of the top of the skull which may have been characteristic of the man, and in the case of one of his panels, and one of the heads of Hathor-nefer-hetep, the furrows at the corners of the mouth may be intended to show the lines of an ageing face. The lines in the Akhet-a'a reliefs resulted, I believe, from the modelling of the mouth and cheek, and were accidental, but the careful drawing of the full throat of Hathor-nefer-hetep, and the added line under the eye and in the cheek, and the care with which the sculptor of Hesi-ra has treated his low relief surfaces, make it seem more likely that in these cases, as in the Sa-nekht heads (and a little more conventionally in the Zoser heads), there is an attempt to imitate the features as they actually looked to the artist. The head of Kha-bauw-sokar seems also to bear the stamp of accurate portraiture, though with less pronounced characteristics than those of his wife. The heads of Iy-nefer, Rahotep, Nofret, and Methen, although differing somewhat stylistically, appear to be more conventional work than the others (cf. Chapter VIII and Chapter XVI, p. 361).

At Giza we are fortunate in being able to compare in a few cases a sculptured head in the round of fine quality with a relief portrait of the same man, of equally good workmanship. In two examples the artist has imitated peculiar characteristics of the face, and the two types of portraiture agree. Attention was called long ago to the resemblance between the reserve head of Nofer and the relief from his north door-jamb in Boston (Pl. 48). The resemblance is equally striking when these are compared to the tablet in the Barracco Collection, a little less pronounced on the Louvre door-jamb. The heads on the south and west walls of the chapel were more conventionalized. The deep indentation at the bridge of the nose and the hooked nose itself are the outstanding characteristics, but the drawing of mouth and chin is individual. The pronounced chin and nose, the set of the lips, and the protruding line of the forehead which one sees in the wonderful Hildesheim portrait of Prince Hemyuwnuw, are imitated in two

<sup>1</sup> Lauer, and more recently Borchardt (*J.Z.*, 73, pp. 106 ff.), were of the opinion from sealings found in the galleries under the Unas Pyramid, the granaries west of the Step Pyramid, and

in one of the early shafts under the east face of that Pyramid, that Sa-nekht preceded Zoser. However, this has now been refuted by Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, III, p. 53.

fragmentary relief portraits of the Prince in Boston<sup>1</sup> (Pl. 48). A possible resemblance can perhaps be noted between the relief heads of Rahotep and Nofret and their famous statues in Cairo. A head in relief, which by the observation of certain unusual details, is undoubtedly a portrait, is that of Semenkhuw-ptah, called Itwesh (MM D 43), now in the Brooklyn Museum from the Collection of the New York Historical Society (Pl. 48). The shoulders are broken away below, but from the curve of the back it would seem that the sculptor had tried some innovation nearly approximating true profile. If this is so, it is a unique experiment for a principal figure. The only other examples of such a variation from the traditional aspect of the chief figure are small figures on the lower part of stelae, where the reduced



FIG. 157. Distorted drawing on a Copenhagen stela (Madsen, *A.Z.*, Vol. 42, p. 65).

size of the principal figure apparently tempted the artist to variations often practised on minor figures (see, for example, the southern false-door of Ptah-hotep (Fig. 46); a stela in Hildesheim (No. 2388); and the monstrous example in Copenhagen, Fig. 157).

In a few cases the artist, while not attempting a portrait, has reproduced certain personal characteristics of the owner of the tomb. We find the corpulent figure of Khufuw-khaf on the façade of his tomb, evidently portrayed as an older man than elsewhere in the chapel. The very deep skull, protruding at the back, does not appear in any of the other portraits of the Prince, but would seem to be a piece of careful observation on the part of the man who drew this figure (Pl. 43). The features seem to be more pronounced and less conventional than in the other heads. When the artists of Meresankh III came to portray the figure of her father Ka-wab on the east wall of the chapel, they also gave him a portly bearing resembling Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 110). Particularly realistic are the rolls of fat given to the figure of Khafra-ankh (LG 75) on his north door-jamb.

The deep skull protruding at the back is known again from a portrait of Thenty in very high relief on the north wall of a rock tomb near the southern end of the line at the foot of the eastern cliff at Giza. It is interesting to remember that the skeleton of Meresankh III had just such a skull. Corpulent figures are known in other cases, such as the figure on a column in G 7150, and the well-known figures on the columns of Nefer-seshem-ra at Saqqarah (Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, II, pl. 123), and it became customary in Dyn. VI to place the figure of a young man on one jamb of the entrance and a fat, older man on the other jamb (see, for example, in the chapel of Yeduw, G 7102).

### b. The Attitudes of the Subsidiary Figures

The attitudes of the minor figures in Egyptian scenes are too numerous and varied to catalogue in the manner that has been found possible for the chief figure. What is more, although in general they follow the conventions laid down by the drawing of the chief figures, the multiplicity of the actions required for subsidiary figures, and their comparative unimportance in relation to the dominant figure, stimulated the artist to a more careful approximation to some of the transitory aspects of the human body in movement and repose. Sometimes the efforts of the artist to represent a difficult position resulted in hopeless failure, but more often a lifelike result is obtained, sometimes approaching very close to correct drawing in the modern sense of the word. Certain limitations exist in regard to action. Except in certain

<sup>1</sup> These fragments had been dragged some distance to the south of the mastaba (G 4000) when the walls of the chapel were burned for lime and were found in the Harvard-Boston concession.

dancing poses the feet are kept on the ground. In ordinary running figures the toes of both feet always touch the ground. Professor Schäfer has observed that only in one tomb at Tell el Amarna does he know a running figure (Fig. 158) where one of the feet is actually raised from the ground, but surely the hunter at Beni-Hasan (Fig. 159) is running with his leg raised, although the knee accidentally touches the curve of the desert ground, and a similar attitude is known from the early palette in the Louvre (Fig. 25). First in the Middle Kingdom do we find figures that leap from the ground, as in the man executing a war dance at Beni Hasan (Fig. 159), or the tumblers who jump in the air in the same chapel (No. 15, Baqt, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. IV) and also in No. 17 (*l.c.*, II, pl. XIII). A leaping figure is found

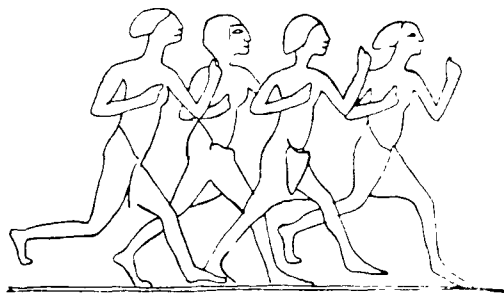


FIG. 158. Running men, tomb of Mahu (Davies, *El Amarna*, IV, pl. XX).

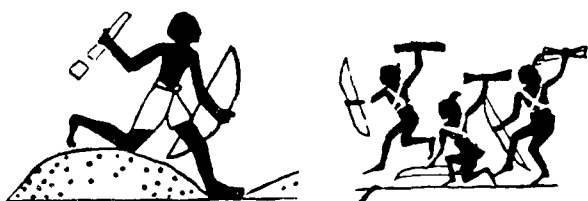


FIG. 159. Running and leaping figures (Middle Kingdom): *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XIII; *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. V.

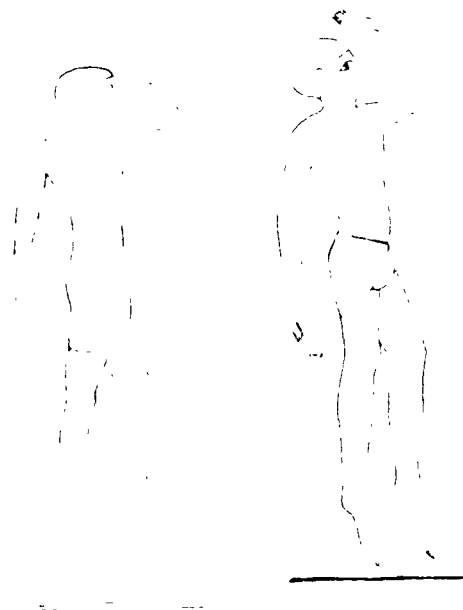


FIG. 160. Leaping figures: Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. XV (Middle Kingdom), *The Tomb of Amenemhat*, pl. XX (New Kingdom).

in the Luxor chapel of Intef-ikr (Fig. 160) and later in the New Kingdom tomb of Amenemhat (Fig. 160). A complete reversal of this action, even more unusual, is the man who stands on his head at Beni Hasan (*l.c.*, II, pl. XVI, Baqt). The same rule applies to the desert animals which run before the bow of the huntsman, all of which ordinarily keep four feet on the ground. But the rearing figures of the game on the early palette in the Louvre (Fig. 25) must be remembered. The hyena raises its paws to claw at the arrow through its muzzle (Fig. 70), and the early figure of the gazelle in the chapel of Rahotep (Pl. 33) raises its front hooves from the ground (*Medum*, pl. IX), as does a gazelle in the Sahura hunting scene or the antelopes in the chapel of Seshem-Nofer (Fig. 163). It may be possible that if the hunting scene were not so rarely preserved examples of galloping figures might be found. However, in the Middle Kingdom even, the desert animals at Beni Hasan, Bersheh, and in the Luxor chapel of Intef-ikr keep their feet firmly on the ground. It is only in the reliefs of Senby at Meir (Fig. 94) where certain animals rear up on their hind legs or spring forward alighting on the front feet with the rear legs raised (in the case of the rabbit). Professor Schäfer would see in the 'flying gallop' of the New Kingdom game, where all four feet are raised in the air, stretched out in front and behind the figure, an influence from the art of the Aegean area.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But see the well developed 'flying gallop' of the gazelle in the Middle Kingdom bone inlay from Kerma (Reisner, *Kerma*, II, pl. 56) and an even earlier example in the two hounds pursuing hares in the chapel of . . . *htp* at Mialla which seems

to be of Dyn. XI if not perhaps of the Intermediate period. Compare also Edgerton's valuable discussion of this subject: 'Two Notes on the Flying Gallop', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 178-88.



A lively spirit of movement usually thought of as characteristic of the New Kingdom, was not entirely foreign to the older period, as testify the varied actions of the calves tethered during the milking. A remarkable feeling of movement is achieved by the hasty incised sketch in the Boston Chapel of Ptah-sekhem-ankh (Fig. 161), to which attention has been called by Professor Capart. The irregular curving

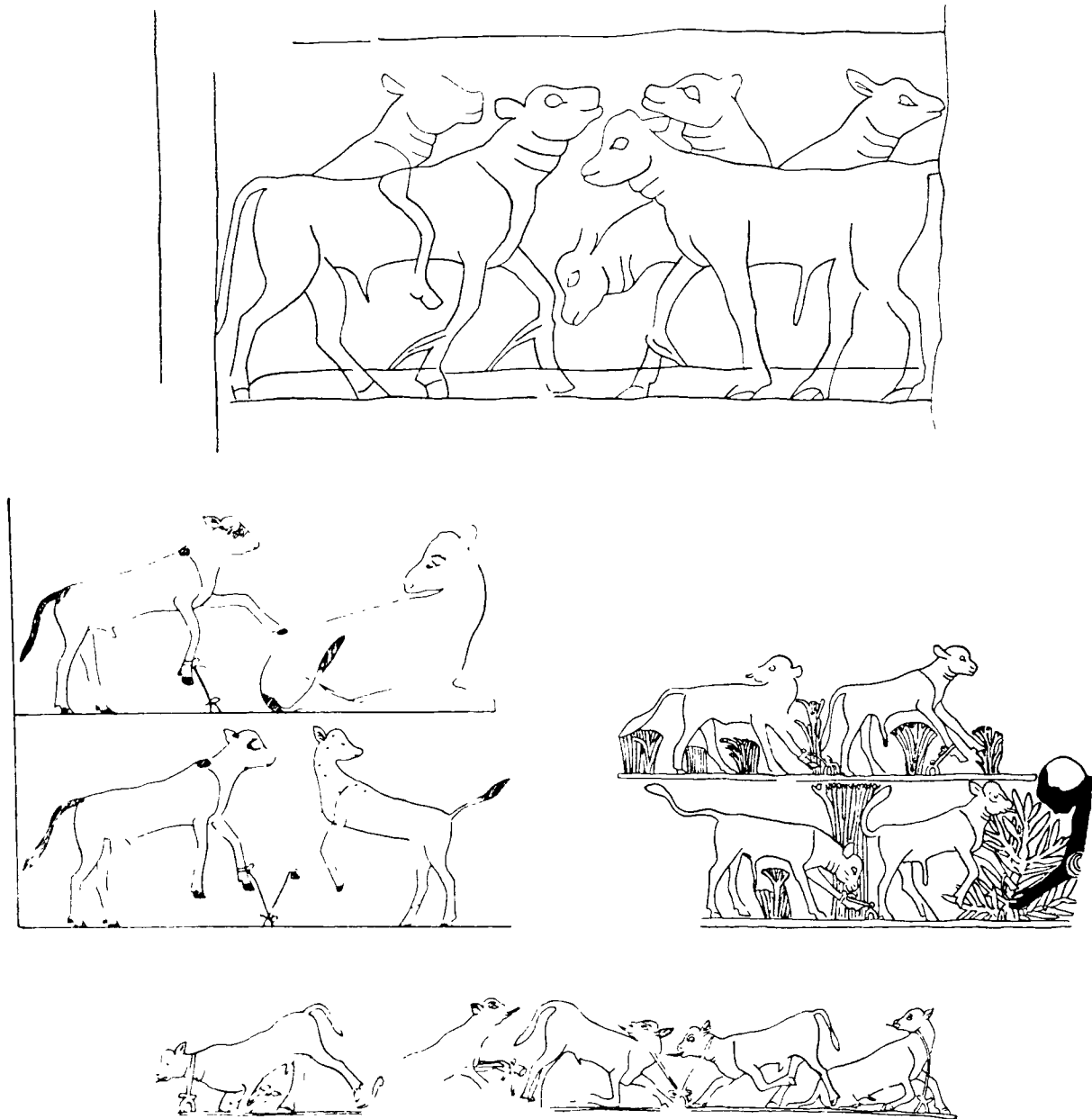


FIG. 161. Leaping calves: (1) Boston chapel of Ptah-sekhem-ankh; (2) Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, II, pl. XI; (3) Thiy (Breasted, *Geschichte*, pl. 19); (4) Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. XXXI, XXXII.

lines bring this little panel very close in spirit to work usually associated with the products of the Tell el Amarna craftsmen (one thinks of the impromptu dance of the street urchins, for example). The register of calves in the chapel of Ptah-hotep is equally animated, as is that sketched in the vestibule of the Akhet-hetep chapel (Fig. 161), but the finest example is that in Thiy (Fig. 161). Similar in character is the little calf springing over the back of another in an offering procession in the tomb of Mereruwka (Fig. 162). The capering goats and calf at Meir (*Meir*, IV, pl. XIV) show an increased freedom of action over the usual rather formal drawing of the goats with their forelegs raised to enable them to nibble the leaves from a tree.

The artist of the Old Kingdom does not entirely restrict his figures to the ground, but when necessity forces it he allows them to climb trees (fig-picking; Iy-mery (G 6020); Kagemni, Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 8), a ladder (Fig. 85), and even the rigging of a ship (Cairo fragment, No. 40049, Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep, and Nekhebuw, Fig. 164). See also the men climbing a flight of steps in the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 166) (fan bearers ascending the steps of the Heb-Sed throne according to Kees). Similar are the men ascending a ramp in the Debehen relief (Pl. 47). The boys in Ptah-hotep raise a

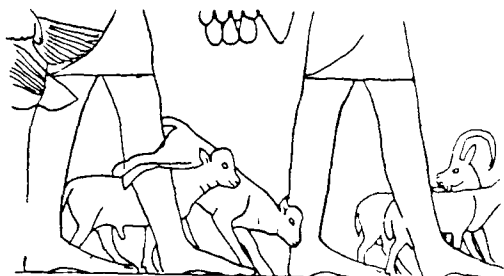


FIG. 162. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 59.

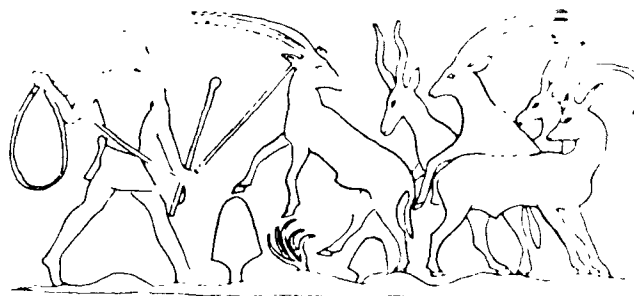


FIG. 163. Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1929, fig. 5.

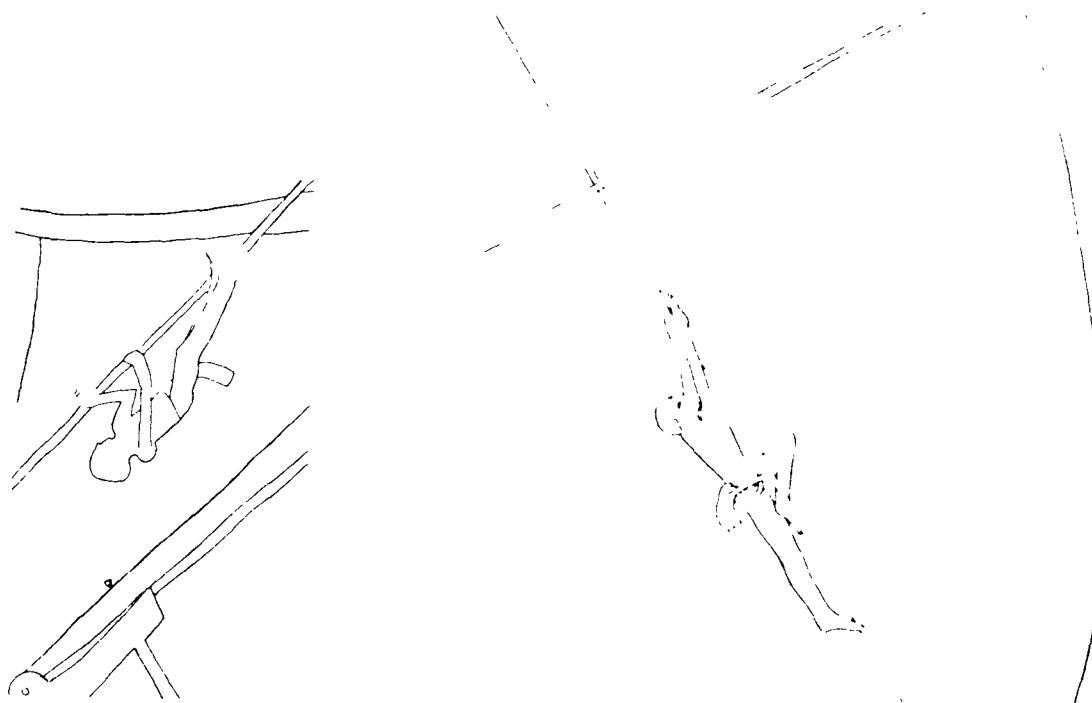


FIG. 164. Men climbing rigging: Nekhebuw (Boston); Akhet-hetep (Louvre).

comrade on their shoulders and a similar action is performed in Mereruwka. The Egyptian was somewhat averse to representing a recumbent figure, but does so very early in the hieroglyph of a swimming man which appears upon sealings of Dyn. I and II (Fig. 165). Later this sign determines the word *nbi*, meaning to swim, and is adopted also for the word *nbi*, to smelt. A good example of the sign in the latter connexion is found in the chapel of Iy-mery (Fig. 165), and it is excellently drawn in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 72). Comparison can be made with a rare occurrence of swimming figures in a scene in the chapel of Mereruwka (Fig. 166). There is also a curious diving figure in the Dyn. XI Theban tomb of Djar (*Bull. Met. Mus.*, 1930-31, p. 29) which has a parallel in the chapel of Ankhtifnekht at Mialla. A figure lying on a bed is known in the hieroglyphic determinative for the word *šdr* in the Old Kingdom. The sign in the Pyramid Texts is not recognizable as a human figure, but a good example

exists in the chapel of Pepy-ankh at Meir (*Meir*, IV, pl. IV A, line 1). For another similar hieroglyph see Junker, *Giza*, III, Fig. 28, Nesuwt-Nofer. Aside from the hieroglyph the representation is unknown before the two remarkable Middle Kingdom examples given by Klebs (*Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, p. 62), where the dead man is shown (Fig. 167). A third figure in the chapel of . . . *htp* at Mialla is as yet unpublished. By this time the mummy form of the dead man

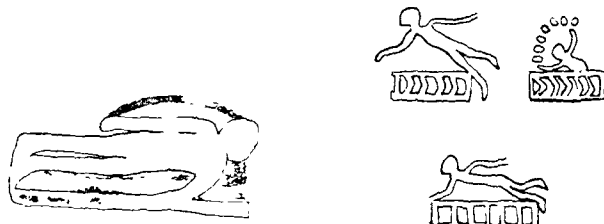


FIG. 165. Hieroglyph for *nbi*: G 6020; Dyn. I examples, *R.T.*, II, pl. XIX; *R.T.*, I, pl. XXI.

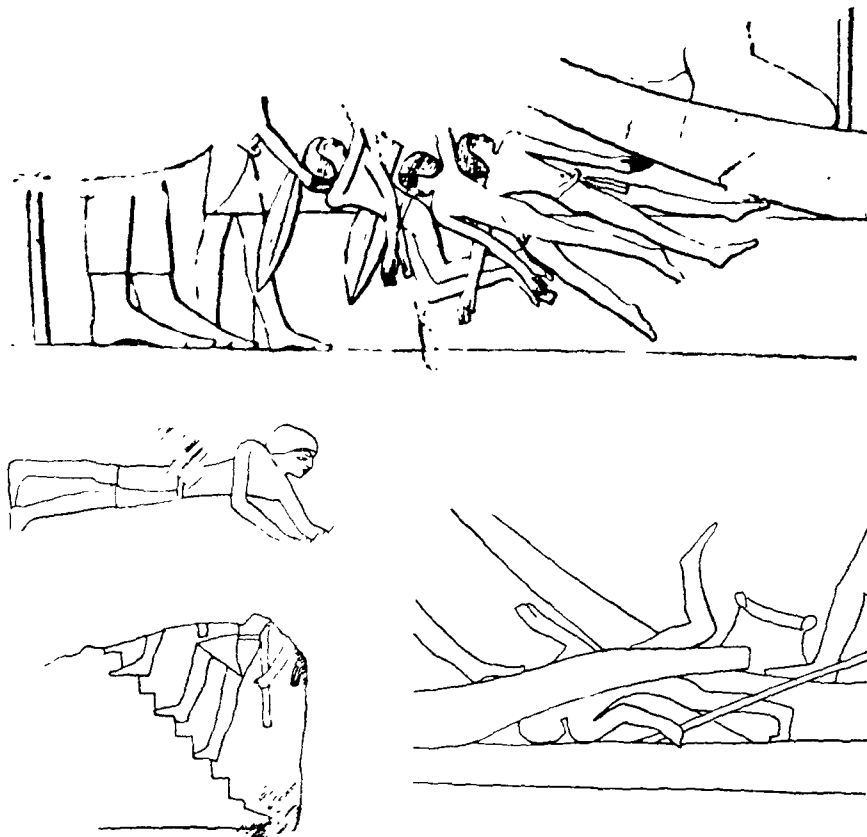


FIG. 166. Swimming men (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 130); recumbent man (*Ré-Heiligtum*, pl. 23); men climbing steps of throne (*l.c.* III, pl. 14); man fallen from boat, G 6020.

is found (*l.c.*, pp. 65, 68) but it is known earlier in a hieroglyph in the Dyn. VI tomb of Yenty at Deshasheh (Fig. 167). Figures lying on the ground are known very early in the case of the dead captives on the early palettes (Figs. 27, 29), and later in the recumbent figure in the Heb-Sed ceremony (Fig. 166), and the prone figure of a man being beaten at Deir el Gebrawi (Fig. 223). One should note also the men prostrating themselves before the noble in the chapel of Ra-shepses at Saqqarah (*Denkmäler*, II, pl. 63) and the prostrate figures in the chapel of Yeduw (Fig. 82) and upon a block in the British Museum (Fig. 83).

Somewhat similar to the above is the drawing of the figure which has been pushed into the water in the scene where the boatmen are struggling with their punting poles. A good illustration of this is to be found on a block in Cairo (No. 236, Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, p. 68). The figure in Iy-mery (Fig. 166) is partly hidden behind the nearest of the two boats, while that in Thiy has managed to pull himself up on the prow of the skiff (Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 111). This detail was copied in the Middle Kingdom at Beni Hasan (Khnum-hotep) and Meir (No. B 2). There are two other groups of figures which show men in violent action, requiring a figure to leave the ground. One of these is the scene where a troublesome steer must be thrown to the ground for slaughter. Men are found seated on the animal's back (Fig. 68), and once, in the chapel of Mereruwka, a man leaps over the steer's back, seizing horn and tail (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 21). The other group which appears to show a man in an acrobatic pose in the air is the wine-pressing scene. Most commentators have assumed that this position

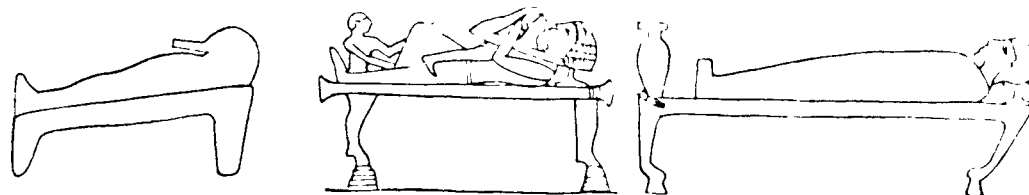


FIG. 167. Figure on bed: Chapel of Yenty, hieroglyph (*Deshashch*, pl. VII); Intermediate stela, *British Museum Inscriptions*, I, pl. 54 and photo; Gebelein coffin, Cairo No. 28116 (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, pl. VI).

in the air with both feet pressed on one of the poles and the hands seizing the other is impossible to maintain, and have suggested that at least one of the man's feet was on the ground. The artists, in copying this scene one from the other, have so frequently altered the positions of the various figures and have so confused the space relationship of the various parts of the scene, that it is difficult to understand what most of them are attempting to represent. Perhaps the clearest exposition of the action is that in the chapel of Ptah-hotep, but even this has the figure suspended in the air (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXIII).

It was in the convention of frontality for the shoulders that the artist encountered his greatest difficulty in the drawing of small figures engaged in action. In some cases it was absolutely essential for the clarity of a position to present the shoulders in profile, often it would have been useful to show the whole body in front or back view. The last expedient was seldom resorted to, but various approximations of profile drawing are not infrequent. Whatever the Egyptian attempted to draw, he did not conceive of it as a consistent whole, but built it up from the various parts, considering the drawing of each of these parts by itself as a separate entity. Thus, it is something of an accident when an Egyptian drawing looks correct to our eyes. Usually there is some flaw. If the shoulders, breast, and head are correct these will be attached to a wrongly drawn torso or legs, or the hands will be mistakenly placed. A body properly observed in front view will have the feet and head turned to the side. It is no small tribute to the Egyptian artist's feeling for beauty of line, rhythm, and balance, that after a brief familiarity we are often able to accept as attractive these composite drawings so foreign to our own conventions.

The minor figures show three well-defined groups of variation from the ordinary rules applied to the chief figure. First there is the common and unsatisfactory device of drawing the shoulders as though the upper part of the figure had been folded down its axis with the shoulders touching either in front or in back. In this case the back of the figure from crown of head to waist is drawn correctly in profile, if the shoulders are folded forward, and there is often a fairly close approximation of the chest in profile if the shoulders are folded back. A method more satisfactory to our eyes is equally common. This was to draw the near shoulder in profile, although the far shoulder is projected flat and not properly

fore-shortened. More rarely the far shoulder is drawn correctly, disappearing behind the near shoulder, and a very near approximation of true profile is obtained, although it is not necessarily maintained throughout the whole body. In rare instances the frontality of the shoulders is retained, combined with a complicated movement of the arms, and in this case a kind of 'ground plan' view results for the upper part of the body, which seems to resemble in origin the treatment of certain animals and even plants which are drawn as though seen from above when this is the characteristic aspect of their species. Only as the rarest exception in the Old Kingdom do we find an observation of frontality in figures.

The convention of folding over the shoulders appears very early; good examples can be found in the man with the basket on the mace-head of the Scorpion King (Fig. 30), the man holding the ropes around

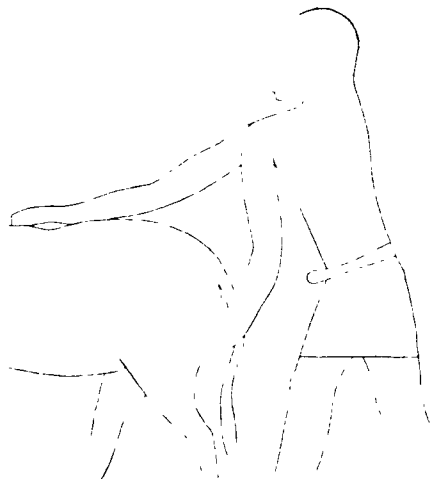


FIG. 168. Man with oryx, G 7650, north wall.

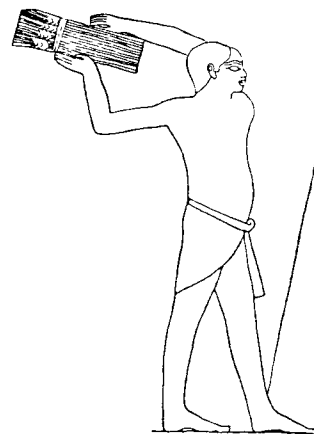


FIG. 169. Man with sheaf of grain (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 170).

the necks of the fabulous animals on the Narmer palette (Fig. 33), and the bound captives on the Oxford-British Museum palette (Fig. 27) (so often repeated in later figures of bound captives). It is very common in the figures of the Medum tombs (see, for example, *Medum*, pls. XI, XII, XVIII, XXIV). The attitude finds its most extreme expression in such figures as the bound captives and the Nile gods in the Sahura reliefs (Fig. 71) or the man piling sheaves of grain in the harvest scene in G 7411. A similar convention is shown by such figures as the man with a staff (*Sa-hu-re*, pl. 32); a man in the reliefs of Kaninesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II, fig. 19); the men carrying chests in the chapel of Yeduw (G 7102, Fig. 84*b*), or the man with a stick over his shoulder in FS 3081 (Pl. 51). Frequently the action of the arms modifies the position of the shoulders ever so slightly to produce a more realistic effect, as in the case of the man with his hands on the back of an animal (north entrance-jamb of Meresankh III; Merytyetes north wall (Fig. 168); G 2184 façade); the man heaving with his back under the boat in Khuwnera (Pl. 49); or the extraordinary attitude of the boatman with his head turned back in Kaninesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II, fig. 22). Occasionally the attitude gives the impression of a profile drawing, although actually the shoulders are pushed forward. This is to be seen in the common attitude of the slaughter scene, particularly well exemplified by a figure in the Merytyetes chapel (Pl. 41; also in G 2150 and G 2041, Pl. 45). Similar is the man on the west wall of G 5080.

A modification of the principle of the folded shoulder produces a pseudo three-quarter view of the chest in a curious pose where a man raises a stick or some other object above his head. This is a fairly common gesture applied to figures in varying types of scenes (Fig. 170); such as the huntsman in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 17); the man beating cattle in Thiy (*l.c.*, pl. 111); or donkeys (G 1151); a boatman in Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII); the man with a sheaf of grain in Mereruwka (Fig. 169); or

the figure in the boat-building scene in Thiy (*l.c.*, pl. 119). Reversed to show a back view, it produces a realistic effect in the man pulling the rope of a fish net in Khafra-ankh (Fig. 171). A different arrangement of the arms produces a somewhat similar effect in the man carrying a bed in Methen (Fig. 171), or a curious figure with upraised arms in LS 31 (Fig. 171). The use of the folded-over shoulder by the Middle Kingdom artists of Beni Hasan appears in a number of different variations.

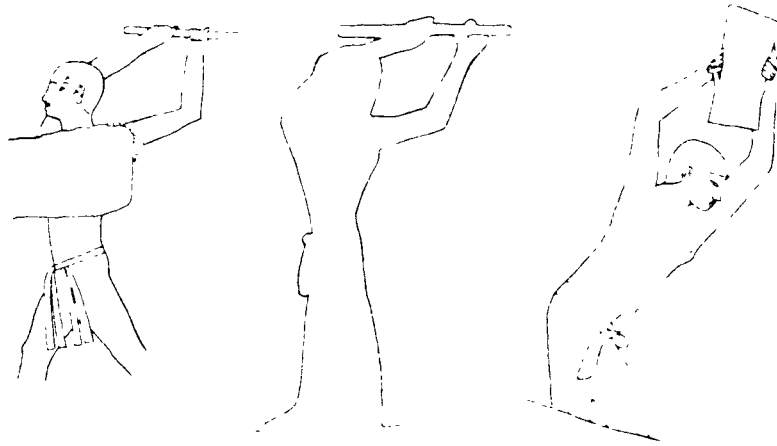


FIG. 170. Beater, hunting scene (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 17); man beating donkeys, G 1151; boat builder, Thiy (*Atlas*, III, pl. 36).

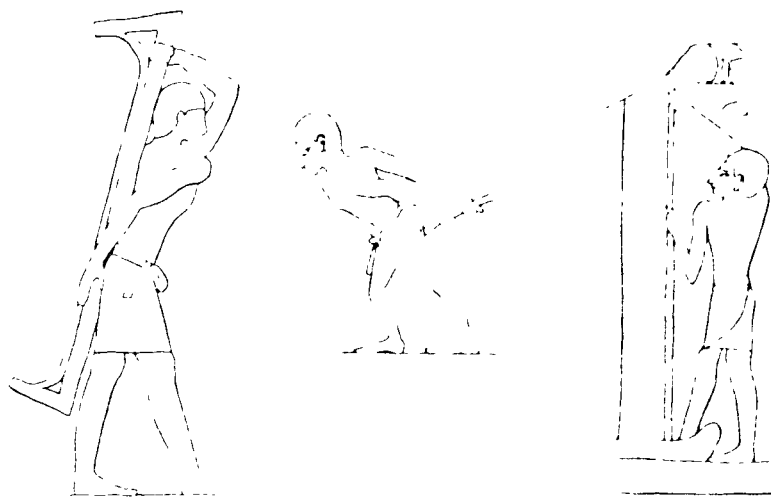


FIG. 171. Man carrying bed, Methen (*L.D.*, II, pl. 6); man pulling on fish-net, Khafra-ankh (*L.D.*, II, pl. 9); man beside shrine, LS 31 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 101).

There a back view similar to that in Khafra-ankh is achieved in one of the figures in the tomb of Khnum-hotep (Fig. 172). Similar is the drawing of a man carrying a bundle of papyrus on his back at Meir (Fig. 172). The folded-over shoulder was less usual in the New Kingdom. It was a common device of the Cretan artist, clumsily treated by the less expert draughtsmen of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Boeotian Thebes.

The adaptation of the ordinary conventions to suit attitudes required by the action of a figure, or the necessity to represent unusual positions of the arms, was made all the more difficult by the original ill adjustment of the front view shoulders with the profile breast. The difficulties inherent in this can be realized quickly by an examination of the figure which leads a balking oryx. He turns back to seize its head with both hands, while twisting his head around to face the animal. Here the profile breast and

line of the back present a peculiarly confused anatomy (Fig. 173). The device of folding over the shoulders had introduced the rounded profile line of the back when the shoulders were thrown forward, or retained the profile breast when the shoulders were folded back. But sometimes the profile drawing of the back was used with the near shoulder in a position more or less correct which required a certain



FIG. 172. Middle Kingdom examples: Man with oryx (*Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XXVII); man with papyrus (*Meir*, II, pl. III).

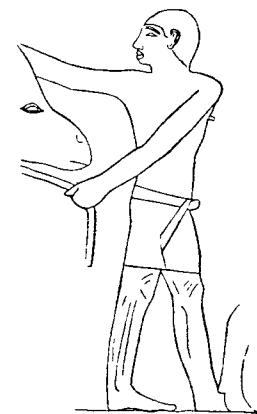


FIG. 173. Man leading animal: Akhet-hetep (Louvre).

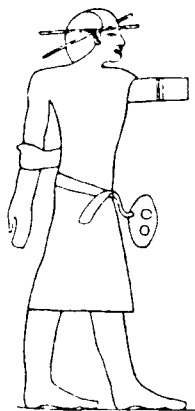


FIG. 174 *a*. Scribe, Kani-nesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II, fig. 18).

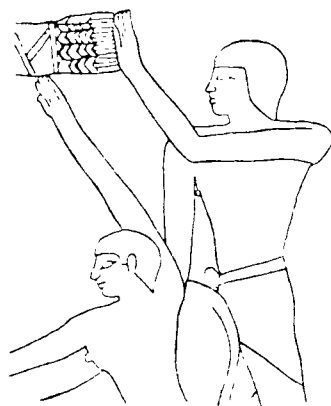


FIG. 174 *b*. Man loading donkey (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 169).



FIG. 174 *c*. Man pouring from ewer into basin, false-door, G 7140.

simple recognition of depth and entailed something like foreshortening. The square, frontal position of the far shoulder was, however, retained. Moreover, the frontal arrangement of the shoulders had become so much a matter of habit that occasionally the artist seems to have forgotten himself so far as to attempt to place the near shoulder, presumably intended to be in profile, within the outlines of the old form.<sup>1</sup> This can be seen more clearly in a drawing than explained in words. It is complicated by the fact that in one or two examples the modern observer is uncertain whether or not the artist had really intended

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary front shoulder convention as adapted for a variety of arm movements can be seen well in such figures as: Kani-nesuwt, arm behind back (Fig. 174 *a*); similar figure in

the Abusir tomb of Ptah-shepses; extended near arm in LG 64; and Mereruka (Fig. 174 *b*) man pouring from ewer into basin, G 7140 (Fig. 174 *c*).

to represent a hunch-backed or misshapen bodily structure. Certain examples are clearly mistakes of draughtsmanship, as in the man cutting grain in the chapel of Khafra-ankh (Fig. 175) or a figure in Khuwnera (Fig. 175). In another case frontality was intended but the raising of the arm in the air caused difficulty (man holding up sun-shade in Mereruwka's chapel, Fig. 175). This last difficulty was

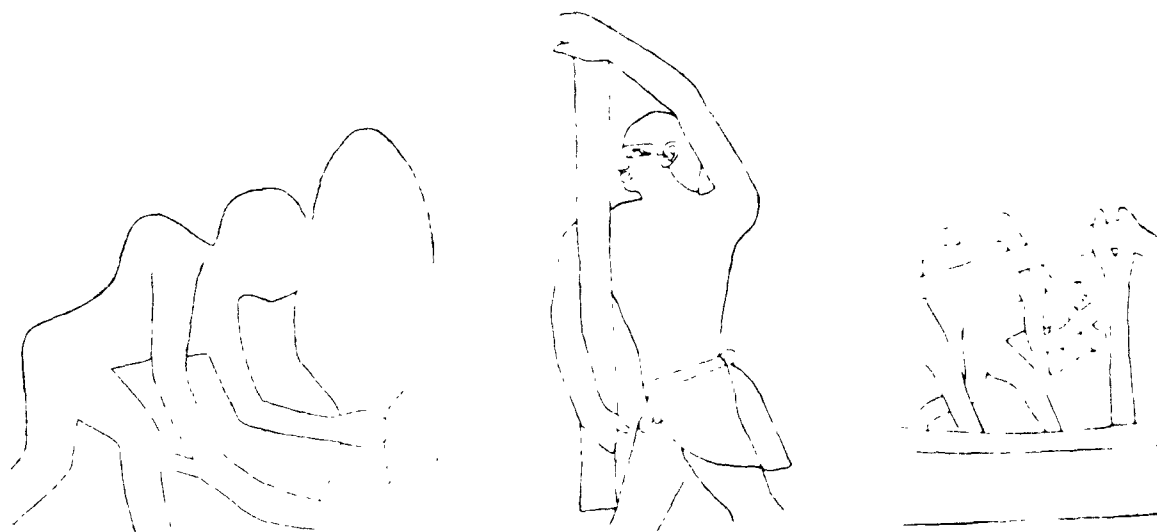


FIG. 175. Man cutting grain, Khafra-ankh (G 7948 — LG 75); man carrying pole of sun-shade (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 168); boat builders, Prince Khuwnera.

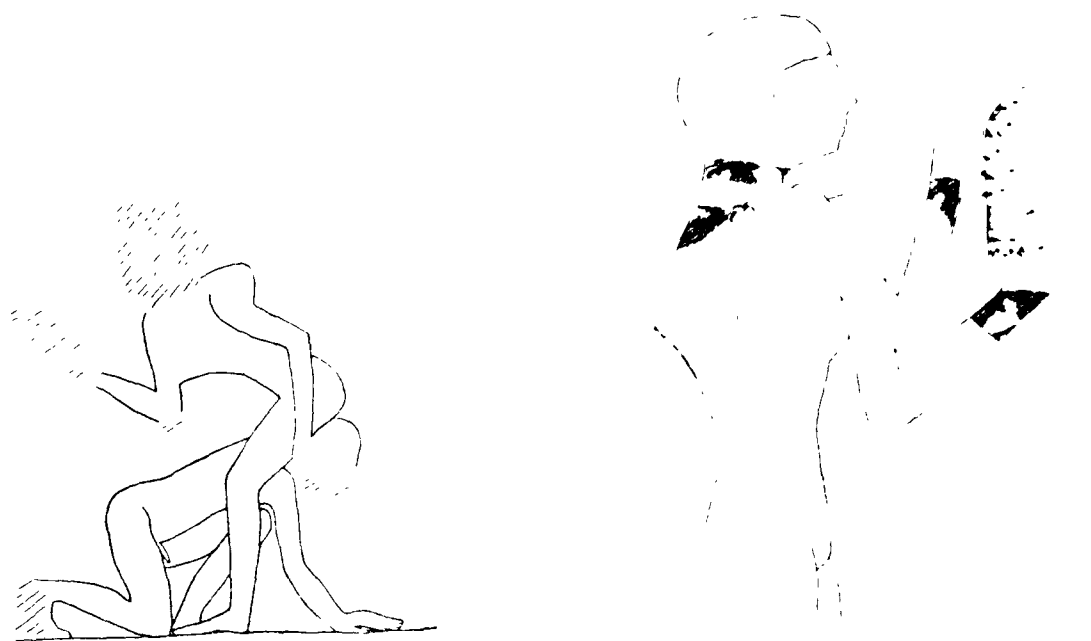


FIG. 176. Man beating boy, Akhet-hetep-her (Leiden; *Atlas*, I, pl. 105), deformed (?) servant-girl, adjoining north false-door, G 4940.

corrected by another draughtsman who represented a similar figure with a much nearer approach to correctness (De Morgan, *Dahshur*, II, pl. XX). Whether the man who drew a third figure in LS 31 (Fig. 171) executed the curious drawing recorded there or whether the modern copyist misunderstood his effort will probably never be known. Such confusion of parts resulting from a lack of logic applied to the representation of bodily structure is common.

The hump-backed appearance of the man beating a boy in the chapel of Akhet-hetep-her (Fig. 176)



probably results from an initial mistake in the shoulder outline, and I should have suggested a similar explanation for the odd female figure north of the northern false-door in G 4940 (Fig. 176) if it were not for the fact that she is associated with a dwarf. Also a very similar figure is shown with a dwarf in the reliefs from the queen's pyramid G I b (Pl. 38 a). The row of women carrying similar articles of dress and equipment under the carrying-chair of Mereruwka's wife (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. II) show similar misshapen figures, some of them obviously deformed, but others presenting the same awkward type of shoulder drawing to the above. The arms of several are too short, although they are not necessarily dwarfs. Others are certainly dwarfs. It is difficult to decide whether the rest are really meant to be hump-backed or have simply had the emplacement of the arm altered from the position originally intended.



FIG. 177. Man cutting grain (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 169).



FIG. 178. Men carrying equipment: Rahotep (*Medum*, pl. X); G 7560 north wall.



A peculiar example of the profile drawing of the near shoulder which still retains the outline of the front view shoulder is found on a stela in the Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (No. 678; *l.c.*, pl. XCV) (Fig. 157). The ordinary examples give the shoulder the appearance of having been folded over against the chest, although the back receives its proper outline. Good illustrations of this position are numerous, such as the men carrying the table or the man with his hands clasped in front of him in LG 64; the man pouring water over the edge of the boat in the Abusir chapel of Ptah-shepses; several men in the fishing scenes in Yeduwt (Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pls. V and VII); a slaughterer in a relief in Kansas City; a man in the reliefs of Sahura (*l.c.*, pl. 60); a man cutting grain in the harvest scene in Mereruwka (with peculiarly crossed shoulders, Fig. 177); another man in the fish-netting scene of the same chapel; the harpist in the chapel of Pepy-ankh at Meir (*Meir*, IV, pl. IX); or the woman raising a basket to her head in Junker I S VIII (Fig. 224). Frequently the position of the near arm has forced the artist to display more dexterity in the joining of the arm to the shoulder. A very creditable result is obtained in the boatman of Rahotep's reliefs who grasps a staff and carries a coil of rope on his shoulder (Fig. 178), or the upraised arm of the man in G 7560 carrying bird-trapping equipment (Fig. 178).

The transition between the position with one shoulder seen in profile and that in which the whole upper torso is drawn in profile is bridged by a variety of poses which might be termed pseudo-profile drawing. These are very difficult to analyse. The opposite extreme of the Carlsberg figure mentioned above is to be seen in the squatting singers on a relief in Cairo, from the chapel of Nen-kheft-ka (Fig. 179). The back and chest are drawn properly in profile, the near arm is joined correctly to the

shoulder, and the opposite shoulder is completely hidden, only a small portion of the far arm being visible. An almost correct piece of drawing might be pointed out in the craftsman seated on a stool in the chapel of Thiy (Fig. 179) who raises his far arm behind his body. Shoulders completely in profile are fairly common in representations of statues (Thiy, *l.c.*, pl. 66; the fragments in Hildesheim from the chapel LG 53). Squatting figures of slightly less accurate construction are often the more convincing because the near arm hides a part of the far shoulder which probably would have been shown other-

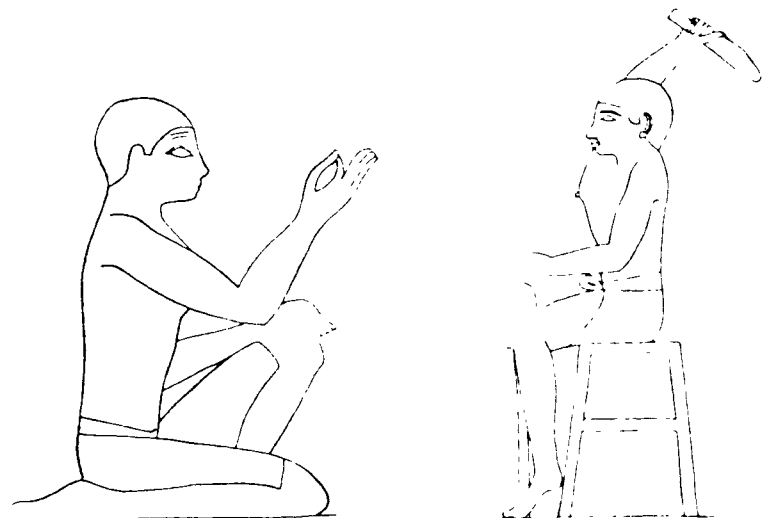


FIG. 179. Squatting man, Cairo relief of Nen-kheft-ka; seated sculptor, Thiy (*Atlas*, III, pl. 35).

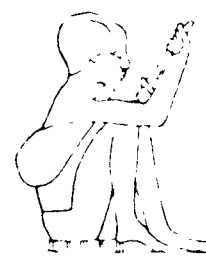


FIG. 180. Man boring seal (*Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 133).



FIG. 181. Sleeping men: Cairo fragment No. 1562 (*Atlas*, I, pl. 397), Ankh-ma-hor (Klebs, *Ä.Z.*, 1914, p. 33); Firth 3080, Saqqarah.

wise according to the ordinary convention. Good illustrations of this type of drawing are the man who bores the seal in Thiy (Fig. 180); the man with his hands inside a pot between his legs (Akhet-hetep-her and G 2091 (Fig. 212); the man who receives a bowl (G 2196, Fig. 183); and the sleeping man (Fig. 181) (Cairo, 60072; 1562; FS 3080; and Ankh-ma-hor). The last type of figure shows definite foreshortening in the drawing of the far arm laid across the other on his knees. These sleeping figures have their counterpart in the Middle and New Kingdoms (Meir B 2 and Senbi; and at Luxor in the chapel of Ka-m-khet, Userhet, Berlin fragment (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 385, &c.). Figures in slightly less direct profile, where the far shoulder has been shifted around into a position approximating a three-quarter view of the chest although the near shoulder is in direct profile, occur infrequently. Examples are rare: a man in the cooking scene of Meresankh III (Fig. 182 *b*); a man making cakes in FS 3081

(Fig. 182 *a*) and another in the same chapel seated before a fire; a figure working among the craftsmen in Selim Bey Hassan's chapel of Wepemnofret (*Excavations at Giza*, 1930-1931, fig. 219). A number of figures with their arms extended in front of them display fairly accurate drawing viewed according to modern rules. It is interesting to compare the joining of the arms to the body with the other method of the folded-over shoulder as exemplified in the Merytyetes slaughterer (Pl. 41). We find two men in Mereruwka standing behind a straw stack (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 168) drawn in this way, as are the man at the whipping post in the same chapel (Fig. 222), the man plucking birds in the

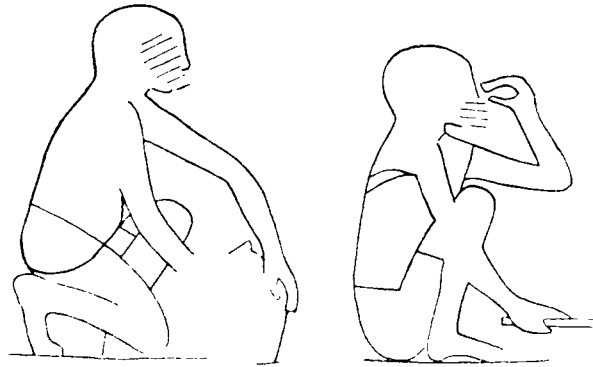


FIG. 182 *a*. Squatting figures cooking, Firth 3080, Saqqarah.

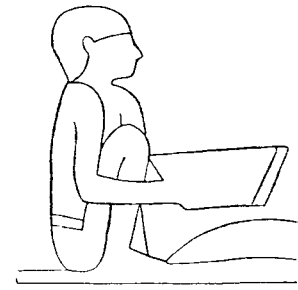


FIG. 182 *b*. Figure cooking, Meresankh III, inner room, north wall.



FIG. 183. Boy handing seated man a bowl: G 2196, north wall.

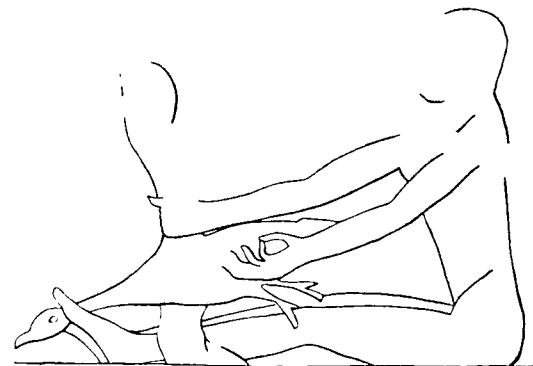


FIG. 184. Man plucking bird: G 2091.

chapel of Nefer-seshem-ptah, a similar figure in G 2091 (Fig. 184), or a man extending his arms with a censer in G 7411 (Fig. 185). Crawling figures occasionally achieve a similar correctness. See, for example, the man under the boat in Khwenera (Pl. 49); or another carrying two boys piggy-back in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Fig. 211). Notable, too, are certain drawings of men who raise their arms above their heads, as in the two basket carriers in G 7391 (Fig. 186), the bound captive of the Sahura reliefs (*Sahu-ra*, II, pl. 6), or the man slaughtering a bull in G 5110 (Fig. 185). A pseudo-profile is achieved in numerous other figures such as the dancers on the north door-jamb of the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep, the seated man cleaning fish in that chapel, a boy in the Ptah-hotep chapel (Fig. 185), or a man in the Mereruwka harvest scene (Fig. 185).

The use of the word 'ground-plan' when applied to figure drawing has to be allowed a very special licence. Literally there is no such thing, but the principle exists in such widespread usage for animals and inanimate objects that it might be excusable to extend it to certain human figures which neither exactly represent front nor side view, or to the application of clothing or ornaments seen from the front to figures partly in front and partly in side view. The analogy here is not so distant from the drawing

of the parts of the fowl-yard, for example, partly in plan and partly in section to illustrate the most striking aspect of each part. There are some curious applications of spread-out garments, such as the lion-skin worn by one of the figures of Iy-nefer, or the long garment with ornamental tie and hanging panel of Akhet-a'a. Similar are the front view sistrum ornaments worn by Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 191) and another man at Saqqarah (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 465-467). The variation in the representation of

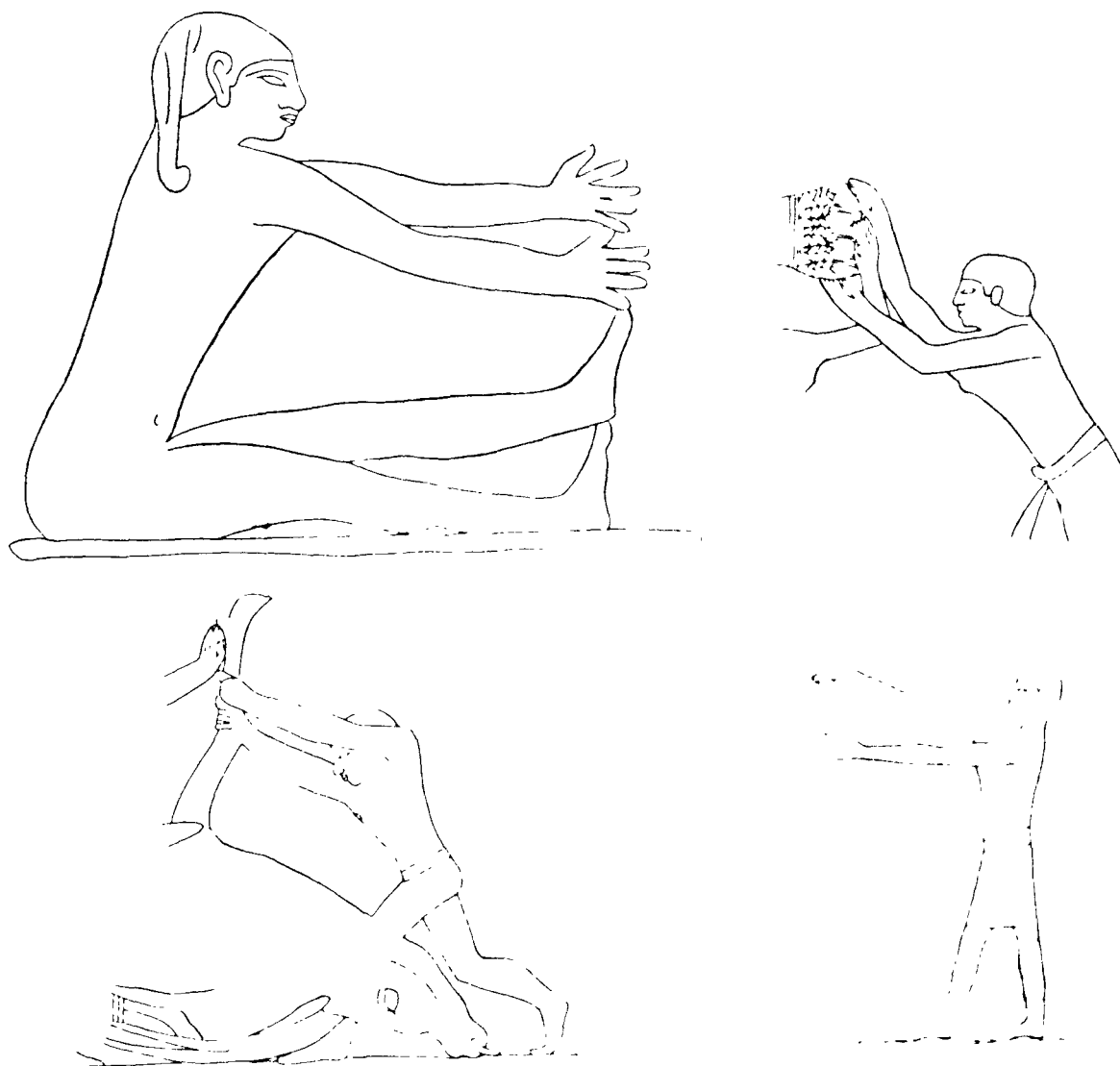


FIG. 185. Boy touching toes (Ptah-hotep); man cutting up bull (G 5110); man reaching for sheaf (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 168); man censuring, G 7411

shoulder-straps on garments is also queer, sometimes these correspond to the ordinary front view shoulders and have two straps (ordinary sheath dress of women, tunics of gods (Sahura), and an interesting example worn by a donkey driver at Abu Roash, almost like a jacket (Bisson De La Roque, *Abou-Roasch*, 1922-1923, pl. X). When the shoulders are folded over, only one strap is shown (Pl. 53; Nile gods and minor deities). The elaborate harness-like arrangement of crossed straps forming the upper part of the costume of dancers and the somewhat similar garment worn by Khufuw-khaf (with sistrum pendant), as well as the crossed straps of the Libyan dress (Fig. 191), are all laid out within the outlines of the figure to show the full width and complete decorations of the garment (as though seen from the front). Perhaps the tunic of the king on the Narmer palette is treated in the same way, although this is less easy to interpret. Particularly remarkable is the drawing of the head on the panther-skin garments.

Usually it is applied in what is a kind of cross between a plan of the head and a front view of the face, but in the chapel of Kaninesuwt some very odd variations of drawing occur. One example shows a variation of the 'plan' drawing, another shows the outline of the head with nose and mouth in profile, but two profile eyes laid side by side and two front view ears above them (Fig. 190). A third has nose, mouth, and eyes in profile but the ears laid out side by side (Fig. 190). Somewhat similar to the above examples is the drawing of the fat fisherman in the chapel of Yeduwt (Fig. 189). The great width of

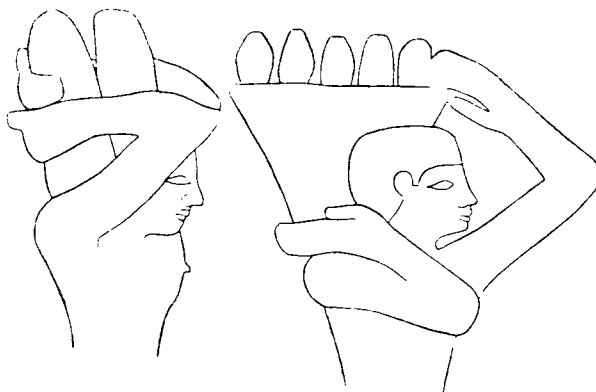


FIG. 186. Offering-bearers, G 7391, north wall.

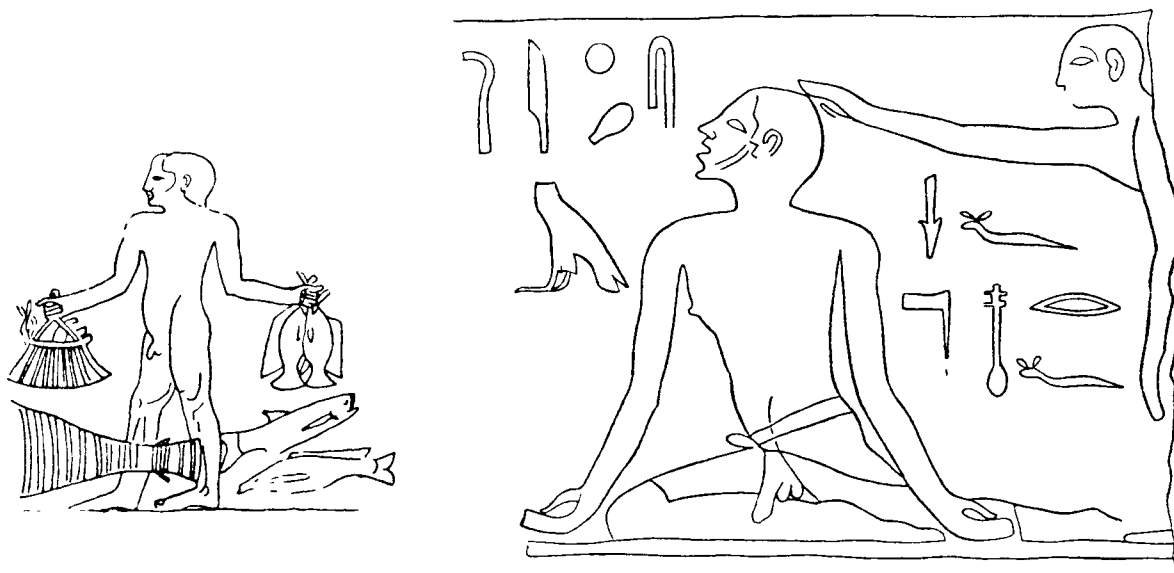


FIG. 187. Man with basket and fish, Thiy (*Atlas*, III, pl. 39); squatting peasant, G 2184 (Boston, No. 13.4352).

the body and the peculiar attachment of the arms to the front view shoulders, makes this combination of front and side view particularly ludicrous.

I should like to group with the above several figures where the body is partly in profile, but a front view aspect has been given to the limbs. Since the position is not really a front view it is convenient to group these drawings under the arbitrary heading 'ground-plan' view. In certain examples the arms are placed symmetrically on each side so that their frontal aspect dominates the rest of the body which is in side view. Such is the fisherman in Thiy, grasping a basket and two fish in his hands held out on each side of him (Fig. 187) or the peasant in the judgement scene in G 2184 with his arms in the position of the hieroglyph for negation (Fig. 187). Similar is a figure cooking in the inner room of Meresankh III (Fig. 188) and the woman in the brewing scene in Ka-m-remeth (Fig. 189). The bound arms of certain

of the Sahura captives should be included here. Notice should be taken of the legs of the slain captives on the Narmer palette with their feet turned in (Fig. 29). Possibly to be included here is the position of the central pair of boys swinging their comrades in Ptah-hotep (Fig. 221) and the similar group (girls) in the Mereruwka chapel. Note the attitude resting on the heels in Ptah-hotep and the reversed heads of the two central figures in Mereruwka (Wreszinski, *l.c.*, III, pl. 22). An unusual aspect of the lower leg and foot appears in the squatting figure supporting with raised arms a Heb-Sed throne, carved on the side of an alabaster vase found in the Step Pyramid (Quibell and Firth, *l.c.*, pl. 104). The leg drawn back under the body is seen from below with the sole of the foot flattened out.

When we turn to animals and inanimate objects the word 'ground plan' takes on a more literal meaning. The Egyptian artist, when he came to choose the most characteristic aspect in which to represent certain things, found that he must show them from above. The turtle is an excellent illustration of this, found already in the forms of certain of the Predynastic slate palettes. Again the scorpion and the *Nar*-fish, the butterfly<sup>1</sup> and the dragon-fly (Fig. 194) were most easily represented so. In the hieroglyphs we find thus treated the lizard, beetle, centipede, and fly, or the animal skin. The sandals, the pond with water, the bird-trap, certain types of buildings, the city sign, and that for the fortress or threshing-floor were represented naturally in plan. Certain buildings showed their most characteristic aspect in profile. The ground-plan representation of a building, save in the hieroglyphs, is rather rare in the Old Kingdom. The best example is that of the *wbt* in the tomb of Qar (Fig. 84 a) which is unique, unless the broken enclosure surrounding the mourning women in Mereruwka and Ankh-ma-hor originally represented the same building. The besieged towns in the chapel of Ka-m-heset and at Deshashch (Figs. 85, 86) are similarly shown in plan. Buildings are very seldom represented. The shrine on the island in the Abu Gurob reliefs, and certain other small shrines are represented in elevation as are the curious structures in Lepsius Saqqarah 31, the *sh* pavilion, the building in Yeduw (G 7101), and the tomb structure in Debehen. Our lack of knowledge of the function of the structure called the *ibw* which appears in the funeral scenes in several Dyn. VI tombs (Qar, Yeduw, Mereruwka, Pepy-ankh at Meir),

<sup>1</sup> The butterfly, although usually shown from above, appears at least three times in profile with the wings raised. Once on the beautiful Dyn. XVIII fragment in the British Museum (Mrs. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXXVI), once on

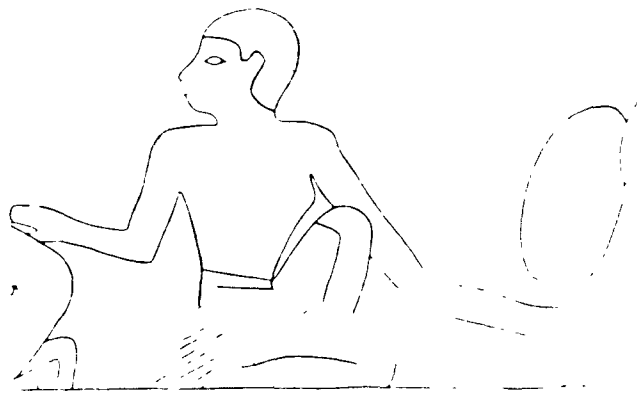


FIG. 188. Man tending cakes on fire; Meresankh III (G 7530).

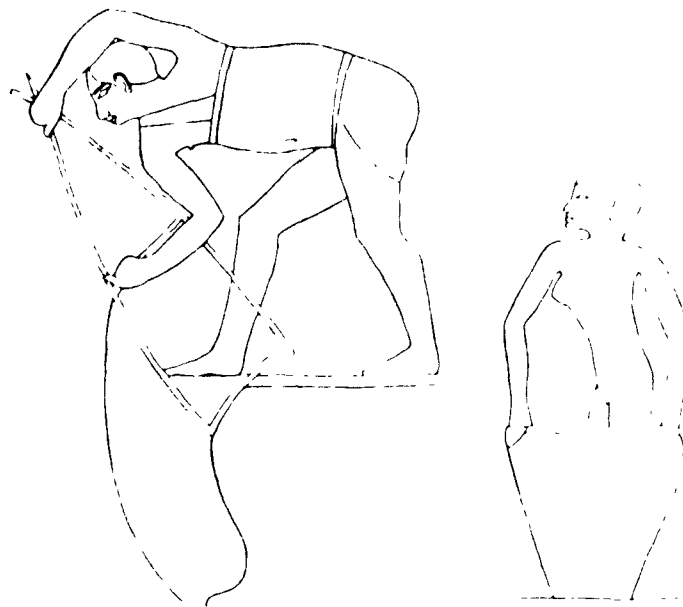


FIG. 189. Fisherman (Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. VII); woman standing in basin, Cairo relief 1561 (*Atlas*, I, pl. 398).

the side of a blue faience hippopotamus (Keimer, *Annales*, XXXIV, p. 113), and a third time on the Amarna pavement (Fig. 194).

prevents us from being certain whether it is represented in plan or profile. Most probably it is a combination of the two modes of representation.

The building up of an object from the drawing of its different parts, some in plan and some in elevation, has been mentioned above in connexion with another structure, the fowl-yard. It is to be found also in the columned hall which seems to have served as offices for the noble's estate. A simple example of this building up of parts is the hieroglyph *mn*, where the playing board is seen in plan and the

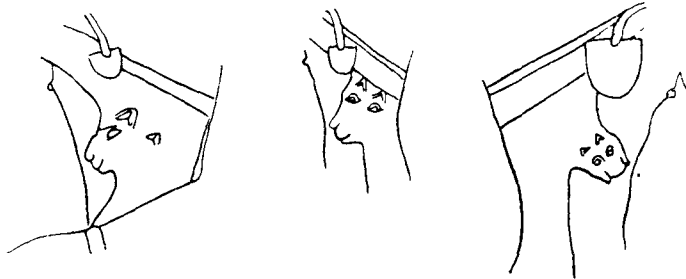


FIG. 190. Panther head on skin garment: Kaninesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II, figs. 16, 18, 19).

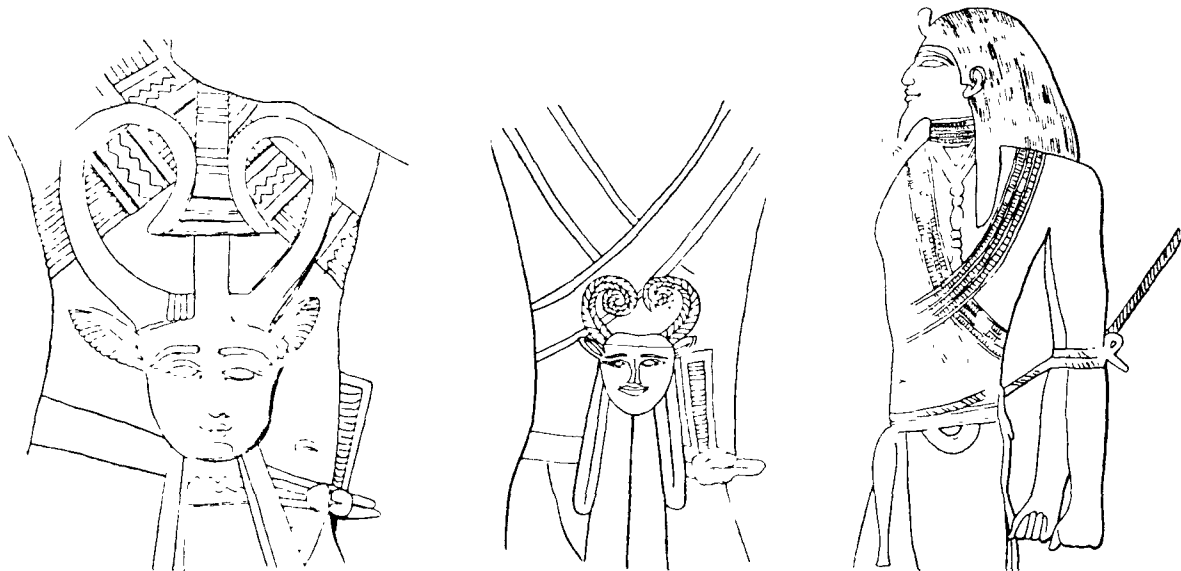


FIG. 191. Sistrum ornament on costume: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 466; dress of Khufuw-khaf, façade of G 7140. Libyan dress (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 6).

pieces are drawn in profile along the upper edge of the board. A similar example is the board for the snake game, with the profile of the low stand upon which the board rested projecting from the round top surface of the board as though it were an appendage. Another simple example is the profile legs and seat of the chair on which another view of the seat in plan has been superimposed. More difficult to understand, because of the violation of space relationship (according to our rules), are the more elaborate examples. Thus the columns of a pillared hall cross the ground plan of its floor, while a doorway (through a wall which is not shown) is drawn in elevation in one corner of the plan, covering part of one of the columns. When the whole of this interior is divided up into horizontal registers of figures it appears at first as though these men were standing on the various floors of a many-storied building. When extended to large structures, such as the temple and palace at Tell el Amarna, this type of drawing becomes very complicated and difficult to analyse. A knowledge of the original is almost obligatory for the understanding of some of these drawings which must have seemed logical enough to their designers.

Whole landscapes can be built up in this manner as in the scenes of the 'seasons' at Abu Gurob or better in many Dyn. XVIII examples (the temple with the desert behind it in the royal tomb at Tell el Amarna; the temple gardens in the XIXth Dynasty Theban tomb of Neferhetep, or the great battle and siege scenes of the temples of Dyn. XVIII and XIX).

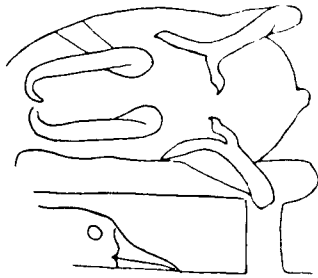


FIG. 192. Goose on south wall of G 5110.

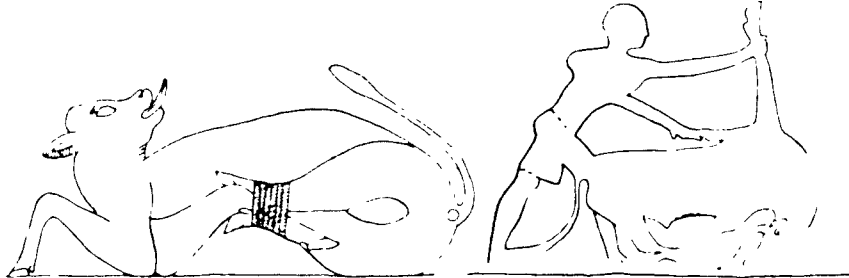


FIG. 193. Bound ox, Qar (G 7101); slaughtered bull (Medum, pl. XXII).

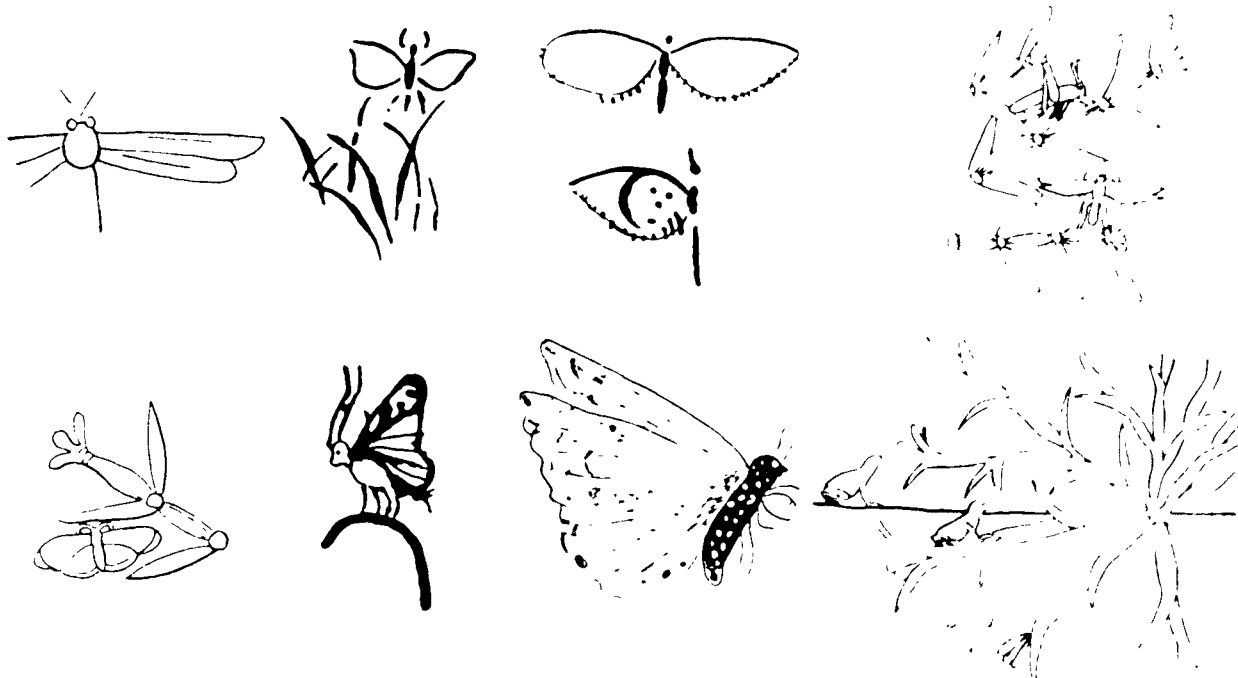


FIG. 194. Insects and frogs seen from side and from above: dragon-fly, G 2184, butterflies, Amarna pavement (Keimer, *Annales*, XXXIV, p. 186); grasshoppers, Kagemni (*Annales*, XXXII, p. 131), butterfly, Kagemni (*Annales*, XXXIV, p. 179); butterfly on M.K. faience hippopotamus (*Annales*, XXXIV, p. 113); butterfly (Mrs. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXVI); frogs, Cairo relief (*Atlas*, I, pl. 401).

Sometimes the ground-plan type of drawing was applied to objects or animals as a variation of a better known profile view. Thus we find the grasshopper seen from above in the chapels of Kagemni (Fig. 194), Ptah-hotep, and Ankh-ma-hor, as well as on a relief in Boston (Keimer, *Annales*, XXXII, pp. 131, 133), instead of the familiar side view (Mereruwka entrance wall); the water plant (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 401) which shows a complete departure from its usual outline (Fig. 194); or the frog (Fig. 194). Similar is the drawing of the under-part of the trussed goose on the south wall of G 5110, contrasting markedly with the usual representation (Fig. 192), or the odd drawing of the bulls bound for slaughter in Qar (Fig. 193). It should be noted that the hind-quarters of the trussed animal are always seen from below. Particularly remarkable is an ibex attacked by hounds in the hunting scene in



Mereruwka (Fig. 92 *a*), which is spread out over the ground like an empty skin (note the complete misunderstanding in the drawing of the legs). This is repeated again in the chapel of Mereruwka's son. It was not entirely unique, as the slaughtered animal in the chapel of Atet shows (Fig. 193). A particularly fine example of this variation is the round fire in a chapel found recently by Selim Bey Hassan with the flames shooting out like a Catherine-wheel, and the cakes to be baked laid within the circle. The ordinary fire in profile appears in Iy-mery (Fig. 196 *b*) and in innumerable other examples. An odd variant in Brussels defies classification (Fig. 196 *a*). The cut-out metal form for the ewer should be noticed

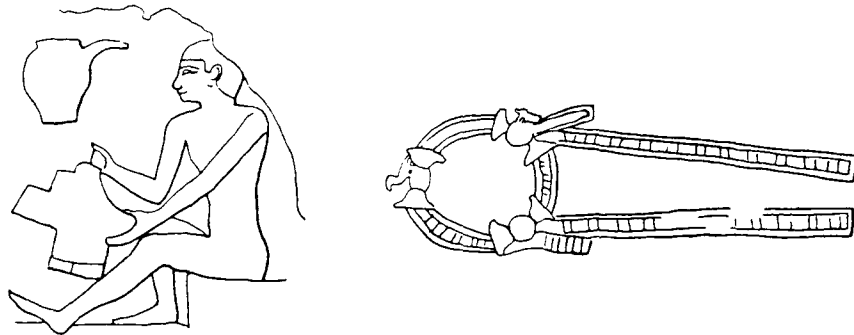


FIG. 195. Man making a copper ewer, Nebemakhet (*L.D.*, II, pl. 13); decorated fillet (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 30).



FIG. 196 *a*. Man placing cakes on fire, Brussels (*Atlas*, III, pl. 57).



FIG. 196 *b*. Man placing cakes on fire: G 6020, south wall.

in the chapel of Prince Nebemakhet. Standing beside it is the finished ewer drawn in the usual profile aspect (Fig. 195). Similar is the bandeau with *ꜣht* birds and streamers in the craftwork scene in the chapel of Mereruwka (Fig. 195). The metal original of this drawing is known from examples in Leipzig and Boston, and one from a tomb found by Selim Bey Hassan.

The Egyptian artist, in contrast to his contemporaries in Sumerian Mesopotamia, was averse to representing a face in front view or a figure in frontal position, and conversely a back view. Occasionally an individual broke the rule of practice and did attempt such a representation, although the examples are very rare. Oddly enough, the same principle by which the characteristic aspect of an object caused it to be shown from above forced the frontal representation of certain heads used as hieroglyphs or in designs. Thus, early, the full-face hieroglyph (*hr*) is distinguished from the profile view of the head (*tp*) (Pl. 57). The bull's head, the head of Hathor, and the face of the owl are shown directly from the front (Fig. 197). The earliest example of the panther skin is in the 'ground-plan' drawing of Iy-nefer, but the ordinary panther head placed on the side of the garment can really be considered a full-face view. A few very early carvings, a palette, combs, and ivory and slate pendants, have crude faces seen from the

front, but whether these should be classed as sculpture in the round or reliefs is difficult to determine. Very early figures of women on predynastic pots appear to be seen from the front with their arms over their heads (Fig. 44), and the breast of a man on a vase fragment in Berlin is a front view (Fig. 35). This front view of the torso is known in dancing figures from three tombs (Selim Hassan's Duwa-ka, Akhet-mery-nesuwt (G 2184), Ka-m-ankh (Junker)), although the legs are in profile (Fig. 198). There

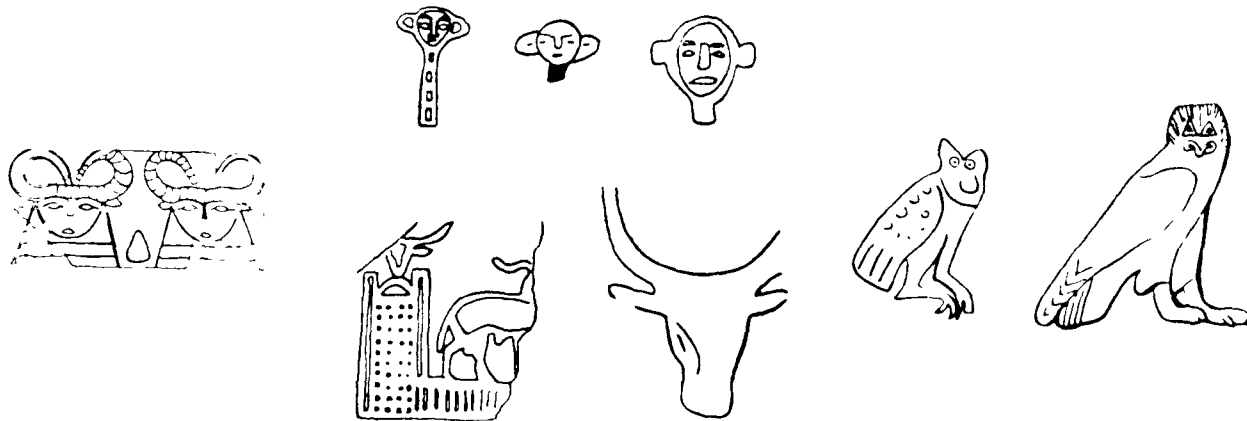


FIG. 197. Hathor heads (*R.T.*, I, pl. XXVII); face hieroglyph (*R.T.*, II, pl. V; *R.T.*, I, pls. X, XXIX); shrine (*R.T.*, II, pl. VII); bull's head (*Herakopolis*, I, pl. II); owl hieroglyph (Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 237; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XXXVII).

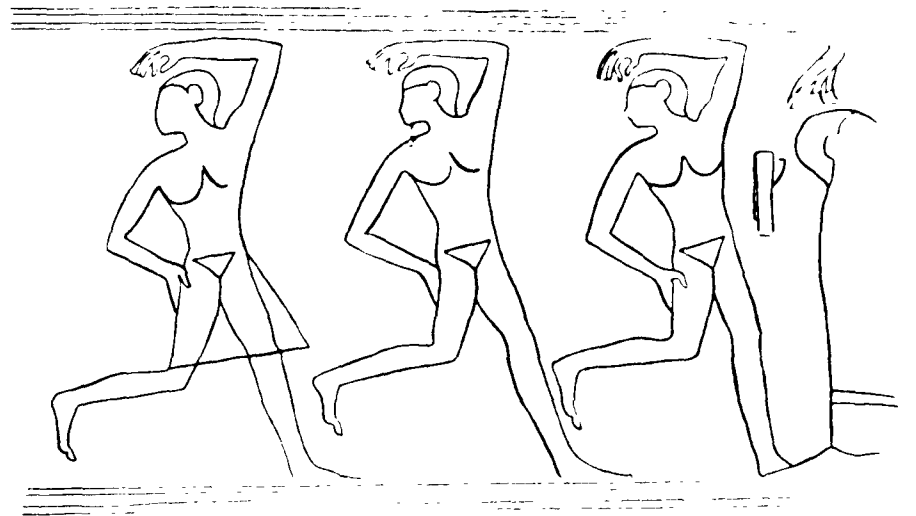


FIG. 198. Dancers, G 2184.

are three very fine examples of front view drawing, although in each case the head and feet are in profile. One of these is the squatting figure in the chapel of Ka-m-nofret in Boston (Fig. 199), where the legs are spread out on each side (cf. the similar figures on the painted pottery granary (Fig. 200); Blackman, *J.E.A.*, VI, p. 206; or the New Kingdom weavers, Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches*, fig. 120). Equally remarkable are the boys with their feet crossed, grasping their toes in Ptah-hotep (Fig. 201), or the charming naked female figure that serves as the balance for a pair of scales in the Dyn. VI chapel of Ka-irer at Saqqarah.

In connexion with the above figures should be noted a very extraordinary squatting figure in the chapel of Nebemakhet, for a three-quarter view is equally remarkable in Old Kingdom art, and this figure approaches frontality in position. From what can be judged of the battered wall at the present day, this figure, and the important back view of the shoulders and arms of a fisherman in Khafra-ankh

(Fig. 203, 171) were drawn correctly by Lepsius's draughtsman. Closely resembling the pose of the Nebemakhet figure, and not far from the pose of the Ka-m-nofret figure, is the man in the craftwork scene in Selim Bey Hassan's chapel of Wepemnofret (Fig. 203). To be considered in this same category are some of the prostrate figures on the base of the Kha-sekhem statue, one of which seems to show a figure plunging downwards, seen from the back (Fig. 47). A fragment from the paintings of Hesi-ra

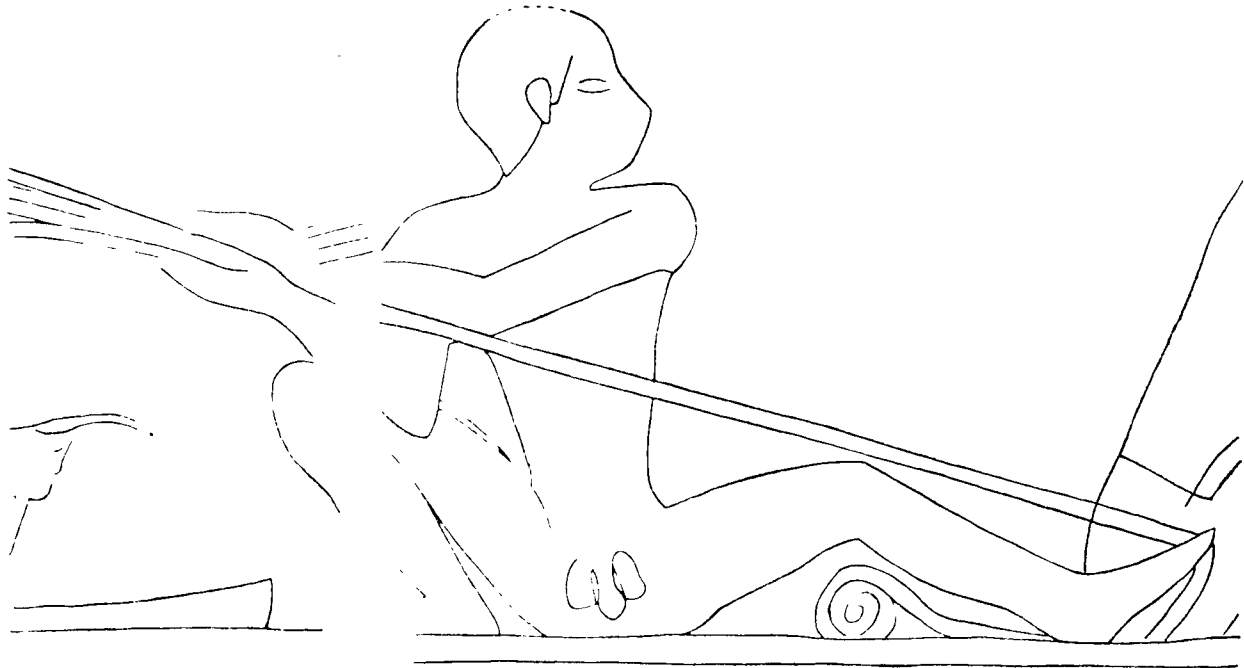


FIG. 199. Man making rope, Ka-m-nofret; Boston No. 04.1761.



FIG. 200. Men playing draughts (*J.E.A.*, VI, pl. XX).

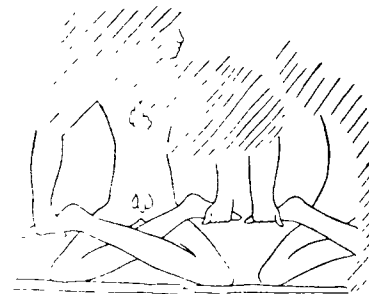


FIG. 201. Boys, Ptah-hotep.

seems to imply a back view of the head (now broken away, Fig. 202), resembling, as it does, the position of the New Kingdom figure of the chapel of Rekhmira (Fig. 202). The back view of the man leaning out of a boat (Fig. 202, Louvre Akhet-hetep) has the head turned to the side. To be considered with the front view representations are the hovering kingfishers, seen as from below with wings outstretched (Weserkaf, Pl. 52; Akhet-hetep-her (Leiden); and a fragment in the Louvre). The use of spreading protecting wings over the King's name appears as early as an ivory of Zet (Fig. 204), but the earliest use of the sun's disk with wings that I know is found on the end of the Hetep-heres curtain box, made by Sneferuw for his wife (Fig. 204). The uraei do not seem at first to have been attached to the sun's disk, but appear on the Sinai relief of Ne-user-ra.

The only Old Kingdom figure in relief which shows the face from the front (although even here the feet are turned out in profile) is that in the back of the false-door of Redynes (G 5032), now in Boston

(Pl. 57). This figure is in sunk relief, but it so clearly represents an imitation of the statue so often found in the inner niche of the false-door that it can hardly be considered in the same category as the other examples mentioned so far. It shows that the Old Kingdom artist was perfectly capable of drawing the figure from the front if he chose. The face is actually not so well modelled as in some of the elaborate examples of the face hieroglyph (*hr*), which have already illustrated an ability to carve the full face in relief (Pl. 57). Frontal faces were at no time common in Egyptian art, nor was the rest of the body very often shown from the front or the back. A few classical examples can be quoted, such as the beautiful

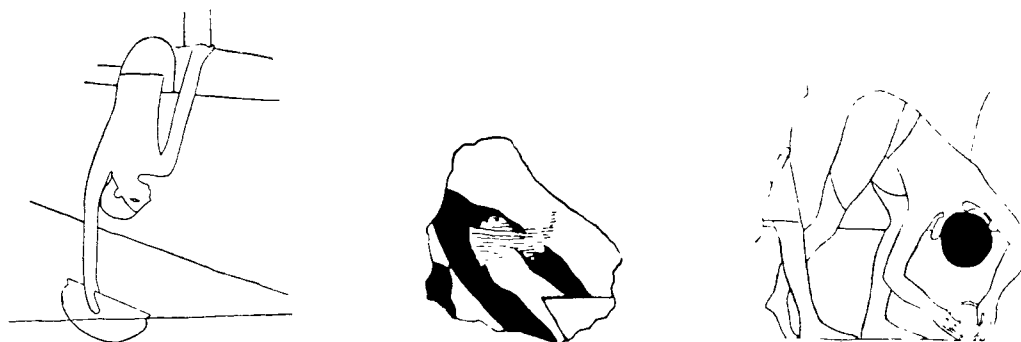


FIG. 202. Man leaning out of boat, Akhet-hetep (Louvre); back view of man (Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, pl. XV); New Kingdom example, Rekhmira (*L.D.*, III, pl. 41).

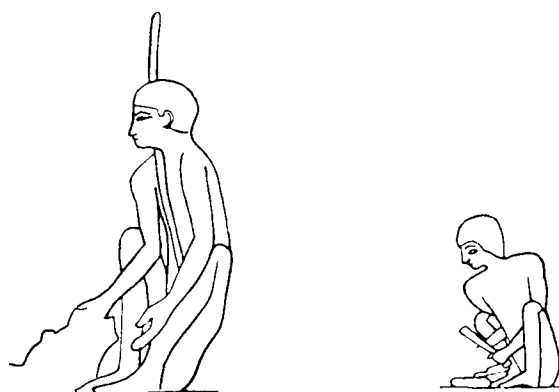


FIG. 203. Nebemakhet (*L.D.*, II, pl. 13); Wepemnofret (*Excavations at Giza*, 1930-1931, fig. 219).

drawing of the serving maid seen in three-quarters view from the back (Rekhmira, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 89), the god Bes, shown frontally as early as the Middle Kingdom (Gauthier, *Licht*, p. 60), and the seated god on a Bersheh coffin in Cairo, No. 28023 (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, pl. XXV).<sup>1</sup> Female musicians and foreigners in the battle scenes of the New Kingdom sometimes are shown full face. Wreszinski (*Atlas*, I, pl. 91) gives a list of tombs in which women appear with faces drawn from the front. The Thothmes IV chariot, the Tut-ankh-amen casket, the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak, the Luxor and Ramesseum reliefs of Rameses II, and the Medinet Habu battle scenes all show good examples of full-face foreigners. The central head of a group of captives being slaughtered by the King in this period has the face shown in front view. Similar to this principle are the three lion heads on the capital of a column (Kenamun), and the three feathers decorating an object dragged on a sledge, the central feather of which is frontal according to an observation of Schäfer's. I have not observed this to be the case in the Old Kingdom. New Kingdom animals with heads seen from in front are shown in the reports

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable example of a figure in front view is that of the god on a ceiling in the tomb of Ramses VI (Room c), given by Grapow and Schäfer in *A.Z.*, vol. 73, pl. X.

of Mr. N. de G. Davies in the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, and by Wreszinski. They occur at Luxor in Tomb No. 216, a gazelle; Rekhmira, a hunting dog; Ipuwy, two goats, and Tomb No. 270, cat under chair. The horses of Rameses II and III, and lions, horses, and dogs on the Tut-ankh-amen casket are shown with frontal heads.

Although in principle the ancient Egyptian draughtsman worked with forms which were built up from the flat outlines of each part conceived in its characteristic aspect, the individual artist was sometimes capable of copying the observed rounding of a surface, or of placing in their correct spacial relations the elements of a figure as they appeared in a momentary action. This was contrary to the rules of

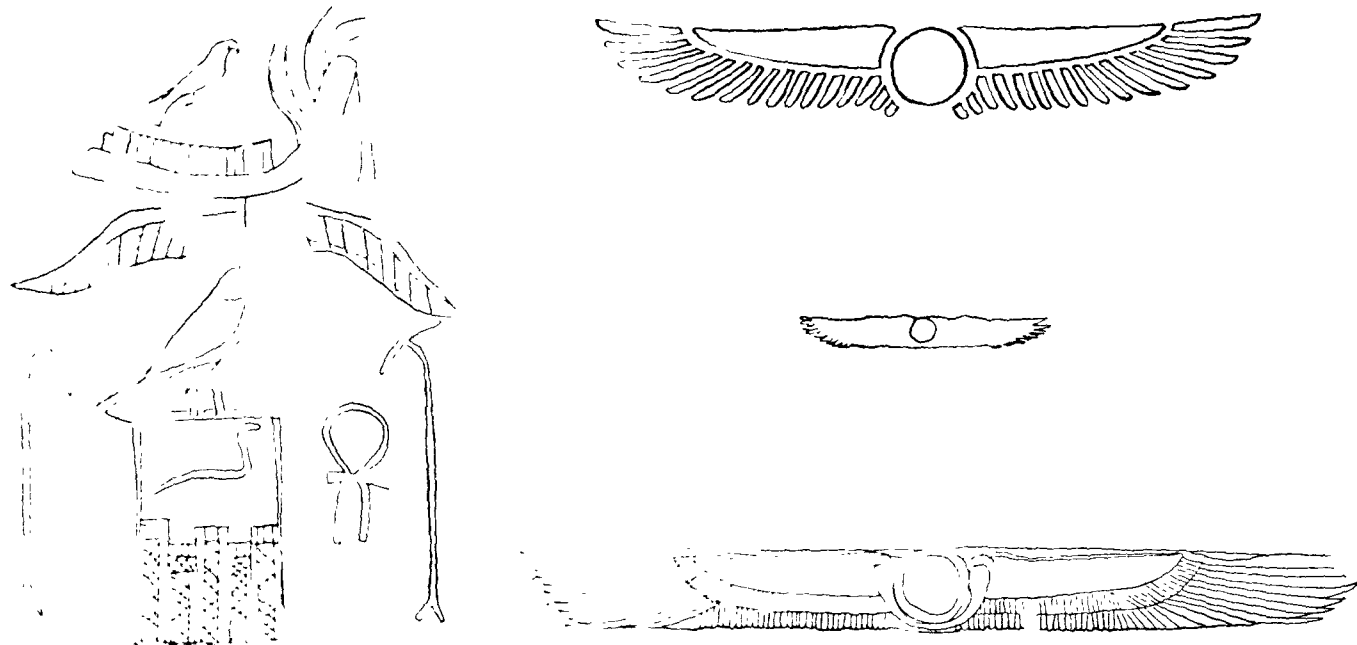


FIG. 204. Comb of Zer (*A.Z.*, 65, pl. VIII); winged sun disk on curtain box of Hetep-heres I; on sail of ship (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 9); Pepy II (*Abydos*, II, pl. XIX).

Egyptian drawing, and occurred but rarely as an exceptional instance of recognition of the fleeting aspect of things. It was never carried out consistently throughout a whole group of figures or over a whole wall surface. Since these brief flashes of observation were recorded entirely by means of line, without the assistance of light and shade, there is never any effect of an object projecting toward or receding from the observer. When sculptured in relief, the projection of the figures from the background is so slight, the surfaces remaining so nearly on the same plane, that an impression of flat drawing is always maintained. The observation of volume or of spacial arrangement never advances farther than the correct relation to one another of the outlines of the various surfaces.

Herbert Senk, in an interesting paper on the treatment of form and space relationship in Egyptian drawing (*A.Z.*, vol. 69, pp. 78 ff.), has cited a number of examples of forms which appear to project forward or to recede into the background.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that many of these examples are unconvincing and subject to suspicion on the ground that in the linear representation of any period the idea of pro-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Schafer has recently criticized some of the views expressed in this study ('Ungewöhnliche ägyptische Augenbilder und die sonstige Naturwiedergabe', *A.Z.*, 74, pp. 27 ff.). To this Senk has replied (*A.Z.*, 74, pp. 125 ff.) with a modified restatement of his theories. It is evident from this exchange of views that as much as anything else the difficulty of selecting an acceptable terminology has been an obstacle to the formulation of theories about ancient conventions in art. Words such as

'perspective' may be employed for want of better and must be accepted in a qualified sense. There is no doubt as to the occurrence of some of the exceptional cases quoted by Senk, and it seems to me that he has re-shaped his rules governing their use in a much more acceptable form, having at the same time repudiated certain suspect items in his original list of examples.

jecting forms is foreign to the medium adopted. It is in the illusionistic paintings of the Hellenistic and Roman masters, in the products of a Florentine group of artists obsessed with the study of perspective, in the trick painting of the late Renaissance, or in the full visual effect of the craft of a painter like Velasquez, that we expect to marvel at the roundness of a piece of fruit, the way in which the hind-quarters of a horse project from the plane of the canvas, or the manner in which a landscape recedes beyond an open window. We do not expect such things from many schools of art where perfectly correct spacial relationships are observed in line; on a Greek vase, in a Chinese drawing or a Medieval panel painting; much less from Egyptian art. It is overstressing the importance of the resemblance to our own conceptions of properly applied perspective when we use such words as projection or recession for the casual and very infrequent examples of correct linear relationship in Egyptian drawing.

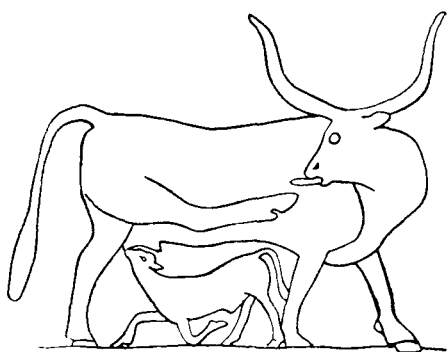


FIG. 205. Suckling calf; G 2196.

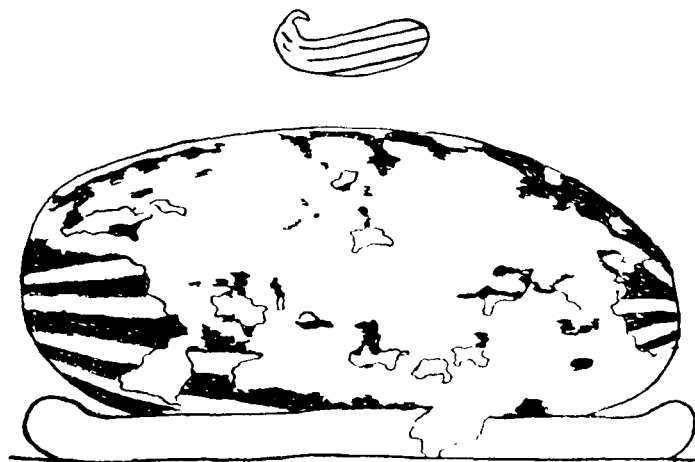


FIG. 206. Melons: *Meir*, II, pl. VI; G 6020, south wall, room b.

Even in the extraordinary example of the servant girl in Rekhmira, the hips do not actually seem to project toward the observer, however well they are drawn, nor does the fisherman in Thiy (*Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 117) really give the impression of leaning back behind the surface plane of the relief, rather he leans toward the right in the same plane as his feet. The illusion of figures receding into the distance, growing smaller as they climb a flight of steps (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 63), is particularly suspect. The steps ascend from left to right, and the explanation that the figures become small because each figure is standing on a higher surface than the last and the artist desired a uniform line for the top of their heads would accord better with the principles of Egyptian composition. I would suspect that the small figures shown in the background of certain Dyn. XVIII scenes are made small to fit them into the spaces remaining rather than that they represent the recognition of the smallness of objects seen from a distance. Senk's argument in favour of the latter is rather weakened by the fact that in the scene adjoining one of his examples (trees and seated figures on a wall of the chapel of Menena, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 233) the tiny foot of one of the small struggling girls crosses over the foot of one of the large figures supposed to be in a plane considerably nearer the observer. An Old Kingdom example might be added which seems to conform to modern laws of perspective; in fact, it seems too good to be true. This is the two round objects with a piece of wood connecting them, at the base of the ladder in the siege scene of Ka-m-heset (Fig. 85). The ladder, it is true, is not properly attached to this contraption. If these were wheels, as they appear, they would be the earliest recorded examples. Wheels on the base of a ladder are not an altogether satisfactory contrivance. This seems to be one of those cases where Schäfer has warned that an exact knowledge of the original object is necessary for correct interpretation. One remembers the corduroy road receding into the distance in a chapel at El Kab, and Davies' explanation

that it represented prosaically the liquid (shown by parallel strokes) scattered from a jar before the sledge containing the coffin (*J.E.A.*, XII, p. 110).

Approached even with cautious reserve the following examples, however, have great interest. Perhaps the most definite example of a piece of foreshortening and the observation of a rounded surface

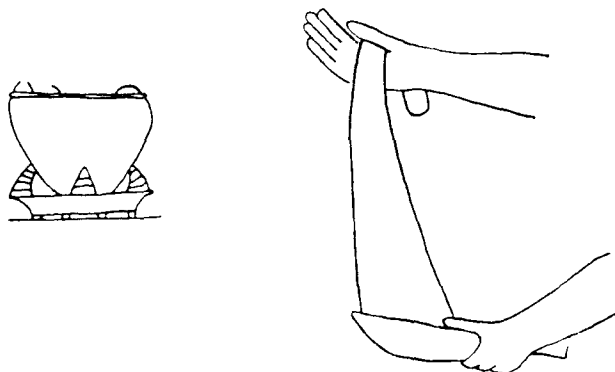


FIG. 207. Caldron (*Deshasheh*, pl. XXV); meat piece, Thiy (*Montet, Scènes de la Vie Privée*, p. 170).

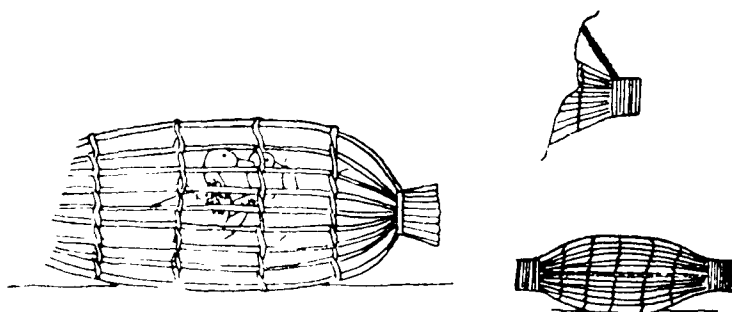


FIG. 208. Wicker cases (*El Bersheh*, I, pls. XVII, XXIII, XX).

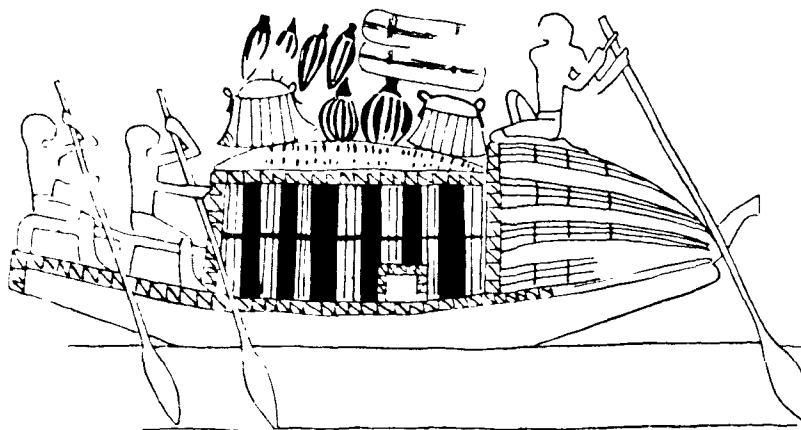


FIG. 209. Wicker cabin on boat, Sneferuw-in-shat-f (*Atlas*, I, pl. 411).

has already been cited. This is the hand which the goddess holds to her breast in the Sahura and Ne-user-ra reliefs, where the fingers actually disappear behind the swelling surface (Figs. 124, 125). Another excellent drawing is the bee hieroglyph on the Hetep-heres bed canopy (Pl. 37), repeated again on a fragment from the Queen's chapel G I b. The near wing joins on part way down the body, the joining of the far wing is hidden behind the body, and the attachment of the near and far legs is similarly shown. The attachment of the wings of flying birds, although often realistic, does not reach this

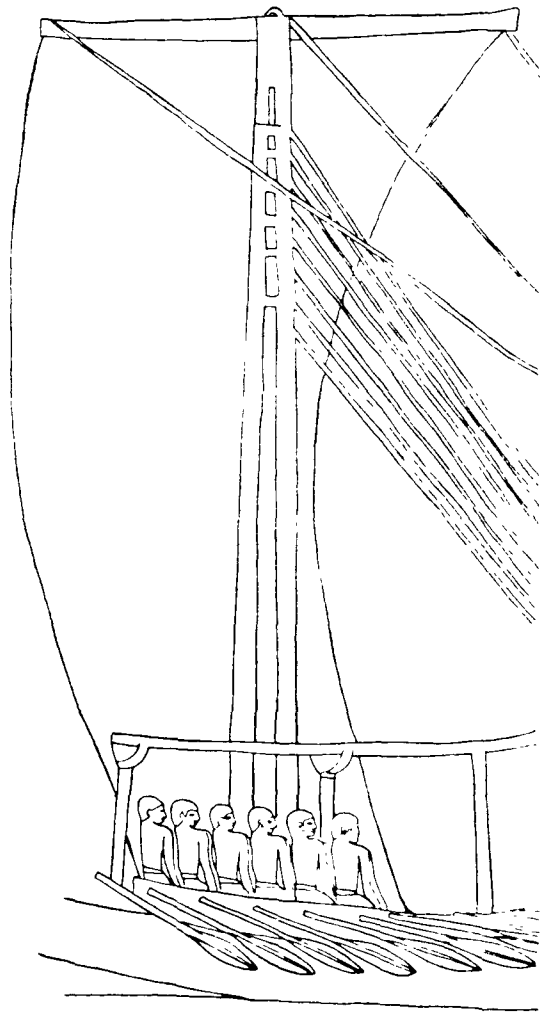


FIG. 210. Sail on boat: *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 81.



FIG. 211. Man carrying two boys piggy-back (Ptah-hotep).



refinement of drawing except possibly in the case of one of the flying quail in Mereruwka (Fig. 74), or the birds above the trap in the Abu Gurob reliefs (Fig. 69). Many different varieties of wing attachment occur, but the lines do not overlap the outlines of the body to attach themselves on its rounded surface. This does not appear, it seems, before the Middle Kingdom and the New (see examples at Beni Hasan, *Beni Hasan*, IV, Frontispiece, and on the British Museum Fragment, Mrs. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXV). The relations of the parts of the body are carefully observed in the kingfisher seen from below on the Weserkaf relief (Pl. 52), and the rounded line of the neck is certainly an example of foreshortening. Other fine examples of foreshortening are to be found in the drawing of the animal which turns back his head. This is particularly clear in the case of the cow that turns to lick her calf

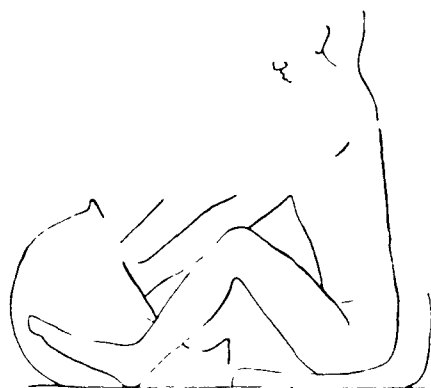


FIG. 212. Man with bowl between legs, G 2091.



FIG. 213. Artisan seated on bed (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 31).

(FS 3080, Iy-mery, Nefer-seshem-ptah, G 2091, G 2196 (Fig. 205)), or the head of the gazelle in Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII). Middle Kingdom examples of this pose are to be found in the bull shot by an arrow in the chapel of Khnum-hotep at Beni Hasan, the cow scratching its neck (Senby), or the cow and calf (B 2) at Meir. Klebs (*J.Z.*, vol. 52, p. 33) would add the necks of the geese shown in the chapel of Kagemni. The goat at Deshasheh (*Deshasheh*, pl. XV) is almost entirely restored in dotted line.

In the drawing of inanimate objects there are some unusual observations of the rounding of a surface. The melon (Fig. 206) can be drawn with straight horizontal lines (see *Meir*, II, pl. VI), but more often the lines converge slightly at the ends (Iy-mery, Fig. 206). Similarly the long horizontal reeds of the wicker-work of a boat cabin converge in the paintings of Sneferuw-in-shat-f at Dahshur (Fig. 209) (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 411) as they do in a wicker cage for birds in the Middle Kingdom at Bersheh (Fig. 208, Newberry, *l.c.*, pl. XVII). An unusual observation of the correct form of an object is that of the supports of a caldron in the Deshasheh tomb of Sheduw (Fig. 207). Two other instances have been observed by Klebs, in the curve of a meat piece (Fig. 207, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 98) and the bellying sail (Fig. 210, *l.c.*, pl. 81).

In figure drawing the correct spacial relationship of the various parts of the body is sometimes well observed, as in the case of the figure in the chapel of G 2091 (Fig. 212), which holds a bowl between his legs, a man with a wine jar between his feet (Akhet-hetep-her, *Atlas*, I, pl. 109), or the Wepemnofret figure that places his arms between his legs (Fig. 203). A craftsman in the chapel of Mereruwka sits upon a bed with his legs shown correctly straddling the bed (Fig. 213). The sleeping figures, one of which shows a good example of a foreshortened arm (Fig. 181), have been mentioned above, as have

the profile, front view, and three-quarters view figures. Klebs notes the foreshortening of the arm of the sleeping man, and calls attention to a foreshortened leg (*Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. XIV, the sculptor seated on a high stool). Correct linear relationship is observed in certain figures, the raised arm of the craftsman



FIG. 214. Priestess (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 47). Scribe, G 7410.

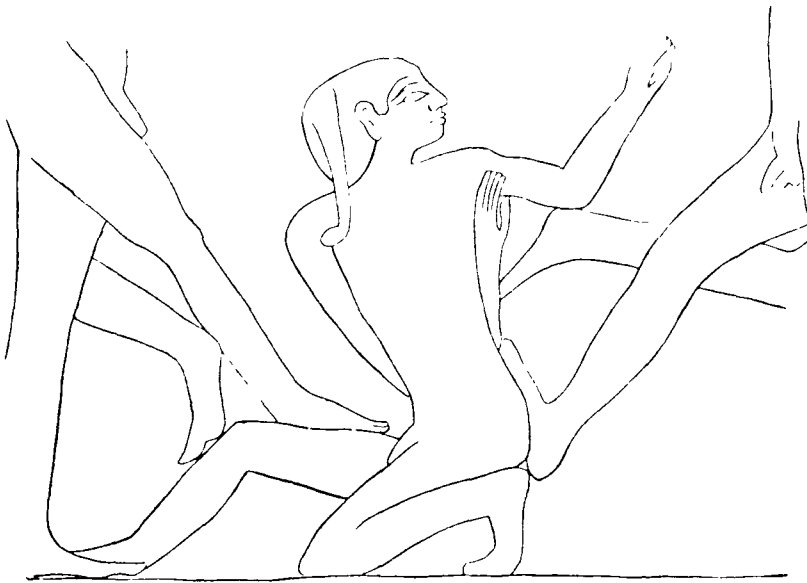


FIG. 215. Boys playing game, Ptah-hotep.

in Thiy (Fig. 179) or the slaughterer in Duwanera (Fig. 185), the profile singer in Nenkheft-ka (Fig. 179), the man plucking birds in G 2091 (Fig. 184), the back-view shoulder of the fisherman in Khafra-ankh (Fig. 171), the children riding on the back of a boy in Ptah-hotep (Fig. 211), or the three-quarters view of the craftsman in Nebemakhet (Fig. 203). The near arm of the figure is occasionally advanced, hiding part of the body, although this is avoided whenever possible in Egyptian drawing. The advancement of the near leg is much less common, but is found in the case of the emaciated herdsman. Odd is the attitude

of the man with his hand behind his back in the chapel of Kaninesuwt, repeated again in the Ptahshepses tomb at Abusir. That these correctly observed linear relationships were but unusual pieces of work by exceptionally gifted craftsmen is shown by the queer mistakes that are frequently made in the midst of workmanship of the finest quality. Such is the mistaken drawing of the near arm placed behind the body in the female figure (Fig. 214) in the Sahura reliefs (*l.c.*, pl. 57), the seated figure of Ptahhotep on his stela (Fig. 46), or a boy in the children's games scene (Fig. 215). The near arm passes behind the body in an unaccountable fashion on a fragment from G 7420 (Fig. 214). Less glaring errors are too numerous to mention.

## THE REPRESENTATION OF GROUPED FIGURES

IN the same way that the Egyptian artist constructed his figure from the different parts that composed it, each seen from its characteristic aspect, so he built up his scenes by combining small groups of figures each performing a characteristic action. These formed a whole as did the parts of a single figure, and their relationship to one another sometimes appears similarly incongruous to modern eyes. The artist also built up his whole wall surface by combining groups of scenes whose unity consisted principally in the positions which they occupied subsidiary to the large figure of the owner who looked on at whatever actions were performed. Usually, however, neighbouring scenes or all those on one wall were related in subject-matter, representing various stages in a progressive series of actions (such as the agricultural pursuits), or were associated under the large heading of a type of occupation (swamp scenes or those of craftwork, for example).

The fully developed Old Kingdom wall composition in which a large figure dominates a series of horizontal registers of subsidiary figures is not known before the chapels of the transition period at the end of Dyn. III and the beginning of Dyn. IV. In fact the paintings of the corridors of Neferma'at and Atet, the carvings of the deep niches of these two chapels and those of the cruciform rooms of Methen and Rahotep are the earliest known examples. That this is due to accidents of preservation is very likely. The painted outer corridor of Hesi-ra, in the reign of Zoser, shows a fragment of a swamp scene which would probably have been the lowest row of a group of scenes subsidiary to a large figure of the owner, and it is possible that in the inner corridor a large seated figure surveyed the registers of tomb equipment. Painted decorations perhaps existed in Egyptian chapels as soon as they were roofed to protect them from the weather, and the Old Kingdom type of wall composition may occur as early as the Late Second Dynasty. The only piece of large wall decoration of the earliest period that has been preserved is in the Hierakonpolis tomb of the Late Predynastic period or Dyn. O. Here there is apparently no general ordering of the different parts. Small groups of figures are scattered over the wall surface with little relationship to one another. But the individual parts already consist of groups of related figures. This same repetition of small groups of figures in order to fill the space to be decorated is found also on the vase paintings where there is a vaguely defined tendency to arrange the groups in a roughly horizontal frieze.

The 'scattered' type of composition is a common device for the decoration of the slate palettes, but where it occurs in hunting scenes the unrelated animals have a certain unity in the idea that their wild confusion results from fear of the hunter or of beasts of prey. Similarly, the scattered dead on the battlefield have a kind of unity of idea. Already on the slate palettes a more ordered type of composition has appeared, exemplified in the horizontal registers of cattle on the Cairo palette, and occurring many times in ivory carvings. The great mace-heads and the Narmer palette begin to show, on a small scale, the arrangement of chief and subsidiary figures that was to become traditional in wall decoration. The chief figure is drawn on a large scale, or, in the case of the Heb-Sed scene of the Scorpion King, he dominates the other figures from a high throne. The small figures are arranged in horizontal registers on each side of the king on both the mace-heads. In all three works an idea unifies the scene; an actual event in the king's life is recorded. The winding stream framing isolated patches of land containing

figures which is found on the Scorpion mace-head is the earliest type of a composition which was to recur at rare intervals in later Egyptian art (Fig. 30). One might see the germ of such a type in the Berlin shell plaque (Fig. 42).

The 'scattered' type of composition was to disappear almost entirely from Old Kingdom art, remaining only in such obviously suitable instances as the lotus flowers and birds of a swamp scene, or fish in the water. It appears again in the New Kingdom in huge compositions such as battle scenes, where violent action was the dominant factor, and in lesser scenes, such as the herd of goats in the Ramesside tomb of Ipuwy (Wreszinsky, *Atlas*, I, pl. 363) which bears a remarkable similarity to a royal version of such a scene in the Negro village of the temple of Derr (Wreszinsky, *Atlas*, II, pl. 168). The register system, however, became the rule in the Old Kingdom and was very seldom violated. The only instances that I can cite are the irregular borders formed by water around small elements of a scene in the Abu Gurob reliefs, where an island in the river is actually shown (Fig. 216), and the curving line of desert in which an animal sometimes lies, attacked by a hound (Fig. 216). These are isolated reflexions of that type of landscape forecast by the Scorpion mace-head, which crop up in such later instances as the wavy desert ground-lines of Middle Kingdom Meir (Fig. 94), the wavy ground-lines for trees and pools of water in the New Kingdom chapels of Kha-m-khet and Nakht at Thebes (Fig. 216, Wreszinsky, *Atlas*, I, pls. 195, 176), the curious landscapes in the tomb of Huya at Tell el Amarna (Davies, *El Amarna*, III, pl. VIII), or the hunting scene of Kenamun (Fig. 216, Mrs. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pls. XXX, XXXI).

On many of the slate palettes the figures are grouped as though they were pieces of a picture puzzle, fitted into the interstices of the outlines of the adjoining figures. But as early as the Hierakonpolis painted tomb such figures as the man seizing the rearing lions, or the warrior striking the prisoners with a mace are related to one another in attitudes proper to the action. This is true of the figures on some of the palettes, on the ivory carvings of Early Dynastic date, and on the great mace-heads. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, such a figure as the lion attacking the prostrate figure on the British Museum-Oxford palette, shows a very primitive combination of the two figures with little regard to the proper relationship of the parts. It is as though the figure of the lion had been cut out and laid down over the figure of the man. A considerable increase in observation is shown already in the bull trampling a fallen man on the Louvre fragment. The device of overlapping figures in a group, so common in Egyptian art, is found already on a shell plaque in Berlin and upon a sceptre head from Hierakonpolis. We have, then, in the Early Dynastic period the three common *motifs* of figure combination found in Old Kingdom art—the relationship of separate figures by the unified idea controlling the scene (Narmer palette and mace-heads); the actual contact of figures in a common action; and the overlapping of figures moving together in a group.

The type of overlapping figures shown by the shell plaque is unusual in that the hind-quarters of each goat project beyond the figure in front, and the head of the second animal overlaps the back of the first (Fig. 41). This is found again in a group of goats (Fig. 217; *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, July 1920, II, p. 25). Ordinarily the near figure covers almost completely those behind, and a narrow portion of the front edge of the second, third, &c., figures projects in front of the first complete figure. This is found in the cattle drawing the plough in the Medum tombs of Neferma'at and Rahotep, or the ordinary confusion between the two types of drawing seems to have caused the peculiarly placed head of one of the foxes on the façade of Neferma'at (*Medum*, pl. XVII). Both methods are found in groups of human figures as, for example, in the Sahura reliefs (Borchardt, *l.c.*, pl. 9), where the forward figure overlaps

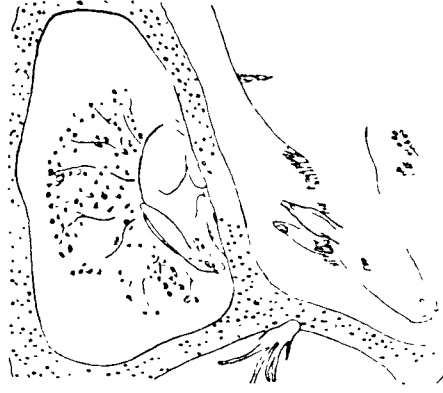
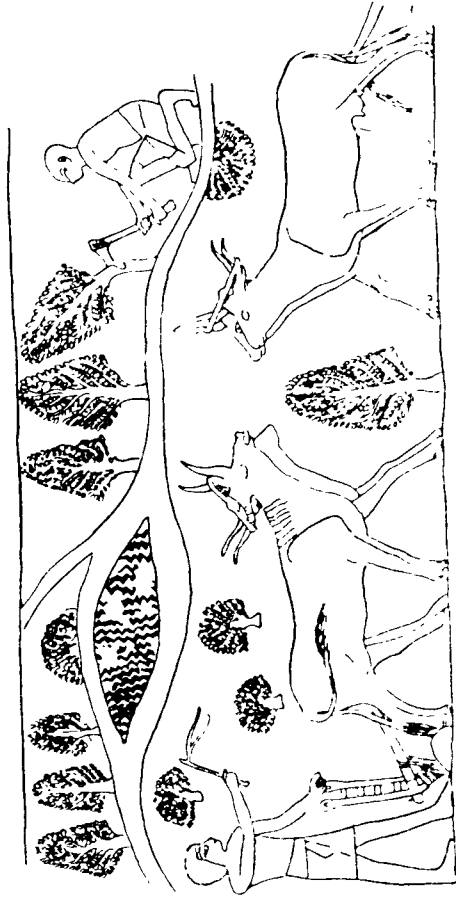
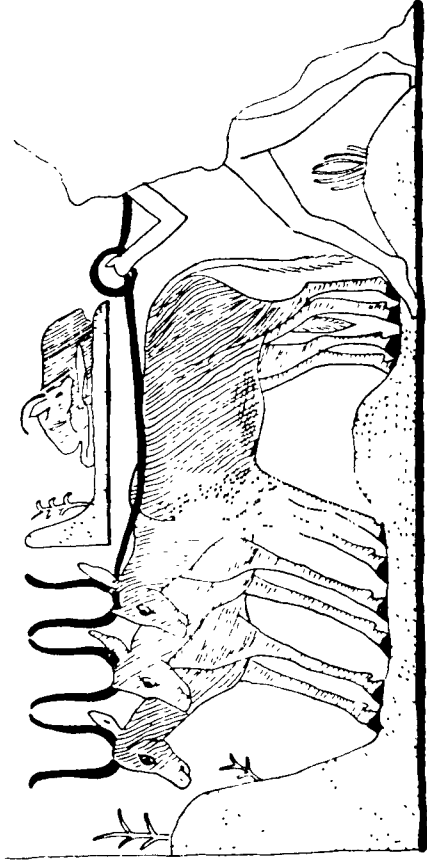
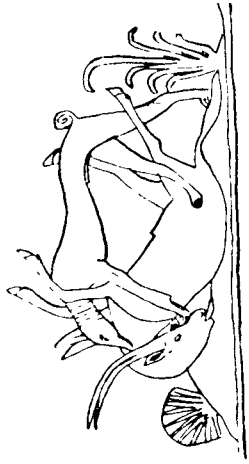
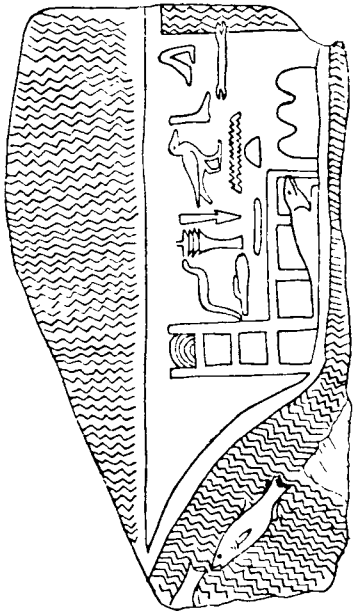


Fig. 216. Island in river, Abu Gurob (Meyer, *Ägypten zur Zeit der Pyramidenbauten*, p. 31); hound attacking gazelle (Davies, *Plattnerp.*, I, pl. XXII); hunted game, L.S. 1 (*L.D.*, II, pl. 96); irregular base line (*Tomb of Nakht*, pl. XVIII); desert animals, Kenamon (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, 1916 17, p. 22).

those behind him, or (*l.c.*, pl. 10) where the forward figure is overlapped by the second, the complete figure being at the end, not the front, of the line. Where more than two animals are shown there is ordinarily a confusion in the drawing of the legs; seldom are there a sufficient number of legs for all the animals shown. But there is no hard and fast rule for the arrangement of overlapping figures, and considerable variety is indulged in by various artists at different periods. There is a very slight overlap of the animals on the Hierakonpolis sceptre head (Fig. 41) and only slightly more of an overlap in the case of the foxes in Rahotep's chapel (see Pl. 33). The men closing a bird-trap in Rahotep's chapel (Pl. 34), or in the conjectured restoration of a similar scene in Atet's painted corridor (Fig. 61) show each figure

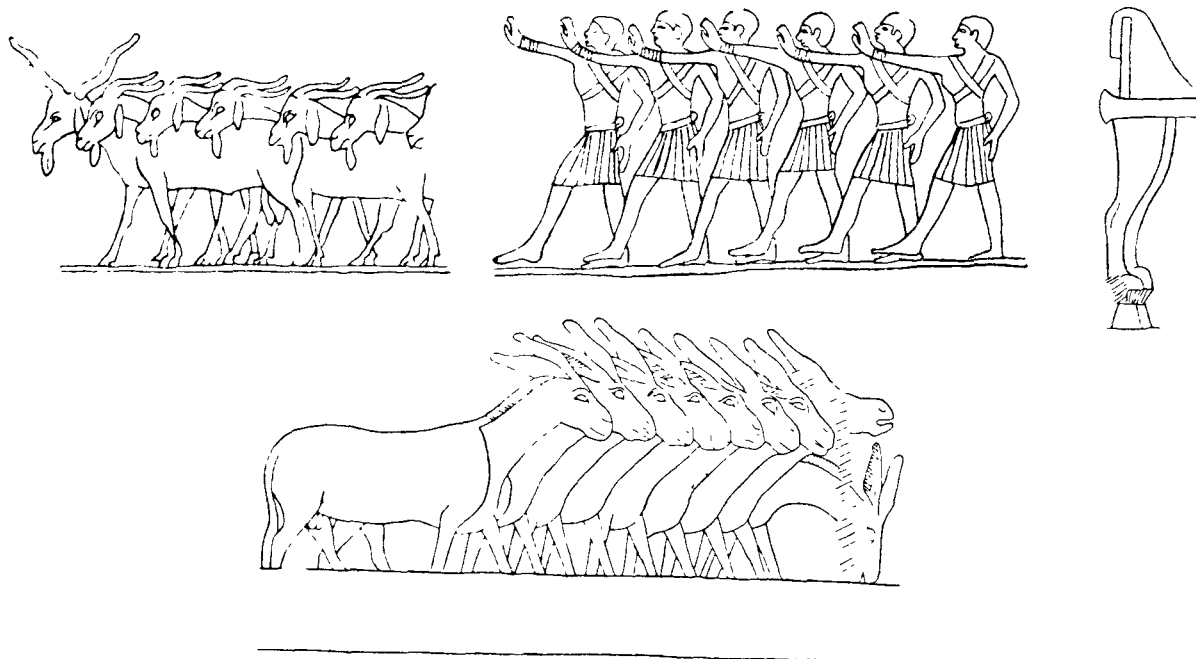


FIG. 217. Overlapping figures: goats (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, July, 1920, II, p. 25); dancers (*Atlas*, III, pl. 31); legs of chair, Yeduw (G 7102); donkeys (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 169).

drawn separately with only a slight overlap of the feet. In the later Medum chapel (*Medum*, pl. XXVIII) every second figure is placed with arms and legs overlapping his companion's, as though there were two planes. Here there is a differentiation of colour, the red men partly covering the yellow ochre figures. A more intricate pattern is produced by the overlapping arms and feet of the men who pull on the rope of the funeral bark on the north door-jamb of the Leyden chapel of Akhet-hetep-her, and a similar disposition of arms and feet is often found in such actions (cf. dancers in G 2175, Fig. 217). Even the upraised arms of the dancers overlap in the Akhet-hetep-her chapel (Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, p. 40), which is a much more unusual arrangement of figures. The artist often varied the monotony of these repeated silhouettes in the case of animals by turning back the head of a donkey in a threshing scene, or even by turning one or more of the animals in the opposite direction, and this was sometimes applied to human figures as well in such examples as the turned back head of the seated man pulling with his comrades on the cord of a bird-trap, or where, in a similar group, one man has placed his arm around the neck of the man in front of him (Ptah-hotep, Paget, and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII). The tendency in Dyn. VI seems to have been to conceal the overlapped figure almost entirely. See, for example, the men carrying chests in the chapels of Yeduw (G 7102) and Qar (G 7101). But this was not so drawn in Qar), and is found as early as the oxen in Neferma'at and Rahotep. The unusual

representation of the far legs of the chair (overlapped by the near legs) appears for the first time, to my knowledge, in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Fig. 46) and recurs in the Saqqarah chapel of Nefer-seshem-ptah and the Giza chapel of Yeduw (G 7102) (Fig. 217). The legs of the bed upon which sit Mereruwka and his wife are also drawn in this way (Fig. 145).

There is another type of overlapping figure which produces the effect of isometric projection. Although figures drawn in this manner often look as though the artist had noted and was copying the visual aspect of objects seen from above, it is more likely that his chief concern was to represent as much of the figure in the background as possible and that this device permitted him to do so better than the old convention of placing all the figures on the ground-line. At the same time it gave a better impression of a group of figures than if each row had been placed in separate registers. Given the custom of showing figures overlapping each other, and the equally common method of placing a figure in a register above to indicate that it was farther away from the observer than the figure below, it is not difficult to see how this new arrangement of figures could be evolved. There are at least two examples of the Old Kingdom, the group of archers on a block from Lisht in the Metropolitan Museum and the pigeons in a cage in the chapel of Thiy (Montet, *l.c.*, p. 134, fig. 27), and perhaps another in the geese held by an offering-bearer in Mereruwka's chapel (Fig. 218), while two Middle Kingdom examples in an unpublished tomb at Meir illustrate this type of drawing admirably in a group of women, and even better in some pigeons (Figs. 219, 220; Ukh-hotep III, Egypt Exploration Society Photos, C 79, C 69). Perhaps the most striking examples are the group of soldiers with shields in the battle scene of Rameses II at Abydos (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 16), the horses of Ramses III (*Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 109), and the flock of geese on a fragment of painting in the British Museum (Mrs. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXVII).



FIG. 218. Man with geese (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 57).

I should be inclined to suggest some similar cause for the observation made by Senk that the line of the tops of the heads of overlapping figures slopes up or down, sometimes the line of the eyes and the girdle-ties as well. Senk felt that this was an observation of perspective, taking into consideration the modification of lines as objects recede into the distance. The difference in level of the line in many examples that he cites is so slight as to make one wonder whether it is not accidental. The principle is never applied to the ground-line, the feet all remaining on the same level. It seems to me that where this occurs perceptibly, it probably results from an attempt to avoid the exact repetition of the line of the face immediately adjoining. By dropping each facial line slightly it was possible to include a little more of each overlapped head. The divergence from the horizontal in the top line of the donkeys' heads in Akhet-hetep-her, the only Old Kingdom example quoted by Senk, is so slight as to have no significance. In fact I do not believe that such a device was adopted at all by the Old Kingdom artist.

The combination of figures in the small groups composing the long strips in the registers of wall scenes testifies to the instinctive feeling for line, form, and balance which was the great gift of the Egyptian artist. In such cases where figures could not be set out in lines, procession-wise, those concerned in a single task were arranged with relation to one another. The tendency was to compose these groups symmetrically, but it is remarkable how much variety is to be found in balancing figures which rarely imitate exactly the action to which each corresponds. Balcz<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that very rarely is the axis

<sup>1</sup> 'Symmetrie und Asymmetrie in Gruppenbildungen der Reliefs des Alten Reiches', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts*, Band I, p. 137.



of the group occupied by a figure, but that more often the axis falls upon an empty centre. To his example of the woman pounding grain in the chapel of Ka-m-remeth (Fig. 221) forming the central axis of the group, and the boys swinging their comrades in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Fig. 221) (repeated by girls in Mereruwka), might be added the man seizing two animals by the necks (various forms, Fig. 33), or another boy in Ptah-hotep who squats on the ground and is kicked by his playmates (Fig. 215). The bound figure in Mereruwka (Fig. 81) forms a central axis for the running boys with reed leaves. A splendid design is that in the chapel of Mereruwka where sprays of a swamp plant form a central background for hippopotami which are being harpooned by figures in symmetrically flanking boats (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 10). A very happy example of symmetrical grouping, reminiscent of

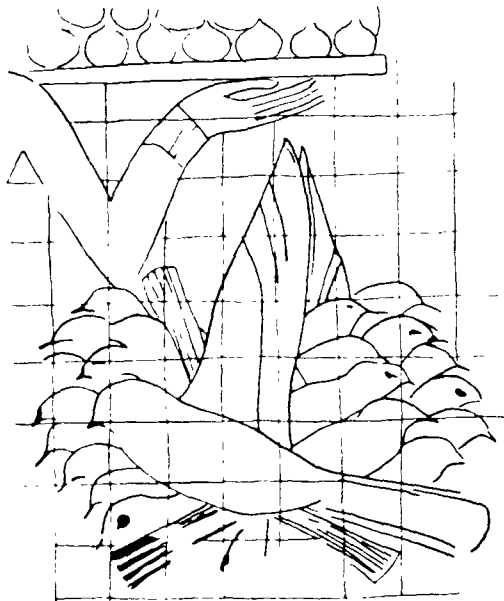


FIG. 219. Pigeons, Ukh-hotep III, Meir (Blackman Photo C 69).

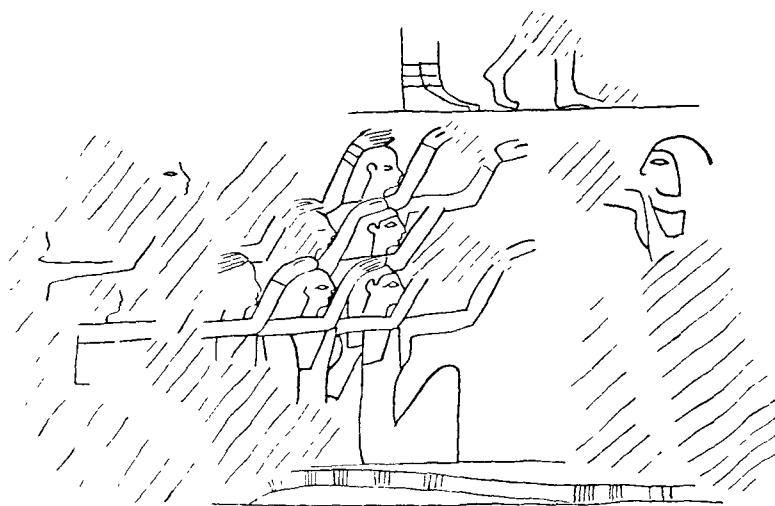


FIG. 220. Women, Ukh-hotep III (Blackman photo C 79).

the formal design of Nile gods flanking the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, are the men tying papyrus bundles on a relief in Kansas City (Fig. 221) or in Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXIII). Balcz has illustrated many other examples, and various ingenious ways in which the stiffness of a perfectly symmetrical arrangement has been broken. Good illustrations are the king and goddess pounding boundary stakes on the Khasekhemuwy door-jamb and in the Abu-Gurob reliefs (Fig. 137), the groups of dancers in various tombs, the men piling sheaves of grain, or the boys with daggers or pointed sticks (Ptah-hotep and Yeduw (G 7102, Fig. 82)).

In addition to these rather formal compositions, the artist was often called upon to deal with complicated groupings of figures which necessitated a consideration of the relations in space between the different elements of the group. Often these problems are solved in a satisfactory manner, particularly if the number of figures is small. Thus we have a group showing a figure being beaten. This (with only two figures) was well observed by the artist in Akhet-hetep-her's chapel (Fig. 176) and repeated in variants in the chapels of Zauw and Iby at Deir el Gebrawi and in a tomb at Naga-ed-Dêr (Fig. 223). The artist in the chapel of Iby introduced a more complicated group with the beaten man lying on the ground, held by two others (Fig. 223), while Mereruwka's draughtsman contributed a man held to a whipping post (Fig. 222). One of the happiest of these small groups is that with the large boy carrying two small children piggy-back in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Fig. 211), which shows a remarkably shrewd observation of space relationship. The wrestling figures in Ptah-hotep, and those (wrestling?) in Yeduw

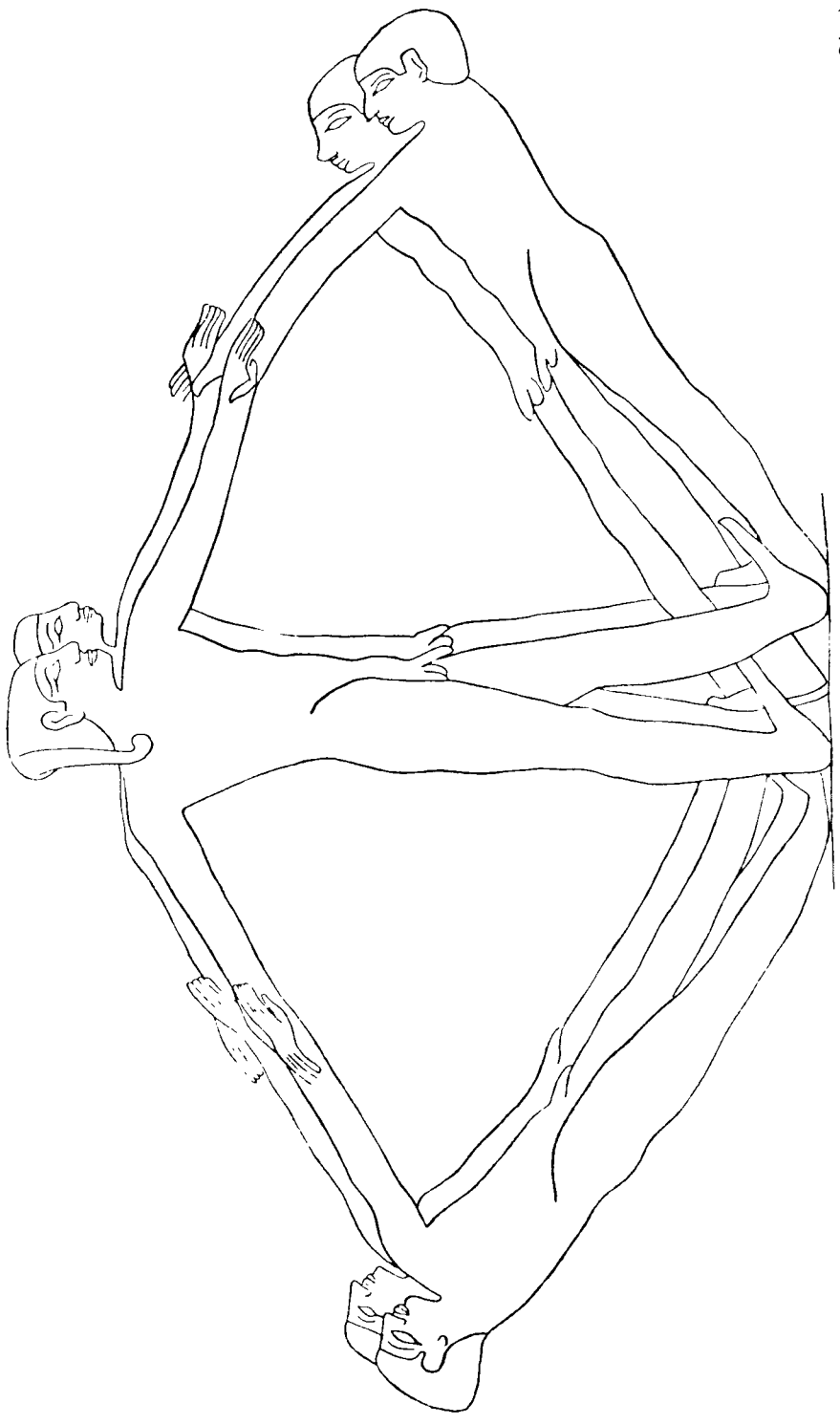
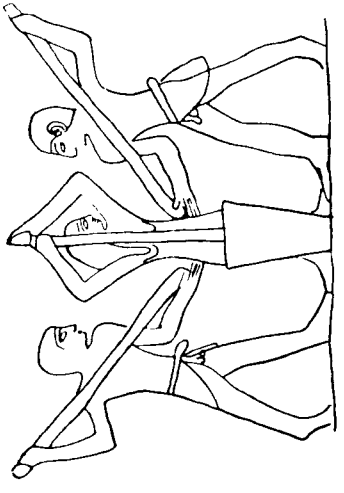
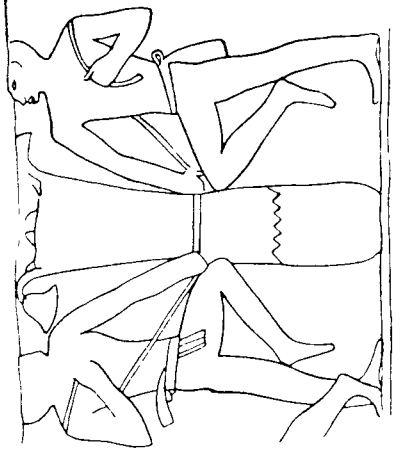


FIG. 221. Group pounding (Balez, *Mitt. Deutschen Inst.*, I, p. 139); men tying papyrus, Ny-ankh-nesuwt (Kansas City); boys swinging comrades, P'tah-hotep.

(Fig. 82) and on the similar stone in the British Museum (Fig. 83), are also excellent examples of the artist's ability to combine figures in action. Somewhat less complicated are the unusual attitudes of the figure which helps a woman to place a basket on her head (Fig. 224) and the boy in Akhet-hetep-her's chapel who reaches up a water-jar to the overseer. Similar simple arrangements of figures are to be found among the animals, such as the cow licking her feeding calf, the gazelle with her young, the genet cat or mongoose robbing nests while the parent birds flutter above, the desert game pulled down by a dog, the lion seizing a bull, or the hound with his teeth in the throat of a gazelle.

Perhaps it is attempting to draw too subtle a distinction but it seems to me that a few figures are grouped with a more obvious expression of the idea that draws the individuals together. These seem to

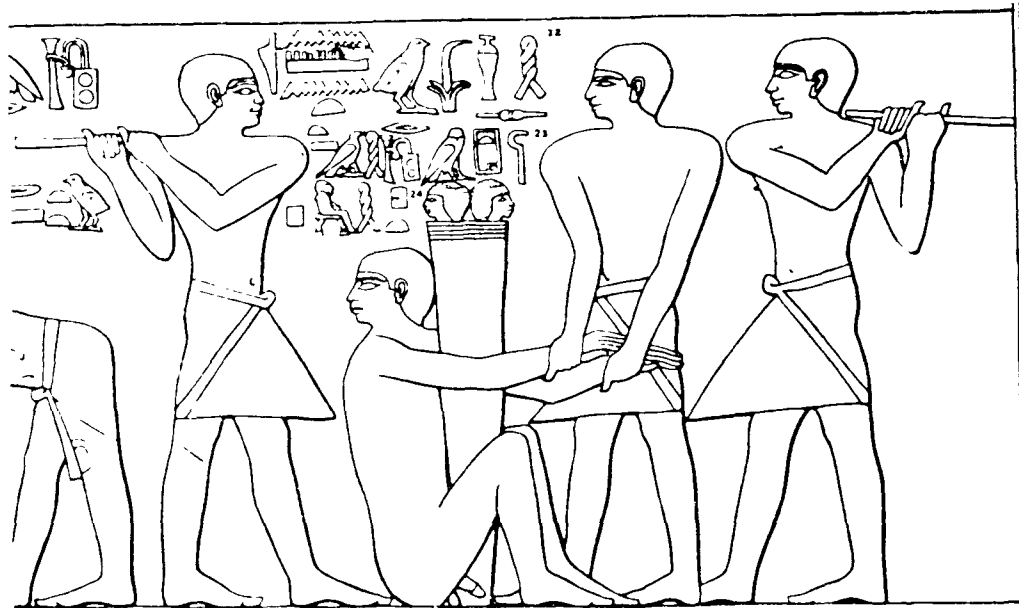


FIG. 222. Man tied to whipping post (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 37).

embody a kind of narrative element, and seem a step toward that story-telling which is usually absent from Egyptian representation. Thus we have the *wt* priest and the wailing woman who lean toward each other apparently whispering some formula (Fig. 224), or the children playing with animals in the chapels of Neferma'at and Atet (Figs. 225). More directly expressed, and betraying some attempt at humour, is the incident on the relief from the tomb of Tep-m-anekh (Fig. 225), where an ape seizes the leg of a boy who has approached a basket of rich provisions. Similar is a cat that watches a pair of goats in the chapel of Akhet-mery-nesuwt, and in the same chapel the brief drama of the jackal awaiting the birth of a calf, while the herdsman unseen waits in turn with upraised stick for the jackal (repeated in the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hotep, with some variation; Fig. 226).

When dealing with a large group of figures in violent action, such as the ordinary scene of boatmen fighting in the marsh, the artist sometimes achieved a very fine pattern of interweaving arms and legs. He was always fairly successful in his placing of the figures so that they are in their proper relation to one another, but occasionally arms and legs cross in front when they should be behind other figures; hands are confused and placed on the wrong arms. This is one of the rare instances of an Old Kingdom scene where an interplay of action is carried out through the whole register, the crew of each boat attempting to belabour the men in the boats both in front and behind theirs. Ordinarily the tendency is to string out the figures in a long procession as in ploughing scenes, the sowing and trampling of the grain, the driving of loaded asses, or even the cutting of grain, or to divide the registers into small units

for such scenes as harvesting or craftwork. The boatbuilding scenes are divided up into separate groups centred on each boat, as are the boys in the chapels of Ptah-hotep and Mereruwka according to the different games that they play. A certain unity is sometimes obtained by the turning back of the head of one figure to face the next group (something of this sort is to be seen in the winnowing scene in



FIG. 223. Man beaten: Naga-ed-Dêr N 248; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. VIII.

Thiy (*l.c.*, pls. 122, 125)). The dancers, although strung out in a long line, are bound together often by the handclappers at one end of the register and the musicians who face the dancers at the other end. Even the two long lines of evenly balanced men who pull in the fish net, sometimes occupying the whole of a register, are only an enlargement of a simple group of figures engaged in one action. In one case an interplay of movement is maintained throughout a large group of mourning women (as with the men in the register above). These admirably united figures in the chapel of Ankh-ma-hor (Fig. 227 *a*) are reflected in another mourning scene in the chapel of Mereruwka (Fig. 227 *b*), but in both cases they form

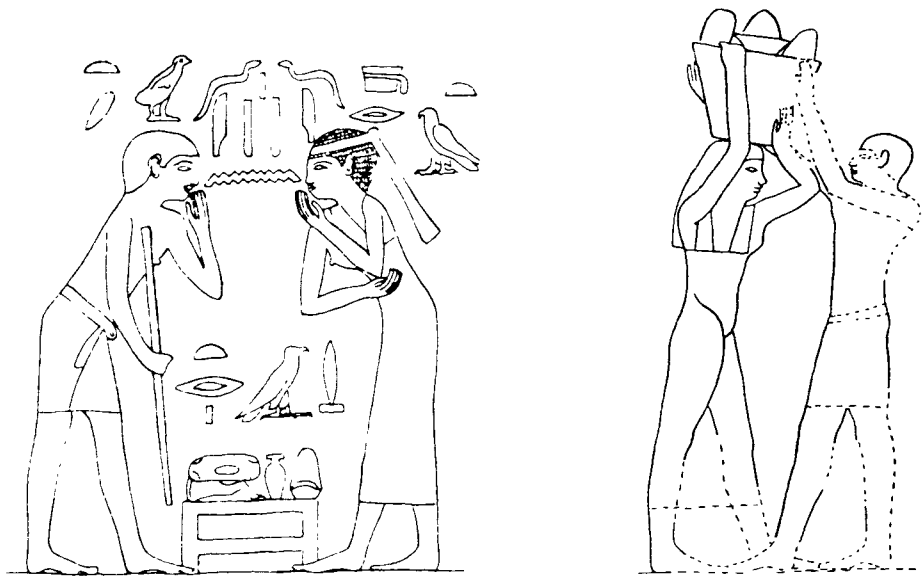


FIG. 224. Officiants at funeral, Qar (G 7101); man helping offering-bearer with basket (Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1929, p. 94).

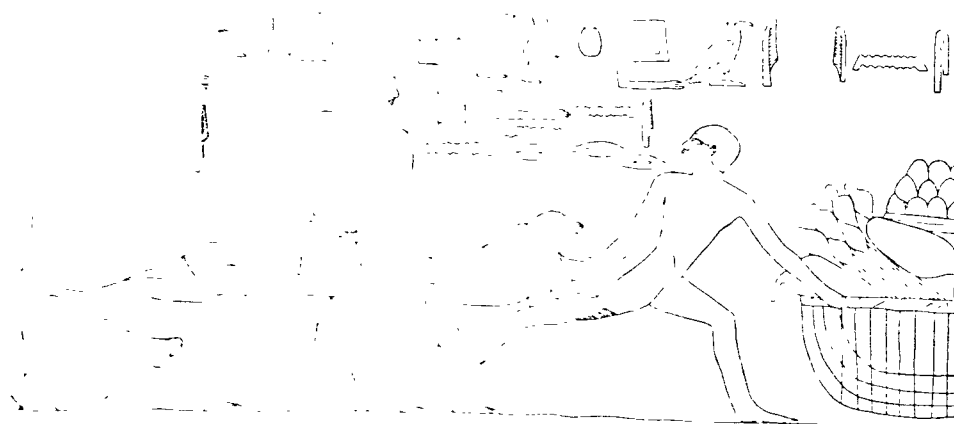
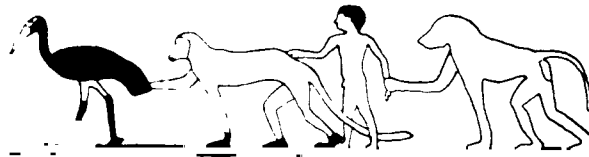
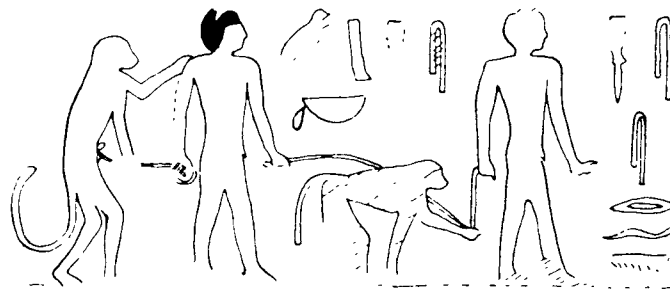


FIG. 225 a. Boys with monkeys (*Medum*, pl. XVII). b. Ibis, monkey, boy and ape (*Medum*, pl. XXIV). c. Boys with apes, Cairo relief of Tep-m-anhk.

the end of a long funerary procession, including boats and men carrying the coffin; and even the Ankhma-hor mourners are built up of small groups of figures, such as those in G 7102 (Fig. 84 *b*), where each group occupies a separate register.

In some cases the elaborate nature of the scene involved the use of more than one register of figures. Sometimes this was solved simply by continuing the action of one register on into the next. This was the method employed for the continuity of the various agricultural pursuits. Sometimes a complete disregard was shown for the continuity of the action. A totally different activity might be inserted between two registers of agricultural scenes, as in the chapel of Nebemakhet, or the sowing and ploughing might be on one wall while the harvest scenes were in another room, as in the chapel of Meresankh III. This resulted from exigencies of space and was avoided by the best craftsmen when possible. In two chapels, for some undetermined reason, the wall was divided by a vertical incised line and the action

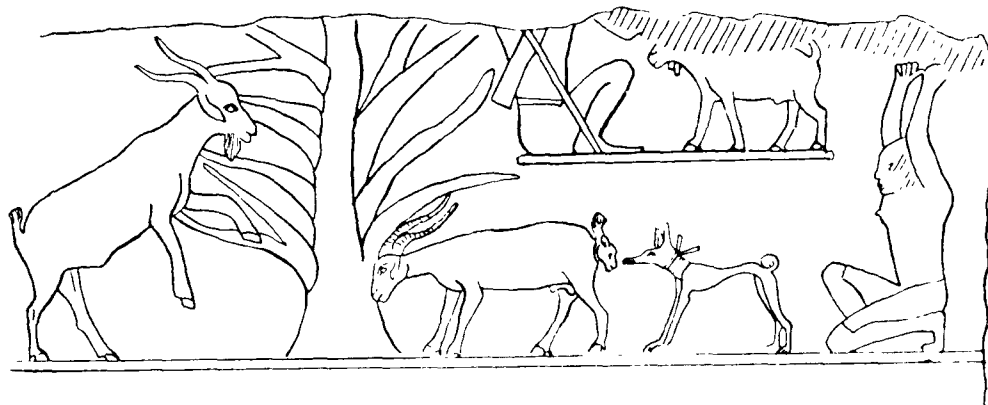


FIG. 226 *a*. Birth of goat, Akhet-hetep (Louvre).

continued from one register to the next on each half of the wall, instead of being maintained throughout one register across the whole wall space (Junker's Nofer and Kahyfy). Sometimes it was necessary to show an action which occurred simultaneously, so to speak, in several registers, one above the other. It is as if the ground were tipped up so that the figures standing the farthest away are found at the top of the wall in the upper register while the nearest figures are placed in the bottom register. Such is the case where Neferma'at stands holding the leashes of his hunting dogs, one in each register; or the animals of the Sahura hunting scene. A similar idea is embodied in long rows of dancers, in the cooking scenes, and in the piled up offerings of the picture list. More simple, but striking, illustrations of this principle are the men who pull up fish in a net from the register below, or a similar fisherman who dangles his hook and line into the space below. Even more striking is the group in the tomb of Iby at Deir el Gebrawi (Fig. 228), where above is a boat, then below a fish-trap, and underneath that another boat. The men in both boats pull on the cords of the fish-trap and it is obvious that the boats are side by side with the trap between them. This type of interpretation has to be applied with caution, however, and it seems to me that it is going too far to attempt to see in a whole wall scene, such as that on the east wall of the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pls. XXXII, XXXIII), a complete landscape ranging from the river in the foreground (bottom of wall) to the desert in the background (top of wall). There are too many obstacles in the way of such an interpretation and one has to assume too consistent a point of view for the ancient artist. It is convenient always to remember that his system was to build up his forms from various parts and that he frequently combined parts which he expected the observer to know perfectly well did not exist side by side in real life.

In certain cases the artist was able to achieve his end by subdividing the register. He often did this

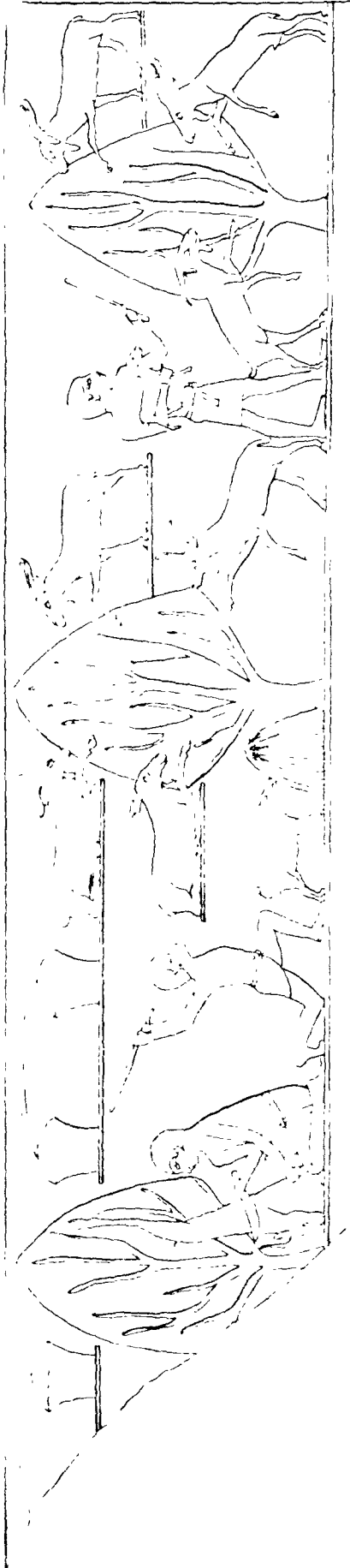


FIG. 226 *b*. Man beating small animal, Zawiyet el Meitin (*L.D.*, II, pl. 108).

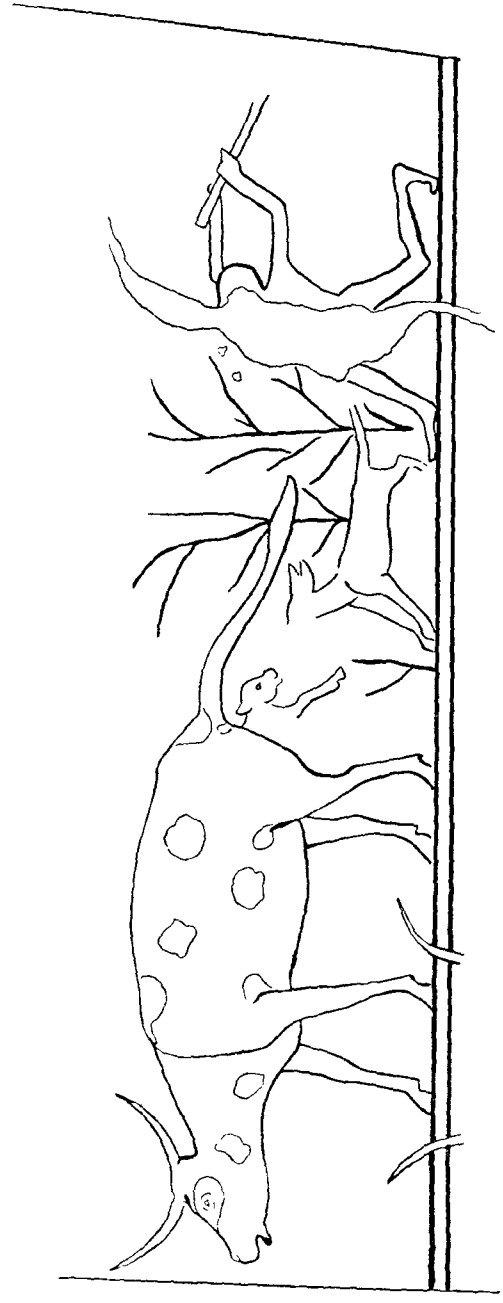


FIG. 226 *c*. Birth of calf, G 2184.

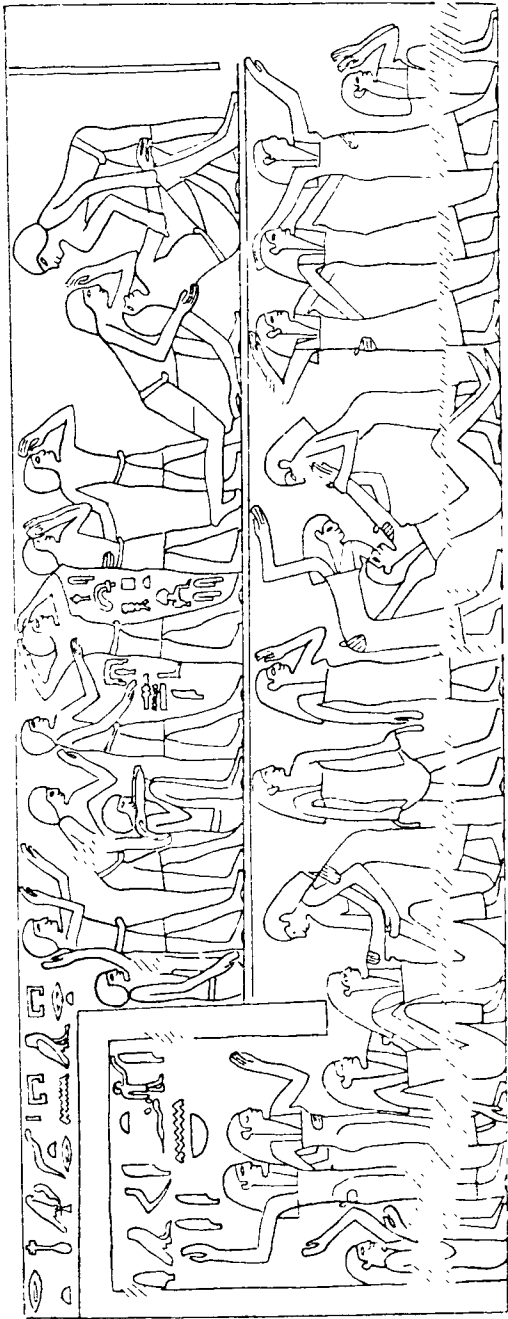


FIG. 227 a. Wailing women, Ankh-ma-hor (Bissing-Brückmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 18 A).



FIG. 227 b. Wailing women (Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 130).



to accommodate the pond with the bird-trap which was higher than the figures of a single register, or to insert extra figures necessary to complete a scene. Occasionally he was forced to abandon the register system altogether. This was necessary for the papyrus swamp with birds above and boats arrayed against the lower edge of the papyrus thicket. In the rare representation of the siege of a fortified town, he laid the town wall out in ground-plan, and inserted the occupants on registers inside, while the long ladders of the besiegers broke through several registers of their ranks outside the wall. Once, in the representation of a building, the statue shrine on top of the mastaba in the chapel of Debehen, the artist allowed this to occupy the required space and placed his men at an angle advancing to the top of the mastaba on a ramp, while other figures were set on the base-line and on the top line of the structure. But he inserted as well a small register of cattle, and a longer line of kneeling figures in the empty space out at the side (Pl. 47).

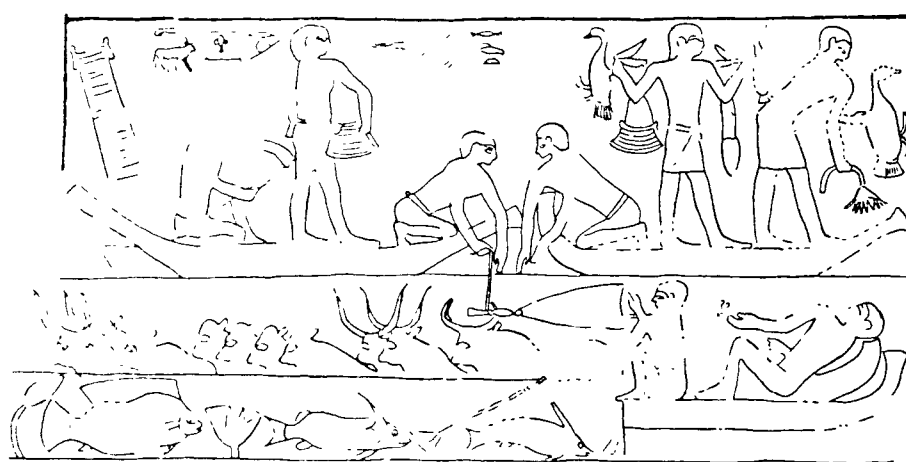


FIG. 228. Fishing scene (Davies, *Deir el Gebráwi*, I, pl. VI).

It has been necessary to point out already the combination in Egyptian drawing of the use of a ground-plan view of a part of a structure, while other features were drawn in profile against this plan. It has also been pointed out that the artist showed extreme reluctance toward hiding a part of a figure behind another object. Hence the explanation that has been offered for the figure of Neferma'at sitting as though on the arm of his carrying-chair, or objects which really should be inside boxes shown laid out above them, or inside the box with the side removed, as we find in the Hesi-ra paintings and in innumerable examples of every period. Such is the captive in the Sahura reliefs with his heart drawn outside his chest (Fig. 105). These two methods, and that described in the preceding paragraph where objects farther away are placed in a register above the nearer objects, are the general means which the artist employed for portraying relations in space. They are diagrammatic renderings of things as he knew them to be. But we have shown that in the individual parts of his picture he was sometimes capable of drawing parts of a figure in their proper relations to one another, and even figures in simple groups with the correct linear relationship observed. Thus he sometimes correctly took space into consideration in small areas, although we must never expect the observation to be maintained consistently, for it may break down completely in another part of the same figure or in an adjoining one. Sometimes the artist even went to the extent of hiding a large portion of a figure, even in a rare instance or two showing it at the moment when it is on the point of disappearing completely from view.

In spite of his reluctance to allow one part of the body to obscure another there were certain occasions in groups of figures when the artist was forced to permit this. It was not necessary in the case of buildings, ground, or even water. He was careful, usually, to draw fish, crocodiles, and the legs of men and

cattle when these were actually hidden in the water. When the legs of animals and men disappear below the water-line this is usually due to carelessness on the part of the sculptor, or to the loss of the outlines drawn by the painter. There are a few rare examples where this explanation definitely will not hold, and it is perhaps significant that most of these occur either in hastily sketched paintings or in work of the Late Old Kingdom. Some are in careful relief work, however. A pair of men are partly hidden behind a straw stack in the chapel of Thiy (Fig. 229). They appear in this way also in the chapels of Akhet-mery-nesuwt and Mereruwka. In the Sahura reliefs (Fig. 229) a man is partly concealed by the wicker cabin of a boat, and in the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir a man leans over the side of a boat with his body hidden below the waist (cf. Fig. 202). In the lively painted sketches of the chapel of Akhet-mery-nesuwt, two men are shown partly inside two granaries, only their heads and shoulders protruding over the top as they receive baskets of grain handed up to them (Fig. 229). In the same chapel the head of a crocodile appears above the surface of the water, as if through a slit, although another crocodile is fully shown (Fig. 229). This type of representation is well known from the classic example in the New Kingdom chapel of Rekhmira, where the head and shoulders of a man who has filled a water-jar protrude in the centre of a flat expanse of pond. On several occasions small desert animals seem on the point of entering their holes in the ground, and a hedgehog in Ptah-hotep (Pl. 55) is actually shown partly emerged from its lair with a grasshopper in its mouth. More remarkable than this are the cattle, in the siege scene of Ka-m-heset, which are being driven into some kind of cave or excavation in the ground, while a man is shown disappearing into a similar hole and reaching back to draw in a child (Fig. 85). Although they now must be considered as dating to Dyn. XII rather than to the Late Old Kingdom, two examples of this unusual recognition of space at Hierakonpolis are none the less interesting (Fig. 230). Here a calf is shown stepping down into water in which cattle swim with the lower parts of their bodies hidden, while the men pushing the stranded boats in a nearby scene are shown chest deep in the water. The curious group of a lion devouring a gazelle on the upper part of the east wall of Thiy (other examples of this group have been referred to in a preceding chapter (Fig. 92 *b*)) shows the lion hidden all except head and shoulders behind what appears to be the end of the net enclosure spread by the beaters around the desert game. The gazelle, seized by the throat, hangs in the air. Such partly hidden figures are less rare in the New Kingdom, but they are by no means common; for example the man who appears to be excavating a grave shaft in *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXXIX, or the figure partly hidden behind a papyrus clump in Puymra (*Atlas*, I, pl. 146). The drawing of figures partly obscured by natural forms, as in the case of the man inside the grape arbour and partly hidden by leaves (Beni Hasan, the tomb of Khnum-hotep), the man seen through a papyrus thicket (Beni Hasan, the tomb of Baqt), or the bulls seen beyond the reeds in the hunting scene at Medinet Habu, is unknown so far as I am aware in the Old Kingdom.

In the chronological survey of the material available for the study of Old Kingdom reliefs and paintings (Chapters VII–XII) there was observed a gradual development of the use of backgrounds to localize the action of a scene. This was always sparingly applied and was subject to the various conventions for the representation of space that have been discussed above. Landscape is reduced to bare essentials, a conventional rectangle of rippled water for the fishing and boating scenes; an oval pond covered with lotus flowers and swamp birds for the bird-netting; or a narrow strip speckled to represent the stony ground of the desert, perhaps with a few rolling curves in the top line to show that the ground is uneven, for the hunting scene. A series of vertical lines with papyrus flowers at the top stiffly suggests the background of the swamp, a row of trees serves for the orchard, and a formally drawn vine with pendant bunches of fruit the grape arbour. But there is a tendency in the finest work to embellish these simple

props which represent the scene. Thus in the painting in Atet's outer corridor little clumps of flowers grow along the sides of the pond and are placed between the feet of the geese that walk in procession beneath the bird-trappers. An attractive unity to the scene is gained by the fact that the men as well as the sower in the register below have picked these flowers and wound them into crowns for their heads. Similar plants grow between the feet of the bird-trappers in Thiy's chapel, as well as beside the shelter where the men pluck birds and amongst the cattle lower down on the wall, while they have been

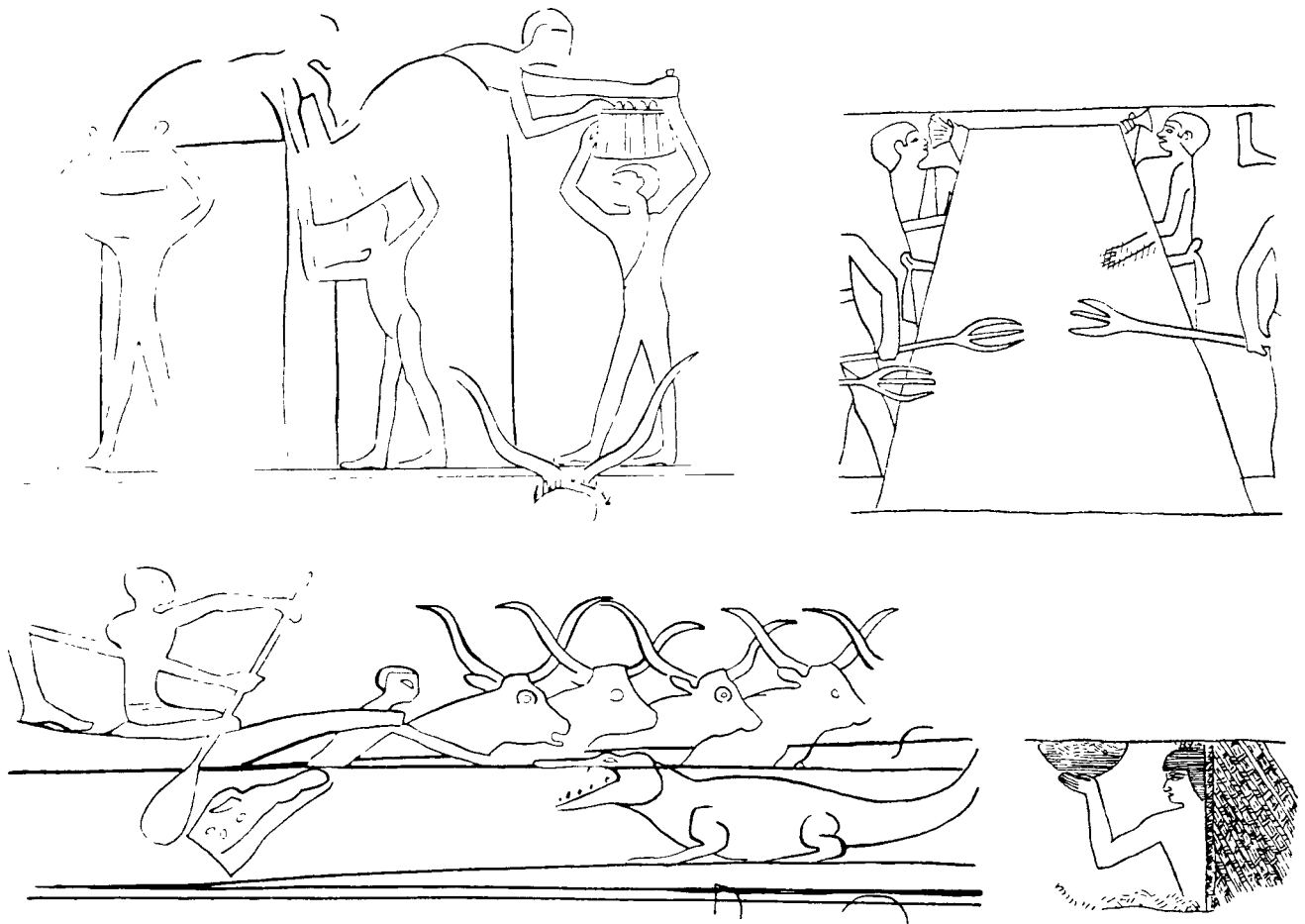


FIG. 229. Partially hidden figures: men in granaries, G 2184; men behind straw stack, Thiy (*Atlas*, III, pl. 50); crocodile in water, G 2184; man in cabin of boat (*Sa-hu-ré*, II, pl. 14).

formed into a screen behind which the man crouches to signal with his scarf that the net is full. Plants grow around the edge of the bird pond in Kagemni's reliefs, and in the chapel of Nefer-seshem-ptah the conventional lotus plants have been replaced by a tangle of closely growing leafage which completely fills the pond.

The empty spaces formed by the prow and stern of a boat curving up from the base-line are often filled by a swamp plant of characteristic form. The naturalistic element is often increased by placing grasshoppers and frogs on the plant sprays. The hillocks of desert ground are often covered with a profuse plant life, and an occasional tree rises between the animals. The reliefs of Ptah-hotep, Sahura, and those from Abu Gurob show how developed this treatment can be. A more remarkable use of small plants is that between the feet of the donkeys in an agricultural scene in the chapel of Ny-kaw-hor (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1907-8, pl. LXII), but this is known also in the chapel of Seshemnofer at Giza (LG 53). A remarkable array of swamp plants with their names above appears in the 'Seasons' reliefs of the Sun temple of Ne-user-ra (Fig. 69), which is apparently reflected in a scene on

the north wall of the entrance-room of Ptah-shepses at Abusir where they form the background to gardening operations. Usually the scene of watering a garden is more simple (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 21), the irrigation plots being drawn out in plan with a few shoots resembling lettuces rising above. The trees of the orchard are sometimes most carefully drawn with branches, twigs, and leaves (Weserkaf, G 2184) and each fig carefully delineated (Abu Gurob 'Seasons'; G 6020, Iy-mery). Sometimes the scene is enlivened by the trapping of birds, or goats eat the leaves from trees. The tendrils and fruit of the grape-vines are sometimes very delicately drawn. A beautiful fragment of this sort comes from the chapel of Ra-wer (Selim Bey Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1929-30, pl. XXXIV), the paintings in Iy-mery show blackened traces of similar fine work, and the tomb of Sheduw (Petrie,

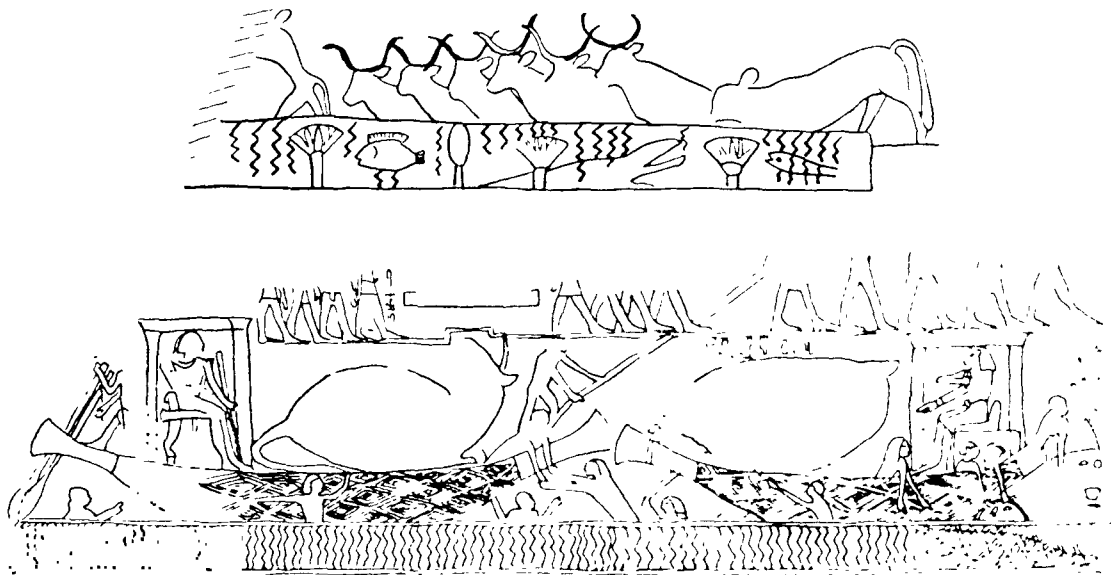


FIG. 230. Calf entering water (Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, pl. II); boatmen in water (Wreszinski, *Bericht*, pl. 41).

*l.c.*, pl. XVI) at Deshasheh has a complete example of the grape arbour with the vine stems curved and bending. Even the stems of the papyrus sometimes bend naturally under the weight of a nest or animal or, in the case of the reliefs of Ka-irer, from their own weight. The grain of the harvest scene is given a more natural aspect occasionally by the quail that run through the stalks or fly up when an attempt is made to net them (Figs. 73, 74). At least once, on a block in Hildesheim from the mastaba of Seshemnofer (LG 53), the grain stalks bend over in different directions instead of maintaining their usual upright position.

Reference has frequently been made to the scanty treatment of architectural forms. Except for a few small shrines (Lepsius, Saqqarah 31; Sahura, *l.c.*, pls. 19, 22; the Abu Gurob shrine of the crocodile (Fig. 216); Yeduw, Macramallah, *l.c.*, pl. VIII), granaries, and the columned shelter with mat-work hangings in which the noble frequently sits, there are very few representations of buildings. The columned hall of the estate offices and the bird enclosures are two interesting examples. Difficult to interpret are the ground-plan view of the *wbt* (Qar) and the curious structure of the *ibw* (in Dyn. VI funeral scenes, Fig. 84 *a, b*). Perhaps the only example which gives a brief reflection of Old Kingdom domestic architecture is the elevation of a small building in the funeral scene in Yeduw (G 7102, Fig. 84 *b*). A remarkable construction is the shrine on top of the mastaba in the Debehen funeral scene (Pl. 47). There is, too, a schematic drawing of a ship-yard in the burial-chamber of Ka-m-ankh. Perhaps the only indication of an interior scene is the group where servants make up a bed under a

canopy which appears in several chapels. These background accessories were to be extended in the Middle Kingdom and became much more elaborate in later Egyptian art.

Perhaps to be included with the above are the scenes of life on freight boats and pleasure vessels, often quite detailed. These boats, in their way, form a kind of architectural background. Cattle are seen loaded on freight-boats and prisoners or slaves on the large sea-going vessels of Sahura. A man in one example empties a jar over the side of a vessel with a cabin (Abusir reliefs of Ptah-shepses) or in another dips up water in a bowl (Fig. 202). On several boats a mother is shown nursing her child (Fig. 155). In some cases the owner sits on deck in his chair, while a bed with a head-rest is set up on the deck of another ship (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 141). In several cases a monkey runs about in the rigging (Duell, *l.c.*, pl. 140), or men are shown climbing the mast (*Deir el Gebrâwi*, II, pl. XIX) or hanging from the rigging (Fig. 164). It is really remarkable how much of an impression of real life the artist could produce by the careful selection of the one landscape or architectural element which must needs serve as a whole scenic background.

## XVI

### THE CRAFTSMEN WHO PRODUCED THE SCULPTURE AND PAINTINGS

THE artist in ancient Egypt did not occupy the same position that he did in the classical period or, for example, in Renaissance Italy. His work was considered more as a part of the products of other crafts, that of the builder, the carpenter, the metal-worker, or the artisan who manufactured objects of stone or pottery. The individuality of the artist was of little importance. His standing resulted from

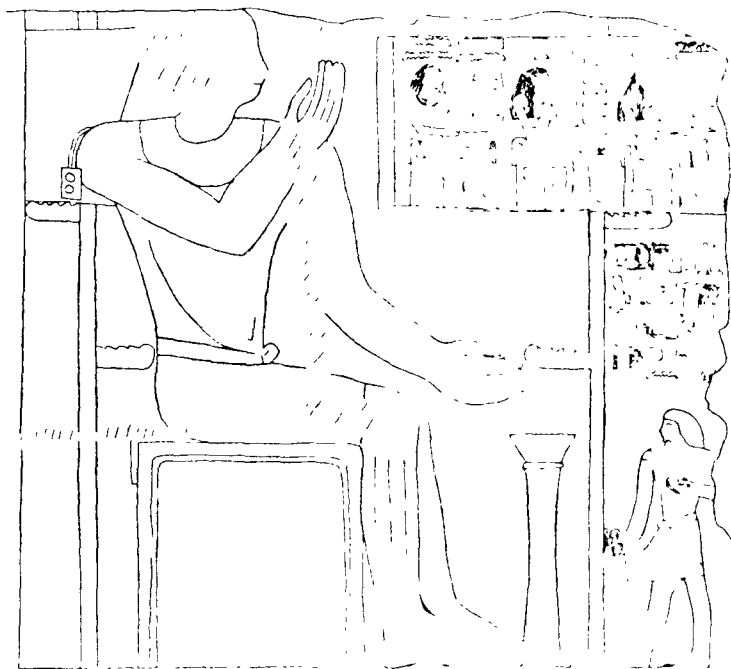


FIG. 231. Mereruwka painting seasons (*Atlas*, III, pl. I).

his technical proficiency as a craftsman. The sculptors and painters are often shown at work in the same shops with the craftsman who fashioned other objects. However, although there was small opportunity for the artist to stamp his own personal qualities upon his work, he did not remain entirely anonymous.

In a number of the scenes which show us the sculptor's workshop, the name of the sculptor or painter has been added above the figure of the man at work. The earliest of these representations is in the chapel of Queen Meresankh III where the sculptor, In-kaf (𓂏𓂏𓂏), is shown apparently applying the finishing touches with a sharp-pointed tool to a seated statue of the queen (Fig. 232). Beside him, the painter, equipped with a shell palette, is painting a standing female statue (Fig. 232). His name can no longer be read in this scene, but on the south wall (Fig. 233) over a larger figure of the man again painting a statue is written *sš kꜣwt Rꜥꜥy* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). It is probably not this same Rahay, but perhaps a descendant of his, who is shown in the chapel of Wepemnofret (Selim Bey Hasan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1930-1931, fig. 219). The name is rare, but the difference in time between the Meresankh III chapel (Shepseskaf) and that of Wepemnofret (at least Nefer-f-ra) makes it improbable that it is the same man. This second *sš kꜣwt Rꜥꜥy* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) is shown among a group of witnesses to the will of the



beneath the bird-trapping scene. This experimentation in the arrangement of the subject-matter seems to be a characteristic of the period when the scenes from life were expanding on the walls rather than the peculiarity of an individual artist. Both tombs have early examples of the owner in a small boat in the swamp, although the two scenes do not conform to the same type. LG 86 and LG 12 show an unusual detail in the baboon accompanying the owner. All three tombs show craftsmen at work (all early representations of this scene), including figures of artists. The very fact of the uniformity of the style of reliefs in these rock-cut chapels, so like that in other similar tombs, and the absence of outstanding similarities in the drawing of figures or in the selection of the subject-matter or composition of the scenes shows how futile it is, when a number of craftsmen are at work in a tomb, to attempt to recognize the style of one man even when it is probable that he played a prominent part in the decoration of two tombs.



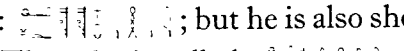
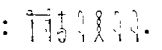
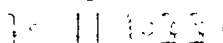
In the tomb of a man named Red-ka found by Selim Bey Hassan behind the tomb of Queen Rekhetera (and thus associated with the Chephren family cemetery) is shown his son In-kaf (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). It is just possible that this may be our same In-kaf, but the name is a common one. The father had the title 𓂏𓂏𓂏 which is associated sometimes with that of the sculptor, and it may be that the In-kaf of this inscription is a grandson or nephew of the sculptor of the Meresankh III chapel.

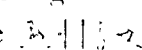
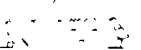
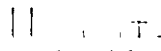
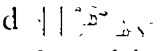
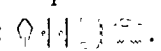
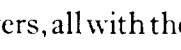
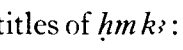



No other chapel at Giza gives us a signed portrait of the artist at work but a few representations are known from other Old Kingdom sites. In the chapel of Ptah-shepses at Abusir we find a sculptor named Ptah-shepses represented twice (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), once with an adze shaping a standing figure, and again at work on another statue. A man named Memy (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) and two others named Khnum-ir-n (𓂏𓂏𓂏) and Snefer-by (?) (𓂏𓂏𓂏) are polishing a seated figure of pink granite. A sculptor, Ra-ir-n (𓂏𓂏𓂏), is seated with a mallet and chisel. Two other names I have been unable to read. In the chapel of Ankh-ma-hor at Saqqarah (Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux*, pl. XXXIII) two of the three sculptors have the title 𓂏𓂏𓂏 but no name, although two of the painters in the same scene have their names written above. Two of the sculptors work together on a standing statue, one polishing its shoulder and one apparently employing mallet and chisel. The third sculptor works on a separate statue with a chisel while his adze hangs over his shoulder. A sculptor named Seny (𓂏𓂏𓂏) is named in the chapel of Iby at Deir el Gebrawi (*l.c.*, I, pl. XIV), but whether the scribe named Meseny (𓂏𓂏𓂏) who stands looking on with a scribe's equipment over his shoulder is a painter or a scribe is uncertain. One painter in the chapel of Ankh-ma-hor has a scribe's title (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏),<sup>1</sup> although a second man has the usual painter's title: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. A third man has the inscription 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. The statues which these two men are painting are unusual in that each shows Ankh-ma-hor accompanied by his small son, Ishefy. The boy's figure has been erased in the first of the two groups. In the chapel of Mereruwka the register showing the sculptors in the workshop is broken away but the name of a sculptor has been preserved, Za'am (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) and that of another man (𓂏𓂏𓂏). In the chapel of Zauw at Deir el Gebrawi one painter's name in the workshop scene is preserved: . . . 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (Davies, *l.c.*, II, pl. X).

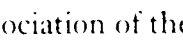
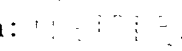
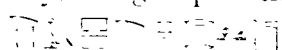
Even when the name of a sculptor or painter appears it is obvious from some of the above examples that he was only one of a number of craftsmen who were at work in the tomb. Occasionally we find a more definite attribution of a piece of work, as in the case of the beautiful carved wooden door in Cairo from the chapel of Ka-m-heset at Saqqarah (Gunn, *Annales*, 1926, p. 193). This door was ordered by a son called Hetep-ka and the 'sculptor Ithuw was caused to make it' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). A most unusual type of artist's signature is that in the chapel of Zauw (Davies, *Deir El Gebrāwi*, II, pl. X). There,

<sup>1</sup> On another wall Mesy leads a group of offering-bearers.

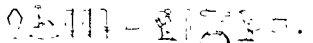


beside the staff of the large figure of the owner, is placed a vertical inscription: *sš kdwṯ pr Mstt Ppy-šnb, rn-f mꜣr Nsy*. In certain tombs where the sculptor has been singled out by some special mark of honour he is probably to be thought of as the master of the workshop which executed the reliefs. It is usually the sculptor and not the painter who is honoured in this way. In the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXII) we find the sculptor, Ny-ankh-ptah, seated in a boat, a little apart from the brawling watermen of the lowest register. Before him is a pile of food and a boy assists him to drink from a beer-jar. Above him is the inscription: . On the north wall of the same chapel (*l.c.*, pl. XXXV) it is probably the master builder of the tomb who is shown before Ptah-hotep, selecting a fig from a rich pile of offerings. He is called: . The sculptor Nefer-ihy appears in the chapel of Ra-shepses (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 61) in a *sh* scene with a pile of offerings placed before him, and the inscription: ; but he is also shown in the bird-hunting scene on the façade (*l.c.*, pl. 60) carrying a bird. There he is called: . At Sheikh Said, in the chapel of Wer-ir-n, the sculptor Ptah-khuw is shown seated with folded arms in front of his master. His inscription reads:  (Davies, *l.c.*, pl. X).

Other representations of artists show them engaged like other attendants in the presentation of food offerings to the owner of the tomb. Thus, in the chapel of Ptah-hotep (Paget and Pirie, *l.c.*, pl. XXXVIII), the  appears with the  carrying a table of food. On a block from the Tety Pyramid Cemetery (Firth and Gunn, *l.c.*, p. 209), two men are shown presenting haunches of beef. They are called  and . In the chapel of Zefauw at Saqqarah (MM D 25) the sculptor also bears the title of *hm kꜣ* and is represented on the wall beside the false-door holding up a censer. The inscription over him reads: . In the chapel of Duwanera (MM D 61) three sculptors are shown among the offering-bearers, all with the titles of *hm kꜣ*: ;  \* ; . A man carrying a haunch of beef among the offering-bearers in the chapel of Nefer-seshem-ptah (Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, pl. IC) has the titles and name: . Similarly, in the tomb of Pepy-ankh (*Meir*, IV, pl. VIII), a man in a full wig and *hry-hb* sash presenting birds is called: *hry hb šhd sš kdwṯ Kꜣ-m-tnt*.

The sculptor's title appears on the base of the statue of Zoser beneath the name of Imhotep. Gunn believed (*Annales*, XXVI, p. 193) that this cannot be a part of the titles of Imhotep and that the name of the sculptor must be destroyed on the left, although there seems scarcely space for a name. The association of the three titles inscribed here, , appears again on a stone bowl of Rw-ab-n found by Mr. Quibell in the Archaic Cemetery (*Archaic Mastabas*, pl. XVII). The same name and titles are inscribed on a diorite jar from the Step Pyramid (*Annales*, XXVIII, p. 166) and the name is found on a fragment of a stone vessel found by Amélineau at Abydos (*Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1896-1897, pl. XXI). The titles occur again on an offering-basin from the Quibell mastaba QS 2401 in the Northern Cemetery. Gunn refers to another occurrence of the three titles at Abydos on an inscribed bowl found by Amélineau (*l.c.*, vol. IV, 1897-1898, pl. L). This is probably the jasper bowl in the Louvre from the Amélineau sale with the same inscription: . The name with identical title is found in three examples on diorite vessels from the Step Pyramid (Gunn, *Annales*, XXVIII, p. 165; Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, pp. 122, 123). Finally, this group of titles occurs in the inscription of Ka-m-heset (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. III): .

The last-named chapel is one of the earliest examples preserved of the tomb of the sculptor himself, although we must not forget that of Rw-ab-n mentioned above and the mastaba QS 2401 which had no chapel decorations. The modified cruciform chapel of Ka-m-heset was very sparingly decorated with a palace-façade panelling on the west wall and two vertical lines of inscription on the jamb of the entrance.

The workmanship was of fine quality. The same cannot be said for the decoration of the other known tombs of sculptors, most of which is very poor in quality. The mastaba MM C 12 is a small tomb with only the architrave over the entrance to the chapel inscribed. The owner is called: *hkr nswt, imy r: gnwty (?)*, *rh nswt, Rc-htp*. Similarly, the owner of MM C 14 left his chapel with only the upper part of the false-door decorated. The tablet is in the Cairo Museum (No. 1729). The titles and name are *imy-r: gnwty (?)*, *rh nswt, rnh*. At Giza, Professor Junker found a small mastaba in the Western Cemetery belonging to a man with the titles and name: . The architrave over the entrance to the corridor chapel and the stela at the south end of the west wall were inscribed. Stela, architrave, and an offering-basin are now in Vienna and show poor work in sunk relief. The man was a priest of Sahura, but may have lived much later than the reign of that king. Thus the evidence that is preserved from the tombs of the artists themselves does little more than confirm the fact that they were mostly poor people, and, in the case of the last three men, poor craftsmen if they executed the work themselves in their own tombs. The small size of the tombs corresponds to what one would expect from the burial-places of ordinary craftsmen.

There are two unusual representations in Dyn. VI tombs at Saqqarah where a large figure is shown seated at what appears to be an easel, painting a picture of the seasons of the year (Fig. 231). One of these scenes is on the thickness of the wall just inside the entrance to the chapel of Mereruwka. The man is shown with his son facing him. The son is perhaps the same as one of two men named Khenuw, whose small chapels are built against the north face of the temenos wall of the mastaba of Mereruwka, outside this door. The second example is in the chapel of Ikhekhy, north of the temple of the Tety Pyramid, and here the representation is on the south wall inside the eastern entrance of the chapel. Again the large figure is accompanied by his son. In neither case are the name and titles of the large figure preserved, but the size of the figure and the presence of the son seem to indicate that in both cases we have a figure of the owner of the tomb (Mereruwka and Ikhekhy). Although the position of the man certainly seems to show a painter at work, I do not believe that we are to assume that Mereruwka designed and painted his own tomb (the scene of Ikhekhy was obviously copied from the finer representation in the other tomb). Rather the explanation lies in what Mereruwka is painting. Perhaps this is more in the nature of a scribal rendering of a temple calendar than it is the execution of a work of art. The connexion between the seasons as drawn here and the representation in the Abu Gurob Sun temple reliefs springs immediately to mind. Professor Schäfer saw in the Mereruwka scene an abbreviation of the elaborate representation of Ne-user-ra and repeated the suggestion made by Sethe that the scenes from life on the walls of private chapels may have been intended to represent similarly the three seasonal divisions of the year. Perhaps it is in his capacity as *ss md:t ntr* that Mereruwka is shown here.

Of the later representations of artists one of the most interesting is that which shows the sculptor Iwty painting a portrait head in his workshop surrounded by his assistants, in the tomb of Huya (Davies, *El Amarna*, III, pl. XVIII). In the reign of Rameses IV a painter named Huwy, who bore the title *rpct*, surprising for one of his profession, has shown himself in the chapel of In-her-khauw which he apparently decorated (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, pl. 2). This self-portrait was freely copied by some scribe on a flake of limestone now in the Berlin Museum (Spiegelberg, *Ä.Z.*, vol. 54, p. 77). The drawing of the flowing hair and the representation of the sole of one foot mark Huwy as a painter of some individuality as well as suggesting that this was a true attempt at self-portraiture. The ostrakon copy shows a conventionalized weakening of the quality of the original. Another interesting example of artist's signatures, unique in a royal temple, is that which Roeder has noted at Abu Simbel in the temple of Rameses II (*Ä.Z.*, vol. 50, p. 76). Dated to the same reign is the painting in the Theban tomb,

No. 178, which shows the owner, Nefer-renpet, with scribe's equipment inspecting the sculptor's workshop of the temple of Amen (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 73). The painter, Amen-wahsu, appears with other artists applying the finishing touches to a sphinx in the chapel of Paser (*L.D.*, III, pl. 132).

It would seem from the examples listed by Erman (Erman-Ranke, *Aegypten*, p. 505), Klebs (*Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, pp. 105, 106; *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches*, pp. 92 ff.), and Edith Williams Ware ('Artists' Signatures', *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. XLIII, pp. 185 ff.) that the painter is mentioned more often in later periods than he is in the Old Kingdom, a fact that is all the more probable when we consider what a large proportion of private work was executed only in paint both in the Middle and New Kingdoms. A new title appears for the sculptor, although *gncty*(?) is still used. This is the very expressive word *šnh*.

The most important document pertaining to the work of an artist which has been preserved is the Dyn. XI stela of 'the overseer of the craftsmen, the scribe and sculptor' Iritisen, now in the Louvre (*Ancient Egypt*, March 1925, pl. opp. p. 33; Marcelle Baud, 'Le Métier D'Iritisen', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 1938, pp. 21 ff.). Unfortunately the text of this stela is very difficult and many of the statements which the artist makes concerning his craft are by no means clear. He lays stress upon his ability to represent the body in various positions, such as the attitude of the raised arm of the hippopotamus hunter. He also says that he 'knew the secrets of the god's book; the conducting of ceremonies; all the magic with which I was furnished'. This would suggest that he may have been concerned with the arrangement of processions and pageants like his modern descendants, and that he may have taken part in temple and funerary cults as the representation of an artist undertaking the services of a funerary priest in the Old Kingdom suggests. Finally, Iritisen states that he and his son alone excel as workmen in precious stone 'beginning with silver and gold; ending with ivory and ebony'. Again it is clear how little distinction there was in the mind of the ancient Egyptian between the sculptor and painter and the craftsman who worked as a jeweller or cabinet maker. The skilled artist had to know all these crafts, and he handed his trade secrets down to his son.


Ptah of Memphis was the patron god of the craftsmen in the Old Kingdom and continued to be revered as such in the New Kingdom. Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 415) mentions an example of the artist praying to Ptah in the Theban tomb of Paser. In the Old Kingdom the High Priest of Ptah had the title: *wr hrp hmct*, or great one of the craftsmen, and undoubtedly exercised a supervision over the workshops of the sculptors and painters. Judging from a group of tombs at Saqqarah, which appear to form a succession of burial-places for one family, the title of High Priest of Ptah was handed down from father to son much in the same way that the craft of sculptor or painter remained in one family, or the office of Overseer of the King's Works which was held by members of the Senezem-ib family for several generations. It should be noted that Senezem-ib Mehy, one of these overseers, seems to have been personally in charge of the decoration of his father's tomb (Senezem-ib Yenty G 2370). On the façade of G 2370, south of the portico, Mehy has had inscribed: *iw rdi n-(i) dt m šš kdwt m ht (?) -f . . . [is]-f pn šhr šn in gncty(?)*: *Urkunden*, I, 65); 'I gave my hand to its decoration . . . his tomb. They were carved(?) by the sculptor.' Nine mastabas close together in the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah were owned by men who bore the title of High Priest of Memphis. Three of these (MM C 1, C 9, C 5) were certainly of Dyn. V and four of Dyn. VI (MM E 1, E 2, E 3, Ptah-shepses: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XXVI). Two (MM C 17, C 23) have little indication of the date, but are at the earliest Late Dyn. V. Four of the men bore the name of Ptah-shepses, and three that of Sabuw. One had the name Ranofer and one was called Thety (one of the Sabuws (E 3) was also called Thety). Ranofer may not have been related to the others, but it would seem probable that there was a family connexion between the other

eight men. They may represent an almost continuous succession of the office, with a few missing names, from the time of Sahura to the middle of Dyn. VI. I do not know of any man bearing the title in Dyn. IV, but in the Debehen inscription it states that the High Priest of Memphis was present with the king when the latter ordered the construction of Debehen's tomb.

The title of *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nbt nt nꜣwt*, with its variants *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nꜣwt* and *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nt nꜣwt* (perhaps *imy-rꜥ kꜣt* is an even more simple variant), seems to have corresponded to that of a modern head of the Department of Public Works, and the men who bore this title must have been concerned with the large engineering and architectural projects of the king. Senezem-ib, in an inscription on the façade of his tomb at Giza, describes digging a lake for King Isesy and also mentions a building which he constructed for the palace. Nekhebuw, a member of the same family, refers in a similar inscription to building works undertaken for King Pepy I. At the end of Dyn. V and during Dyn. VI, when the Senezem-ib family flourished, a large number of people bear the title of Overseer of All the King's Works. This seems to indicate that no one man was completely in charge of work throughout the country at one time, but that several men could hold the office at once. Perhaps these were in charge of various special undertakings, or the authority of each man was restricted geographically. The owner of the mastaba D 48 at Saqqarah, Ny-ka-ankh, was a priest of the Sun temple of Neferirkara and may have served that king. A man named Min-nefer served under Ne-user-ra and is represented in the reliefs of that king. Weserkaf-ankh is buried in the Ne-user-ra Cemetery at Abusir and probably lived in that king's reign. The Vizier Kay (MM D 19) may have lived as early as the first half of Dyn. V. A man named Ankh-ma-k, buried in MM D 16, probably lived later than Ne-user-ra. More definite is the evidence of the date of a man named Ptah-wash (*Urkunden*, I, 40). An inscription in Cairo placed by his son on the tomb of the father recounts that Neferirkara inspected a building which he had constructed. A whole group of persons, in addition to Senezem-ib, are associated with the name of King Isesy. These men are: Thy (MM D 22), Ka-m-thenent (Quibell 919), Prince Isesy-ankh (Quibell 910), Ra-shepses (Lepsius, Saqqarah 16), Itety (MM D 63), Ptah-hotep (MM D 62), Pehenuwka (Lepsius, Saqqarah 15), U ser-netet (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*), Ptah-hotep (MM C 6), and Ptah-hotep-deshet (MM C 7). Mereruwka seems to have held the post under Tety, while his son Mery-Tety continued in the position. Sabuw, called Ibeby (MM E 12; the stela is given by mistake under the number E 12 which belonged to Kapuw-Inpuw), holds both the titles of High Priest of Memphis and *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nbt nt nꜣwt* and seems also to have lived in the reign of Tety. A dozen other men, whose date is less certain but who are certainly of Dyn. V or later, are listed by Dr. Murray (*Index of Names and Titles in the Old Kingdom*) as bearing this title.

In Dyn. IV the title is associated with a much smaller number of men. Neferma'at of Medum, who also bore the title of Vizier, and Peher-nefer of Saqqarah probably both served under Sneferuw, and may have been concerned with the building of that king's pyramids at Medum and Dahshur. Akhet-a'a may also belong to that reign. In the reign of Cheops the title is borne by at least three men, the Vizier, Prince Hemyuwnuw; the unnamed Vizier, a son of the king buried in G 7320 who may have been Ra-bauw-f; and Prince Hordedef. It is tempting to suggest that these men were in charge of the work on the Great Pyramid, but of course there may have been others whose names or titles are now lost. The Vizier, Prince Min-khaf was probably a son of Chephren and may have been concerned with the building of his father's pyramid. During the same reign Prince Ankh-haf (G 7510) bears the title *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nb*. Akhy (G 4750) probably served one of the kings of the second half of Dyn. IV as *imy-rꜥ kꜣt nꜣwt*. During the latter part of the Dynasty and probably extending into Dyn. V the title of Overseer of the King's Works seems to have been held by the Seshem-nofer family. The relationship of the owner of G 4940

to that of G 5080 is not certain, but the title was handed down from the latter to his son, named like the other two, Seshem-nofer, buried in G 5170. During this transition period extending into Dyn. V 'Prince' Ny-ankh-ra (Selim Hassan), Mer-ib (G 2100 Annex), Seshat-hetep (G 5150), Khnum-baf (G 5230), and both Zaty (G 7810) and his son of the same name bore the title. It is difficult to carry the title back farther than Dyn. IV, but it must be remembered that Im-hotep, to whom was credited the building of the Step Pyramid of Zoser, traditionally bore this title, although it is not preserved among his others on the Zoser statue base found by Mr. Firth.

The representation of artists actually executing reliefs and paintings is practically non-existent, as are references to their preparation, although we have a considerable number of scenes showing sculptors and painters at work on statues. The pictures of Mereruwka and Ikhekhy really seem to show what the artist is painting upon his board, but one is uncertain whether the figures of these seasons are not perhaps symbolical, rather than a copy of what was actually inscribed upon the board. The only other example that I can cite is the curious Middle Kingdom scene at Beni Hasan where artists are shown decorating some sort of a case or shrine with drawings of animals (Montet, *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç.*, vol. IX, pl. VII).<sup>1</sup> There is no known representation of a sculptor carving reliefs, although he is sometimes shown fashioning a false-door (Meresankh III) which eventually would have been decorated with reliefs. Similarly, though the owner of a tomb occasionally records the gift of a statue or a stela by the king (Debehen; Mariette D 12, Ny-ankh-sekhemet) or even the preparation of the whole tomb at the king's expense (Debehen), there are only three inscriptions referring specifically to the decoration of the tomb known to me. One of these has been referred to above in discussing the gift of the painter Semer-ka and In-kaf to Prince Nebemakhet. The second where Senezem-ib Mehy states that he decorated his father's tomb has also been mentioned. The third is the remarkable inscription on the façade of the deep niche of Atet, the wife of Prince Neferma'at, at Medum, , which, whatever the first half of the sentence implies, certainly means that Neferma'at is referring to the imperishable quality of the inscriptions. The employment of a new technique of inlaying the incised figures with coloured pastes, which unfortunately did not prove as difficult to erase as Neferma'at assumed, is probably just cause for the unusual reference to the wall decorations.

Artist's sketches on limestone flakes such as are common in the New Kingdom are of very rare occurrence in the Old. The only two which I know are the sketch of a king's head (probably Sneferuw) in relief on a rough piece of stone found by Alan Rowe in the debris of the Medum Pyramid, and the calculation for the curved top of a building found at Saqqarah in the Zoser complex and evidently a contemporaneous sketch for the round-topped construction over the northern 'princess's mastaba'. At Giza was found a scribe's tablet, in the pit of mastaba G 1011 (*Ä.Z.*, 1910, vol. 48, p. 113). This appears to have been a sort of copy book for the scribe, with lists of difficult signs for the learner to copy. Whether it is a sample original to serve as a guide or a student's practice tablet is difficult to determine. The inscription consists of vertical columns of words, each different column repeated four times. On the right are the names of kings in cartouches, then come three lists of various gods, then seven (twenty-eight in all) lists of place-names. On the left are drawings of six different kinds of geese and ducks and six kinds of fish, each in a separate compartment and drawn in red in contrast to the rest of the inscription which is in black. The place-names include the earliest drawing of a fly known to me (in an early use of the name of the fly, *ff*). In addition to the commonly represented gods Sokar, Horus (?), Sopdu Anzety, Dehuwty, Sebek, Neith, Serket, and Nekhbet, there are more unusual examples such

<sup>1</sup> An almost identical Old Kingdom example is now known: Varille, *La Tombe de Ne-ankh-Pepi à Zaouyet el-Mayetin*, pl. XI.

as the goddess *Mrt*, the ram god *Hrty*, a form of Anubis known on the Wepemnofret slab-stela, what seems to be an early representation of the god Osiris, the sign for *Kiś* (the emblem of Cusae), the vintage god *šmzw*, Seshat apparently shown as a male figure, and a male figure in mummy form but with upraised arms which I am unable to identify. The kings' names in apparent chronological order from bottom to top are: Bezauw, Tety, Radedef, Khafra, Sahura, and Neferirkara. A second scribe's tablet, less well preserved and not so elaborate, was found east of the great mastaba G 2000. It contains only place-names and each column is different, there being no such repetition as upon the other piece. Both tablets were of wood which had decayed and the inscriptions were preserved upon a layer of white plaster laid down upon the wooden base.

The tendency to generalize in Egyptian art and the methods of production by schools or workshops make it almost impossible to distinguish the work of an individual master or to discover by means of stylistic comparison the hand of a particular artist in the work of several tombs. On the other hand, the imprint of the genius of a superior craftsman can occasionally be felt in small details, and probably is to be detected in a general way in the style of a particular period. The instances in which the same group of craftsmen seems to have worked in a number of tombs are exceedingly rare and impossible to prove. Nevertheless the happy creation of an artist was very often admired by his contemporaries and perpetuated by his descendants, and this particular type of influence of the individual can be noted in some of the more obvious examples in which it occurs. Technical advances which from time to time must have been invented by a man of ability have exerted a much more subtle influence upon subsequent work and are more difficult to detect at the time when they first appear. With the fragmentary preservation of the evidence, moreover, it is always impossible to be sure that the first appearance of some cleverly invented detail has actually been found.

It is difficult to determine which of the craftsmen may be the innovator. Thus, while we find the sculptor distinguished from the painter by his titles in a few rare examples, the sculptor in the Old Kingdom appears to have been the important person and it is most likely that he was also draughtsman and painter as well as expert with implements for carving. He is even shown occasionally in the New Kingdom at work with brush and paint (Iwty at Tell el Amarna) but in this case his title is *šnh*, which may have the general meaning 'artist'. The chief craftsman, that is the most able workman, would probably have been both sculptor and painter. He it is who would have laid out the scenes on the wall and was therefore responsible for most of the variation in the composition of the scenes and inscriptions, for the inclusion of new subject-matter, and for the style of the outlines in which this was drawn. This does not exclude the possibility that although the chief artist was responsible for the general layout of the scenes, some of his assistants may have interpolated small variations of their own in the drawing of individual figures. The chief artist, depending on the circumstances, executed a variable quantity of the sculptured relief, and here the possibility arises that an unusually able assistant might have had the opportunity to affect considerably the style of the reliefs, either by executing a large part of the work himself or by exerting influence upon his companions, who under ordinary circumstances would be following the style of their master to the best of their ability. The final surface of paint was applied possibly by a special craftsman, the painter, on some occasions. Ordinarily it was probably laid on by certain skilled members of the group that had already executed a large part of the work in the chapel, possibly including the master artist himself. Although the painting had less influence upon the general style than the sculpture, it was an important adjunct to the finished perfection of the reliefs. The clarity of the representation depended upon the care with which the details were applied, although the painter necessarily followed lines already laid down which he could alter only slightly. Careless painting could

destroy the whole effect of the reliefs. The application of the colour does not always enhance the beauty of the reliefs to our eyes, as the mere thickness of the pigment often obscures delicate outlines and the hard, bright tones are often less pleasing than the soft colouring of the stone itself. The fact must be taken into consideration that the wishes of the owner of the tomb must have influenced the subject-matter to a certain extent, and possibly the arrangement of the decoration. He may have seen something which pleased him in another tomb chapel and signified his desire to have it copied in his own tomb. Whether the master craftsman composed the inscriptions or whether these were executed by a more learned scribe is an unknown factor which should be considered. This may have been one of the important parts played by the painter, as his title would suggest.

Therefore in the rare instances where individual peculiarities can be recognized in the decorations of a chapel, it is perhaps more practical to think of these as resulting from the generalized abilities of one group of workmen, the style of a school, rather than that of a single artist. In most cases, even when we know the name of a craftsman, we cannot be certain what influence he exerted. Rahay, for example, does not seem to have imprinted any striking characteristics on the style of the tomb of Meresankh III, or if In-kaf was responsible for the decoration of that chapel the result is so thoroughly conventional that his style is not recognizable in the Nebemakhet chapel where he also seems to have worked. Rahay or In-kaf may have been responsible for the naturalism of the balking oryx on the north entrance-jamb (Pl. 47). Theirs is the earliest known of the great craftwork scenes, although a fragment of the arm of a man holding an adze, from the chapel of Hemyuwnuw (G 4000), may perhaps indicate that this scene was known already in the reign of Cheops. In the chapel of Meresankh III may be shown for the first time the bed made up under a canopy. A new contribution also is that of the seated scribes in niches, but this idea seems to have been that of the steward Khemten who wished his portrait cut in imitation of the statues placed in niches in the chapels of Ka-wab and Min-khaf. Hetep-heres herself may have contributed the idea of the extended use of portrait statues in the rock-cut walls and thus set a fashionable precedent for the many other instances where such statues occur. Her own garments probably suggested the curious costume with the pointed shoulder-pieces which she wears on the west wall of the chapel, although this may have been copied at her desire from either of two earlier examples, that of the mother of Khufuw-khaf or that on the stela of Queen Merytyetes. Even if we could be certain of a definite style of work attributable to In-kaf we should be discouraged from looking for it in the chapel of Nebemakhet, for we are told in the inscription there that the painter Semer-ka designed the tomb and was thus probably responsible for the laying out of the scenes and the first drawings on the wall. What ability In-kaf possessed as a sculptor has been obscured by the bad quality of the local stone in G 7530, LG 86, and LG 12 (where he possibly worked), and by weathering. That his skill was of no mean quality is testified by the beauty of the sunk reliefs on the entrance-jamb of Meresankh III, and by the fine carving of the birds poised above the papyrus flowers in the swamp scene of Nebemakhet's chapel.

One series of reliefs of individual quality can be related definitely to the name of a sculptor. These are the decorations of the offering-room of Ptah-hotep at Saqqarah (MM D 64), which in all probability were executed by the sculptor Ny-ankh-ptah who is shown on the east wall. His masterpiece was the hunting and swamp scene on the east wall, where the bold carving with its rounded surface, the plump forms, and a certain predilection for curved lines and the enrichment of the pattern with plant forms present his style at its best. Similar work appears consistently throughout the chapel and produces an impression of a style which it is impossible to confuse with other work of the same period. This style did not extend even into the rooms of the chapel of Akhet-hetep, of which the offering-room of Ptah-

hotep forms a part. For once we seem justified in attributing at least the dominant influence throughout Ptah-hotep's reliefs to the sculptor Ny-ankh-ptah.

It is certainly true that in the transitional period between Dyn. III and IV, while the sculptures of the stone-lined niches, the primitive niche-stones, and the cruciform chapels bear a family likeness to one another, each piece preserves an individual quality of its own. This impression of individuality is enhanced by the occurrence of the unusual treatment of the walls of the niches of Neferma'at and Atet with inlaid figures. It might be possible to mistake the few fragments of sculpture in relief from Neferma'at's chapel for similar work of Rahotep and Nofret, and these reliefs may have been executed by the same workmen. The carvings of FS 3078 are closely similar, but those of Methen begin to have a quality more in keeping with the style of the reign of Cheops although they are still of the high, bold type of the other transitional reliefs. Heavier and even bolder in style, with very high relief, are the somewhat earlier carvings of Iy-nefer. Unmistakably different are the reliefs of Akhet-a'a, which are more nearly allied to the work of Kha-bauw-sokar. There can be little question that the same sculptor decorated the niches of both Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, although a less able assistant executed the lintel and drum pieces of the entrances to their chapels. I should hesitate to assign the Akhet-a'a reliefs to the same group of craftsmen, although they belong to the same school in a wider sense and are probably contemporary. The drawing of the hieroglyphs in these three chapels shows stylistic affinities with that of the earlier Hesi-ra panels, with the Turin reliefs of Zoser, the boundary stelae, and the base of the standing statue of Zoser. The slightly cramped forms and the tendency to use tall slender signs is in strong contrast to the broad, heavy masses of the work of Iy-nefer, Methen, Rahotep, or FS 3078.

It is not remarkable in a period when the sculptor was attaining a mastery over his material that a complete uniformity of style had not yet become universal. At Giza during the reign of Cheops the building operations of that king created the largest school of craftsmen that had existed so far in Egypt. The immense building enterprises of Zoser, Huni (if he built the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur), and Sneferuw had raised the ability of the craftsman to an extraordinarily high level and had prepared the way for further development in the reign of Cheops. It now becomes more difficult to distinguish stylistic differences of one tomb from another. In the first half of Dyn. IV at Giza the differences, apart from the two main trends of high and low relief, are chiefly dependent upon the degree of care with which the work is executed. In spite of this fact there are four chapels at Giza which are executed in an almost identical type of fine low relief, and which one is tempted to assign to the same group of craftsmen. The resemblance is purely a matter of the cutting of the reliefs, and does not concern the subject-matter of the representations. These chapels are those of Ankh-haf (G 7510) and Merytyetes (G 7650), both of the reign of Chephren, and those of Hemyuwnuw (G 4000) and Ka-khent (?) (G 2130), of the reign of Cheops. Related to these are the low reliefs of the queen's chapel G I b, the slab-stelae, two fragments from the Cheops pyramid temple, the block from the debris of the Chephren temple, the blocks of the reign of Cheops from Lisht, and the Early Dyn. V reliefs of Weserkaf and Sahura. The style probably owes its origin to some particularly able sculptor of the reign of Cheops.

Individual characteristics are lost in the medium reliefs of the second half of Dyn. IV, the nummulitic reliefs, and the plaster-sized carving of the rock-cut tombs. The high ability of the average sculptor continued throughout Dyn. V and into Dyn. VI, and a general resemblance is maintained in all the reliefs of the type where the background is often left almost to its full height and the relief is low with a deep incision near the outlines of the figures. Here and there a resemblance in the layout of the scenes or the selection of subject-matter brings a group of tombs into relation with one another. I have pointed



out such a resemblance between the chapels of Mer-ib, Seshat-hetep, and Nesuwt-nofer at Giza. A clearer example is shown by the chapels of Seshem-nofer (G 5080) and his son Seshem-nofer (G 5170), where the scenes are practically identical down to small details, arranged in the same position on the walls. The Tübingen reliefs (G 5170) are decidedly inferior in quality and were obviously copied from the walls of the father's chapel, but not necessarily by the same craftsmen. Similar resemblances have been noted in an earlier chapter between the chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020) and the rock-cut tombs of Yasen (G 2196) and Ka-m-nofret (LG 63). At Saqqarah, the shape of two chapels and the similarity of the scenes suggest a possible origin in the work of the same craftsmen. The chapel of Duwa-hap (MM D 59) is no longer available for comparison with the other, Akhet-hetep-her (MM D 60, in



FIG. 234. Man carrying boxes slung from yoke, G 5080.

Leiden). The latter chapel shows a certain resemblance in the use of unusual scenes (the snaring of birds in an orchard and the dragging of statues accompanied by dancers, on a door-jamb), and in the fine quality of the carving, with the chapel of Akhet-hetep in the Louvre.

The influence of the originality of some artist through the copying of his invention by contemporaries and descendants is, of course, so obvious and fundamental that all Egyptian art may be said to be made up of the repetition of earlier forms, with certain additions made by each succeeding generation and the discarding of certain unsatisfactory elements. Thus all the elements of a given period must have originated in an earlier period or have been invented at that time. It is almost impossible to date exactly the introduction of these various elements. Certain small details stand out from the rest, plainly the result of acute individual observation which had an immediate appeal for those who saw the work. One can only cite the earliest preserved example of such a detail without being certain that this is its first occurrence. A popular example of this sort was the pose of the figure carrying objects slung from a yoke over his shoulders and steadied by one arm which has been flung over the yoke. This is first to be observed in the paintings of FS 3080 and was copied with minor variations in many chapels (G 7560, Debehen, G 5080 (Fig. 234), G 5170, LG 63, Iy-mery, LG 53, G 2378, and G 7837). Another man observed carefully the way in which a calf was borne upon the shoulders of an offering-bearer, much as in the Greek statue form of the 'calf-bearer'. This is found in the chapels of G 7140 (Fig. 235), G 4710, G 5080 (Fig. 235), and G 5170. It was varied by another position in which the artist seldom mastered the space relationship between the body of the animal and the arms of the man (Methen, G 7560

(Fig. 236), Kaninesuwt (Fig. 236), &c.), but see the example in G 5080 (Fig. 236). The *motif* of the man drinking from a jar, the sleeping herdsman in a mat seat, the boatman who has tumbled into the water, and the aged oxherd are a few examples of *genre* touches that owe their origin to the pervading influence of some keen observer. In the drawing of animals one of the most attractive inventions is the gazelle with leg upraised while her young one feeds. Perhaps the earliest example of this is in the chapel

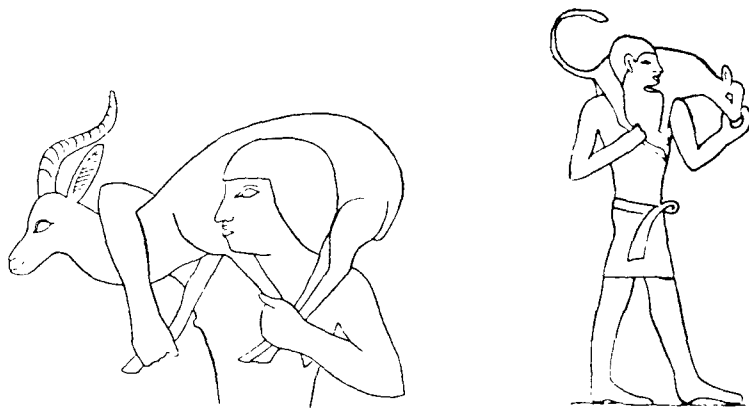


FIG. 235. Man carrying gazelle, G 5080; man carrying calf, G 7140.

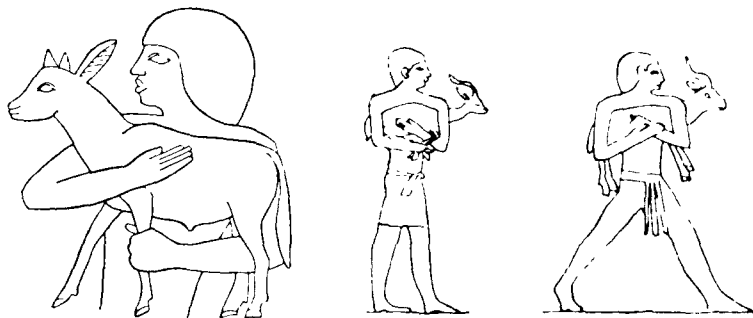


FIG. 236. Man carrying animal, G 5080; man carrying gazelle, Kaninesuwt (Junker, *Giza*, II, fig. 18); man carrying gazelle, G 7560.

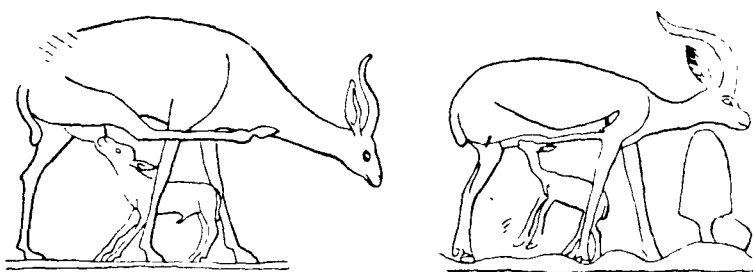


FIG. 237. Gazelles: Nebemakhet (*L.D.*, II, pl. 12); *Ptahhotep*, I, pl. XXII.

of Prince Nebemakhet (Fig. 237). It appears again in Ptah-hotep (Fig. 237) and G 2091, and is modified once for a goat in an unpublished chapel at Meir (Pepy-ankh Heny-kem), and in G 2091 and G 2196 for a cow. More popular was the cow turning to lick her feeding calf, which appears in innumerable examples. Again, we find the gesture of pulling a recalcitrant donkey by the foreleg repeated over and over again in agricultural scenes. The rare hyena pawing at an arrow in its muzzle was probably invented for the Sahura reliefs and appears again in the Middle and New Kingdoms. The hovering kingfisher (seen from the front) perhaps originated in the Weserkaf reliefs and was repeated again in the Leiden mastaba and on a fragment in the Louvre. The dog seizing a prostrate gazelle by the throat,

which occurs in all hunting scenes, goes back to a Dyn. I original on the inlaid disk from the tomb of Hemaka at Saqqarah. A rare detail of the hunting scene, in which a lion holds a gazelle dangling in the air, appears in several Late Dyn. V versions mentioned in a preceding chapter, the best example being in the chapel of Thiy. The group of lion and bull was copied by Mereruwka's artist probably from the chapel of Ptah-hotep and is repeated later in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Senbi at Meir. The quail in

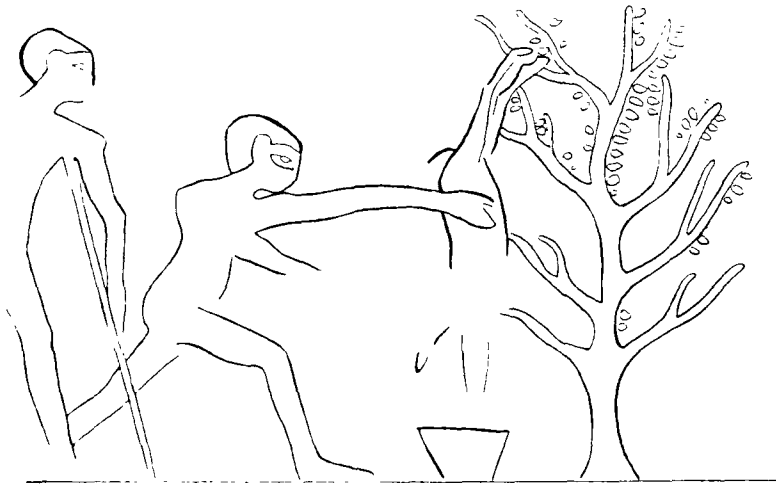


FIG. 238. Man skinning animal hung from tree, G 2184.

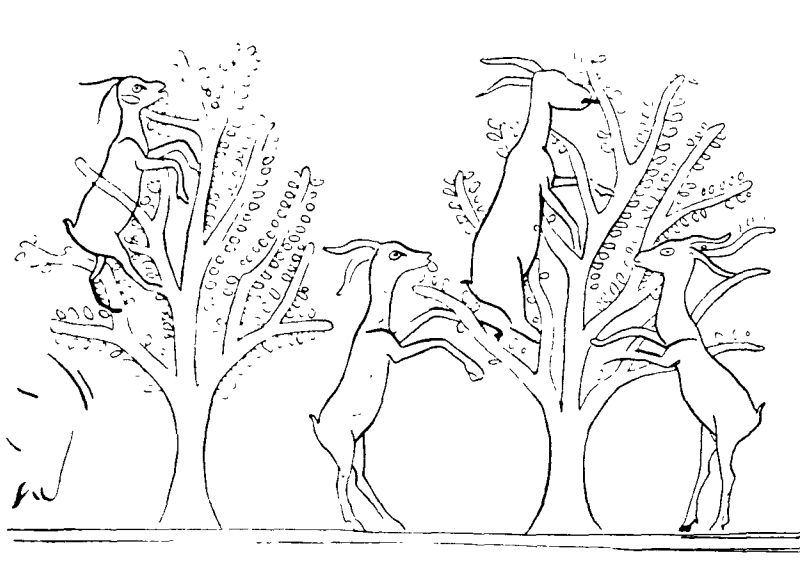


FIG. 239. Goats eating leaves from trees, G 2184.

the midst of the grain are found in several chapels, good examples being those of Mereruwka and G 1029. The *motif* of goats eating leaves from trees became popular in the Late Old Kingdom (Fig. 239), although it is known from at least one Late Dyn. V example (Louvre, Akhet-hetep). The action of skinning an animal hanging from a tree, found already at Medum, had a long life throughout the Old Kingdom (Fig. 238). The fairly careful copying of whole scenes has been noted a number of times in the preceding text in such groups as the bird-snaring in the orchard (Weserkaf, the chapels in Brussels, Leiden, and the Louvre, and probably Thiy and Mereruwka), or the jackal awaiting the birth of a young animal (Louvre chapel, G 2186, Zawiyet el Meiteen), which is itself a more elaborate version of the scene in which the crocodile awaits the birth of a young hippopotamus or a jackal that of a desert animal. The funeral scenes of Dyn. VI in the tombs of Qar, Yeduw, Mereruwka, Ankh-ma-hor, and the Meir tomb

of Pepy-ankh Heny-kem might also be mentioned. More ordinary examples of such repetition could be increased endlessly. Yet in every case of repetition the new workman has altered his original in some slight detail so that the copy is not identical.

We find in a survey of Old Kingdom art that in spite of the fact that the material is often fragmentary it is possible to trace the gradual development from Predynastic times to the end of the Old Kingdom, and also to note certain elements that were retained as a basis for the art of the Middle Kingdom. The difficulties of dating upon stylistic grounds are all too evident, but the preceding study shows, I hope, that, if one begins with a chronology based upon historical evidence and upon the succession of tomb types and the development of archaeological groups, it is possible to complete this evidence usefully by the observation of stylistic changes in sculpture and painting. Once the general style of a period is established upon definite grounds it is possible to examine the individual variations that occur in each period, and in a few rare instances to note the influence which has been asserted by an artist of special ability.

By studying the general rules of representation and the point of view (even if largely unconscious) which the artist maintained toward his material, it is possible to explain much that seems curious to the modern eye in Egyptian draughtsmanship and the exceptions and variations which occasionally appear fall into their proper place in relation to the general background of Egyptian art as a whole. The Egyptian artist was never wholly consistent in his representation, for his art was not the result of a carefully thought out method of approach as it is in the modern sense. Much of the ordering and cataloguing of its different aspects must be purely arbitrary in order to enable the student to collect his material in a form easy for reference. Above all, an examination of Old Kingdom art destroys the criticism which has been levelled so often at Egyptian art that it is bound narrowly by adherence to convention, displaying endless and tiresome repetition.

## APPENDIX

# THE COLOURING OF OLD KINGDOM HIEROGLYPHS












































IN the following table the hieroglyphs have been grouped according to colour and in the order of Gardiner's sign list. A few rare hieroglyphs, not in that list, have been drawn, for others a brief description seemed sufficient, while a number of the complicated signs are given in colour on Plates A and B. The examples are taken from a limited number of chapels in which the painted decoration is preserved, and from the funerary temples of Weserkaf, Sahura, Neferirkara, Ne-user-ra, and Tety. The Weserkaf and Tety reliefs are not as yet published. For the others the careful colour notations on the drawings in Borchardt's publications have been used, with a reference to the page or plate on which they can be found in those volumes. Much material can be found in the coloured plates of Petrie's *Medum* from the chapels of Neferma'at, Atet, and Rahotep, as well as two fragments in Cairo from the painted corridor of Atet's chapel (Fig. 61). Valuable evidence is also to be found in Murray's *Saqqara Mastabas* for the colouring of the hieroglyphs on the niches of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep, and in the chapels of Itety, User-neter, Thiy, Nefer-seshem-Ptah, Sekhem-ka, and D 62. Examples are also drawn from Davies's *Ptahhetep*, I, for the chapels of Akhet-hetep and Ptah-hotep (D 64), and from Mrs. Williams's *The Decoration of the Tomb of Perneb* for the chapels of Ka-m-sennuw and Perneb in the Metropolitan Museum. The Dyn. VI chapel of Yeduwt, published by Macramallah, also furnishes important evidence.

Four of the Giza slab-stelae have interesting coloured hieroglyphs. For that of Wepemnofret (G 1201) in the University of California I have made use of N. de G. Davies's painted copy. I am indebted to notes made by Mrs. Williams for the colours on the slab-stela of Nofert (G 1207), also at California. I have myself examined the slab-stela of Nefert-yabet (G 1225) in the Curtis Collection in Paris and that of Iwnw (G 4150) in Hildesheim (Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XXVII). Apart from the Medum chapels and the four slab-stelae, the evidence from Dyn. IV is rather meagre until we reach the well-preserved chapel of Queen Meresankh III (G 7530) at the end of the dynasty. There is some material, however, at Giza in the inscription on the statue of Hemyuwnuw (G 4000) in Hildesheim (Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. XXIII), on a fragment from the chapel of Prince Ka-wab (G 7120), and in the chapels of Khufuw-khaf (G 7140) and Meryt-yetes (G 7650). Later examples of painted hieroglyphs are found at Giza in G 5080 (Seshem-nofer), G 5170 (Seshem-nofer, Tübingen), G 4970 (Nesuw-t-nofer), G 6010 (Ptah-nefer-bauw), G 6020 (Iy-mery), in Junker's chapels of Kaninesuw-t II, Seneb, Kay, Kahyfy, and Nen-sezer-ka (G 2100 Annex II), and in the burial-chambers of Ka-m-ankh and Ka-kher-ptah (Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1914, pl. II). Other Giza chapels with coloured hieroglyphs preserved are G 1029 (Sekhem-ka), G 2196 (Yasen), G 4861, G 1673, G 1234, G 2342, G 2423, and G 2381 (Nekhebuw, reliefs in Boston). Two chapels from Saqqarah in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts increase the evidence (Ka-m-nofret, D 23, and Ptah-sekhem-ankh, D 41). I have found a number of examples on the Cairo stelae 1564, 1415, and 1417 from the Saqqarah chapel of Tep-m-ankh (D 11) and on the stela and reliefs from the chapel of Nen-kheft-ka (D 47), as well as in the Cairo paintings of Sneferuw-in-shat-f found by De Morgan at Dahshur. Finally, I have used other miscellaneous material: the Naga-ed-Dêr painted rock-cut chapel N 359, the Abusir chapel of Ptah-shepses, the Louvre chapel of Akhet-hetep, the Hildesheim relief 3086, the Hildesheim tablet of Meny, the Vienna stela of Iha, and Lepsius's coloured drawings of the Abusir chapel of Fetekta (LS 1).

Perhaps a word of caution should be given as to the use of the coloured plates (A, B, and Frontispiece). Three types of work have been reproduced: painting alone (Atet (Cairo fragment), N 359, Ka-kher-ptah), low relief (Wepemnofret, Nesuw-t-nofer (G 4970), Cairo 1415, and the Frontispiece (G 2001)), and sunk relief (Meresankh III (G 7530)). The indication of the relief has been made very slight but even so it must not be confused with the broken colour of the inner markings of the hieroglyphs. In most cases there should be no difficulty, but in the delicate grey markings on some of the hieroglyphs of Wepemnofret it is particularly difficult in a painted copy to distinguish these sharply from the shadow along the edge of the relief.

## Red:

[Ordinarily dark-red without any outlines, but when marked red-orange (RO) or light-red (LR) the outlines are almost invariably drawn in darker red.]

- D 20  Atet (only front line, no eye).
- D 21  Neferma'at, Atet, Wepemnofret, Nofert (G 1207), Nesuwt-nofer, Meresankh III, Kaninesuwt II, Seneb, G 6010 (RO), Ka-m-ankh, Kay, Kahyfy (RO), Sekhemka, Thiy, User-neter, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Itety, Nefer-seshem-ptah, Yeduwt, Perneb (LR), Sahura (pl. 60).
- D 28  Neferma'at, Khufuw-khaf, Meresankh III, Kaninesuwt II, G 1029, Neferirkara (p. 28).
- D 32  Kahyfy (RO), Yeduwt.
- D 35  Atet.
- D 36  Rahotep, Wepemnofret, Khufuw-khaf (LR), Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, Kay, Ka-m-ankh, Seneb, Ka-kher-ptah, Akhet-hetep, Yeduwt, Perneb (LR).
- D 38  Nefer-seshem-ptah (cake black).
- D 39  Itety (bowl green).
- D 46  Atet, Wepemnofret, Nofert (G 1207), Iwnw, Meresankh III, Thiy, Ka-kher-ptah, Yeduwt.
- D 50  Ka-kher-ptah.
- D 54  Meresankh III, Yeduwt.
- D 58  Neferma'at, Atet, Wepemnofret, Nofert (G 1207), Iwnw, Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, Ka-kher-ptah, N 359, G 6020 (RO), Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 51).
- E 9  Yeduwt.
- E 17  Kahyfy (RO).
- F 20  D 64, Sekhem-ka, User-neter, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret (LR).
- F 24  Yeduwt (hoof black or yellow).
- F 26  Kha-bauw-sokar.
- F 30  User-neter.
- F 34  Rahotep, Nen-sezer-ka, Nesuwt-nofer, Ptah-hotep (D 64) ('brownish'), Thiy.
- F 35  Atet, Nofert (G 1207), Yeduwt, N 359.
- F 39  D 64, Akhet-hetep, Nefer-seshem-ptah, Thiy (LR), Yeduwt, G 2423, Sahura (pl. 26).
- F 40  Yeduwt.
- F 46  Hathor-nefer-hetep, Nesuwt-nofer (LR).
- F 51  Rahotep (LR), Perneb.
- G 25  Kahyfy (RO), D 64, Akhet-hetep, Ka-kher-ptah (LR).
- G 47  Ka-kher-ptah.
- M 3  Rahotep, Meresankh III, N 359.
- M 33  Rahotep.
- M 43  Kaninesuwt II.
- N 1  (?) Hildesheim 3086.
- N 5  Meresankh III (solid red), Yeduwt, Perneb (centre solid red).
- N 25  Kahyfy (LR), Yeduwt.
- N 26  Atet, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret (LR).
- N 33  Perneb, Sahura (Pl. 60).
- O 3  Cairo 1415 (LR).
- O 22  N 359.
- O 25  Nen-kheft-ka (LR).
- O 28  M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret.
- O 29  Rahotep, Nofret (G 1207), Iwnw, Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, Ptah-hotep (D 64), Perneb.
- O 34  Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, Kay, Ka-m-ankh, Perneb, Yeduwt.
- P 8  Meresankh III, N 359.
- Q 6  Nen-sezer-ka.
- Q 7  Ka-kher-ptah, Yeduwt, N 359.

R 23		Seneb.
S 29		Rahotep, Neferma'at, Atet, Wepemnofret, Nofert (G 1207), Iwnw, Meresankh III, Ka-kher-ptah, G 6020 (RO), G 1029, Thiy, Ptah-hotep (D 64), Nen-kheft-ka, Kahyfy, Ka-m-ankh, Cairo 1415 (LR), Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 56).
S 34		G 4940.
T 3		Yeduwt.
T 8		Hathor-nefer-hetep, Kha-bauw-sokar, Rahotep, Khufuw-khaf (DR), Itety, N 359.
T 14		Ka-kher-ptah.
T 20		Ptah-hotep (D 64).
T 22		Seneb, Sekhem-ka, D 64, Cairo 1415 (LR).
T 27		Neferma'at, Meresankh III.
T 30		G 6020, Thiy, Sekhem-ka.
T 33		Kha-bauw-sokar.
T 35		Ka-m-ankh.
U 6		Kahyfy (RO), Nesuwt-nofer (LR).
U 13		G 1029.
U 20		Yeduwt.
U 33		Rahotep, Meresankh III, Ka-kher-ptah.
U 39		Rahotep.
V 1		Nofert (G 1207).
V 6		D 64.
V 23		Yeduwt.
V 28		Ka-m-ankh (?), Kay (?).
V 33		Yeduwt.
W 2		Nofert (G 1207).
W 4		Yeduwt.
W 10		Ka-kher-ptah, User-neter, D 64, Akhet-hetep.
W 12		Nesuwt-nofer, Ka-m-ankh, Ptah-hotep (D 64), Thiy, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret (LR), Yeduwt, N 359.
W 14		Yeduwt.
W 17		Kahyfy (RO).
W 24		G 6010, Itety, Ka-kher-ptah.
W 25		Yeduwt.
X 2		Wepemnofret (purple-brown), G 6020 (similar), Thiy (brown), Itety (orange), Akhet-hetep, User-neter, D 62, Neferirkara (p. 30).
Z 1		Nofert (G 1207, written sideways), Meresankh III, G 6020 (O), Thiy (brown), Akhet-hetep, Fetekta (LS 1).
Aa 11		Atet, Meresankh III (?).
Aa 14		Ka-kher-ptah, Perneb.
Aa 21		Akhet-hetep.
Aa 27		Atet, Rahotep, Ka-m-ankh, Akhet-hetep, D 64.
—		hts (?) Meresankh III.

## Red outlines around white:

F 35		Neferma'at, Kay.
F 39		Nesuwt-nofer.
F 44		Ka-kher-ptah (bone white, meat red).
G 1		Meresankh III.
N 5		Cairo 1415.
N 11		Wepemnofret.
O 34		Ka-kher-ptah.
S 27		Wepemnofret.

T 18		Nesuwat-nofer.
T 21		N 359.
V 19		Meresankh III.
V 28		N 359.
W 2		Wepemnofret, Nesuwat-nofer.
W 3		Kay.
W 9		Ka-kher-ptah.
X 2		Kaninesuwt II.
X 6		Kay.
Y 2		Kay, Nesuwat-nofer, Sahura (pl. 24).

## Brown:

F 25		Neferma'at.
G 4		Neferma'at, Atet (yellow beak and feet).
T 9		User-neter.
V 31		Neferma'at.
X 2		Iwnw (?), Thiy, Akhet-hetep, User-neter.

## Black:

D 3		Thiy.
D 21		Ka-m-ankh (over yellow and filled with blue).
E 8		Hathor-nefer-hetep.
E 15		Rahotep, Meresankh III.
E 17		Ptah-hotep, and commonly, Yeduwt, &c.
F 12		Meresankh III, User-neter.
F 31		Ka-m-ankh.
F 45		Thiy, Ka-m-ankh.
F 46		Meresankh III.
I 3		Ptah-hotep (D 64).
I 10		Rahotep.
L 1		Ptah-hotep (D 64).
M 3		Rahotep.
M 4		Yeduwt.
M 7		Ka-kher-ptah.
N 18		Meresankh III, Thiy, Sahura (pl. 24).
N 29		Meresankh III, Ka-kher-ptah, Itety.
N 33		Perneb.
N 35		Rahotep, Atet, Iwnw, Meresankh III, Kaninesuwt II, Seneb, G 6020, Ka-kher-ptah, Ka-m-ankh, Sneferuw-in-shat-f, Yeduwt, Ptah-hotep (D 64), Perneb, Thiy, Hildesheim 3086, Sahura (pl. 49).
N 36		Ka-m-ankh.
N 39		Neferma'at, Atet, Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Wepemnofret (grey, black lines), Thiy.
N 41		Hathor-nefer-hetep.
O 1		Rahotep, Atet, Meresankh III, Thiy, D 62, Perneb, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 55).
O 4		Rahotep, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Thiy, Seneb.
O 6		Rahotep, Meresankh III (yellow inside square in corner), Nen-sezer-ka, Thiy, Cairo 1415.
—		Rahotep.
S 23		Rahotep.
S 34		Rahotep, Atet, Meresankh III (loop filled with yellow), Thiy, Akhet-hetep, Seneb.
T 20		Thiy.
T 28		Meresankh III (background filled with yellow).



T 30		User-neter.
U 30		Ka-m-ankh.
U 31		Perneb, Ka-kher-ptah.
U 36		Neferma'at, Atet, Wepemnofret, Thiy, D 62, Ka-m-ankh.
V 10		G 2423 A (black on yellow background).
V 13		Ka-kher-ptah.
V 28		Ka-kher-ptah.
W 24		Hathor-nefer-hetep, Atet, Rahotep, Iwnw, Cairo 1417.
X 1		Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep, Nefert-yabet (G 1225), Iwnw, Meresankh III, Nen-sezer-ka, Thiy, Ka-m-ankh, Hildesheim 3086, six other tombs listed by Miss Murray, Weserkaf, Sahura (pl. 49).
X 2		Rahotep, Meresankh III.
X 8		Meresankh III (background yellow, inner triangle filled with blue), Thiy, D 64, Perneb, Cairo 1415, Ka-m-ankh, Nefer-seshem-ptah.
Z 1		Ptah-hotep (D 64), Perneb, Thiy, Sahura (pl. 17).
—		Iwnw (grey), Wepemnofret (grey, red spout).














































## Black lines around white:

D 2		Rahotep(?).
D 4		Meresankh III.
D 7		Ka-kher-ptah.
F 32		Rahotep(?).
M 12		Ka-m-ankh.
M 17		Ka-m-ankh, Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
M 18		Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
M 23		G 1673, Ka-m-ankh.
M 41		Ka-kher-ptah.
N 36		Ka-m-ankh.
N 41		Ka-m-ankh.
O 4		G 1673.
Q 3		Rahotep(?), Ka-m-ankh.
T 28		Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
U 1		Ka-m-ankh.
V 13		Ka-m-ankh.
V 31		Ka-kher-ptah.
W 24		G 2342.
W 25		(legs red) Rahotep, Atet.
X 1		G 2342.
X 2		Ka-kher-ptah.
Y 2		Rahotep.
—		Rahotep; case determining

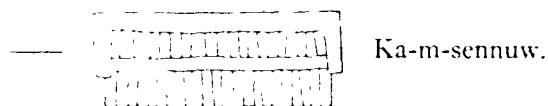
## Yellow:

[Outlined in red, unless black outlines are noted. In the Medum plates all yellow hieroglyphs are outlined in black, but I believe this is only for the sake of clearness in the printing. One or two signs have red or black inner lines, and these I have noted.]

D 21		Hathor-nefer-hetep, Atet, Rahotep, G 6010 (Y? and RO).
D 28		Atet, Rahotep.
D 35		Yeduwt.
D 36		Neferma'at, Rahotep, Yeduwt.
D 39		Ka-ny-nesuwt II (bowl red), Ka-m-sennuw (bowl blue).

- D 41  G 6020 (blue bracelet).
- D 46  Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep.
- D 58  Rahotep, Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
- E 9  Ka-kher-ptah, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret (YO with red outlines).
- E 21  Meresankh III (plain yellow, and buff coloured).
- F 4  Rahotep.
- F 13  Nesuw-t-nofer, N 359.
- F 18  Ka-m-ankh (yellow outlines around white).
- F 22  Meresankh III, Perneb (tuft of tail black).
- F 25  Atet (black hoof and outlines).
- F 30  Meresankh III (red markings).
- F 35  Meresankh III (red markings).
- F 45  Nesuw-t-nofer.
- G 17  Neferma'at, Atet.
- G 43  Neferma'at, Atet, Meresankh III, G 6020, Kahyfy, Ka-kher-ptah.  
 ——— Kaninesuwt II: headless bird.
- I 3  Neferma'at, Atet.
- I 6  Sahura (pl. 50).
- I 7  Neferma'at.
- I 9  Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep, G 6020 (red outlines, black horns), Ka-m-ankh (similar), Meresankh III  
 (black marks), Kahyfy, Perneb (black horns), Yeduw-t.
- I 10  Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep, Meresankh III, G 6020, Yeduw-t.
- M 3  Rahotep.
- M 17  Atet, Hemyuwnuw, Kay, Nen-kheft-ka.
- M 30  Kaninesuwt II, Ka-kher-ptah.
- M 33  Neferma'at, Thiy, G 1029.  
 ——— Determinative for figs: User-neter, Perneb.
- M 41  Perneb.
- N 11  Ka-kher-ptah.
- N 14  Cairo 1415, Perneb (centre lost).
- N 22  Nen-kheft-ka.
- N 33  Ptah-hotep (D 64), G 1234.
- O 21  Meresankh III (black outlines).
- O 22  Kay (red column and outlines).
- O 29  Sahura (pl. 55) (dark yellow).
- O 31  Meresankh III (red markings).
- O 50  Thiy.
- P 5  Rahotep.
- P 8  Rahotep.
- Q 1  Nen-kheft-ka.  
 ——— Rahotep: stool with bent wood supports.
- Q 3  Neferma'at (black lines), Atet, Rahotep, Wepemnofret (black lines), Iwnw, Hemyuwnuw, Hathor-nefer-  
 hetep, Kha-bauw-sokar, Kay.
- Q 6  Meresankh III, Nesuw-t-nofer, Nen-kheft-ka, Thiy.
- R 8  Atet (black markings).
- R 25  Nesuw-t-nofer, Nen-kheft-ka.
- S 19  Ka-m-ankh (yellow outlines around white).
- S 25  Sahura (pl. 12).
- S 29  Rahotep, Meresankh III (buff coloured).
- S 38  Nesuw-t-nofer.














































- S 39 } Kahyfy.  
 S 42 } Rahotep, Hemyuwnuw.  
 S 43 } Akhet-hetep, Perneb.  
 T 3 } Ka-m-ankh (yellow outlines around white), Perneb.  
 T 9 } Perneb.  
 T 11 } Iwnw (red lines), Ka-kher-ptah (outlined in black), G 6020.  
 T 14 } Nesuwt-nofer.  
 T 27 } Hathor-nefer-hetep.  
 U 6 } Meresankh III (buff coloured).  
 U 23 } Neferma'at (black blade), Atet (black blade), N 359.  
 U 28 } Neferma'at (black marks), Sneferuw-in-shat-f (black marks).  
 V 1 } Yeduwt.  
 V 4 } Wepemnofret, Meresankh III, Itety, N 359.  
 V 6 } Iwnw, Kahyfy.  
 V 13 } Iwnw, Nesuwt-nofer, Kay.  
 V 15 } Atet (red legs), Rahotep (once, all yellow), Meresankh III.  
 V 16 } Iwnw (?), Nesuwt-nofer.  
 V 19 } Atet.  
 V 23 } Wepemnofret (pl. A), Meresankh III, Sneferuw-in-shat-f, Sahura (pl. 24).  
 V 24 } Hathor-nefer-hetep.  
 V 27 } Nesuwt-nofer.  
 V 28 } Neferma'at, Wepemnofret, Nefert-yabet, Kay.  
 V 30 } Neferma'at, Wepemnofret, Hemyuwnuw, Meresankh III (black lines), Kay, N 359.  
 V 31 } Neferma'at (red lines, black handle), Atet (black handle), Wepemnofret (black lines; Pl. A), Kay (red lines), Cairo 1417.  
 W 3 } Neferma'at (black marks), Rahotep, N 359.  
 — — } Ka-kher-ptah, Kay: variation of W 3.  
 W 10 } Perneb, Yeduwt.  
 W 12 } Rahotep, User-neter.  
 W 24 } Atet.  
 — — } Rahotep: shoulder jar.  
 — — } Kay: ewer and basin.  
 X 3 } Yeduwt, Perneb.  
 X 6(?) } Perneb.  
 Y 2 } Rahotep (black lines), G 6020 (red lines, black seal).  
 Z 10 } Nen-kheft-ka (?).  
 Z 11 } Perneb, Sahura (pl. 24).  
 Aa 1 } Neferma'at (red lines), Atet (red lines), Rahotep (black lines), Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Wepemnofret, Nesuwt-nofer (RO, dark red lines), Kay, Thiy, N 359.  
 Aa 31 } Nen-sezer-ka.



Blue:












































[Ordinarily with black outlines.]








- D 61 } Nen-kheft-ka.  
 F 12 } Nen-kheft-ka.  
 F 26 } N 359.  
 F 31 } Itety.

- G 36  When fully preserved, white breast outlined in red, red legs, eye, and beak, rest blue. Rahotep (blue-grey), Meresankh III, Kay, Kaninesuwt II, Nesuwt-nofer, User-neter, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Perneb, Itety, Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
- G 37  Rahotep (blue-grey).
- I 10  Yeduwt.
- M 4  N 359.
- M 17  G 1234, Sahura (pl. 37).
- M 37  Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
- N 11  N 359.
- N 14  N 359.
- N 17  Ptah-hetep, Perneb, Ka-kher-ptah, Ka-m-ankh, Kahyfy, N 359, Yeduwt.
- N 24  N 359.
- N 29  Ka-m-nofret (M.F.A.), Perneb, D 64, Nen-sezer-ka, Ka-kher-ptah.
- N 33  Perneb.
- N 35  Itety, N 359 (?), Sahura (pl. 36).
- N 36  Rahotep (black rippled lines), Sneferuw-in-shat-f (border lines wavy as in Rahotep), Meresankh III, G 6020 (red outlines), G 1234.
- N 39  Meresankh, Ka-kher-ptah, Kahyfy, Nesuwt-nofer, Nen-kheft-ka, Yasen, Thiy, Perneb, Nefer-seshem-ptah, Yeduwt.
- N 40  (legs red) Kay, Perneb.
- N 41  Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, Ptah-hotep (D 64), Thiy, Perneb.
- O 1  D 62, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Perneb, Nen-kheft-ka, Itety, Ka-m-ankh, Ka-kher-ptah.
- O 4  D 64, Sekhem-ka, Ka-kher-ptah.
- O 6  Nesuwt-nofer, Nen-kheft-ka, Akhet-hetep, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 27).
- O 35  Ka-m-ankh (?).
- O 48  N 359.
- Q 1  D 64, Perneb, User-neter, Nen-kheft-ka, Nesuwt-nofer (?), Ka-m-ankh.
- Q 3  G 1234, Ka-kher-ptah, N 359.
- S 34  Akhet-hetep, Nen-kheft-ka, Itety, Ka-m-ankh (over yellow), Sahura (pl. 71).
- S 40  Ka-kher-Ptah.
- T 20  Meresankh III, Nen-sezer-ka, Nen-kheft-ka, User-neter, Itety.
- T 28  N 359.
- U 31  Nesuwt-nofer, G 6020.
- U 36  D 62, D 64, Sekhem-ka, Kahyfy, Yeduwt.
- V 10  Meresankh III (cartouche and Aa 1, G 43, and I 9 blue on a yellow background), G 6020, Nesuwt-nofer, D 64.
- V 28  Ka-kher-ptah, Sneferuw-in-shat-f.
- V 31  Ka-kher-ptah, Ka-m-ankh.
- W 24  Thiy, User-neter, D 62, D 64, Ka-m-sennuw, Ka-m-ankh, Ka-kher-ptah.
- W 25  (legs red) Sekhem-ka, User-neter, D 62.
-  Rahotep (blue-grey): round-bottomed basin.
-  Rahotep (blue-grey): ewer and basin.
- X 1  G 6020, Kaninesuwt II (?), Perneb, G 4861, Ka-m-ankh, Ka-kher-Ptah, Yeduwt, Sneferuw-in-shat-f, N 359 and 6 tombs listed by Miss Murray, Sahura (pl. 17), Neferirkara (p. 28), Fetekta (LS 1).
- X 8  User-neter.
- Z 1  Akhet-hetep.
- Aa 1  Meresankh III, G 2423 A, Ka-kher-ptah.
- Aa 11  Yeduwt.
- Aa 20  Ka-m-ankh (?).
-  D 64 (*Ptah-hetep*, I, pl. XVIII).
-  Rahotep (blue-grey; variant red).




















## Green:


















[Usually with black outlines.]























- D 61  D 62, Akhet-hetep, Sahura (pl. 27).
- F 4  Rahotep.
- F 12  Neferirkara (p. 28).
- F 35  Neferirkara (p. 28).
- G 36  Rahotep (wing green).
- I 6  Sahura (pl. 17).
- I 8  D 64.
- M 1  Seneb, Nen-kheft-ka, Perneb.
- M 2  Thiy (individual form not closely resembling font), D 62 (similar but not identical form).
- M 12  Wepemnofret, Rahotep, G 6010, Yeduwt.
- M 17  Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep, Nofert (G 1207), Nefert-yabet (G 1225), Iwnw, G 6010, G 6020, Kay (red outlines), Kahyfy, G 1029, Yeduwt, Thiy, Sahura (pl. 24).
- M 18  Nesuwt-nofer (legs RO).
- M 20  Rahotep (base black), Thiy, Kahyfy, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 16).
- M 23  Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep, Iwnw, Wepemnofret, Nefert-yabet (G 1225), Kay, Kaninesuwt II, Cairo 1415, Cairo 1417, Perneb, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 34), Neferirkara (p. 30).
- M 29  Rahotep, Akhet-hetep.
- M 30  Yeduwt.
- M 37  Akhet-hetep.
- M 39  Nofert (G 1207).
- N 17  Neferirkara (p. 29).
- N 22  Rahotep.
- N 33  Rahotep, Nofert (G 1207, after both black and green eye-paint see M 39).
- N 39  Rahotep (water lines black), Meresankh III.
- N 41  Sahura (pl. 56), Neferirkara (p. 30).
- O 4  Sahura (pl. 17).
- O 6  Nesuwt-nofer, Sahura (pl. 27).
- Q 1  Thiy, Akhet-hetep, Nen-kheft-ka.
- Q 3  Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, D 62, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Thiy, Perneb, User-neter, Itety, Cairo 1415, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 28).
- R 9  Nofert (G 1207).
- S 34  Itety.
- S 40  Neferirkara (p. 29).
- S 42  Thiy, User-neter, Nen-kheft-ka (green horizontal stripes on white), M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret.
- T 25  D 62, D 64.
- T 28  Sahura, (pl. 24).
- U 1  Rahotep (with white teeth), Neferma'at (similar), Meresankh III, Nesuwt-nofer, G 4861, Ptah-hotep (D 64; teeth white). M.F.A. Ptah-sekhem-ankh, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, Yeduwt.
- V 4  Thiy, Ka-m-sennuw.
- V 6  Nofert (G 1207), Kay.
- V 10  G 7650, Nesuwt-nofer, Seneb, D 62, Akhet-hetep, Weserkaf, Sahura (pl. 52), Neferirkara (p. 28).
- V 13  Thiy, Perneb, User-neter, D 62, D 64, Itety, Nefer-seshem-ptah, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 51).
- V 15  G 6020 (RO legs), D 64 (R legs), User-neter (R legs), Yeduwt (R legs).
- V 16  Nesuwt-nofer (outlined with red), D 62, D 64.
- V 23  Nen-sezer-ka, D 64 (black lines).
- V 28  Meresankh III, G 4861, Kay, Kahyfy, Nesuwt-nofer, Cairo 1415, Cairo 1417, Thiy, D 64, D 62, Akhet-hetep, Perneb, Ka-m-sennuw, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 33), Neferirkara (p. 29).
- V 29  Meresankh III, Yeduwt, Sahura (pl. 39).

- V 30  G 7650, Meresankh III, G 6020, Cairo 1415, Cairo 1417, Thiy, User-neter, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Yeduwat, Sahura (pl. 24), Neferirkara (p. 29), Tety.
- V 31  Meresankh III, Seneb, Thiy, User-neter, D 62, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Yeduwat (black handle), Sahura.
- W 24  Ka-m-sennuw.
- X 1  Sahura (pls. 34, 51); Neferirkara (p. 28).
- Aa 1  Meresankh III, Kaninesuwt II, G 1029, Thiy, User-neter, D 64, Cairo 1415, Yeduwat, G 2423 A, Neferirkara (p. 30).
- Aa 5  Kay (red outlines), D 64.
- Aa 20  Sahura (pl. 52).


























## Polychrome signs:





















- A 6  Flesh red, skirt white, hair black, jar red, water blue; apparently always so when well made; Meresankh III (?), Nesuwt-nofer, G 6010, G 2196, D 64.
-  Kneeling man with water poured over stone (?). Stone (?) coloured blue. *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. IV, No. 17.
- A 20  Flesh red, skirt white, hair black; Rahotep (colour gone from staff), Nesuwt-nofer (staff yellow).  
Flesh yellow; Rahotep (staff red).  
Flesh and staff yellow; Meresankh III (female figure).  
Figure white (colour gone?), hair black, red spot on forehead; Rahotep.  
Hair red; Akhet-hetep.
-  Dancing man with boomerangs; Iy-mery (G 6020), Pl. B. Determinative of *ib*; (Fig. 75).
- A 40  Flesh red, hair, eye-parts, and beard black; robe white with red outline; Ka-kher-ptah.  
Robe red; D 62, Akhet-hetep.
- A 47  Flesh yellow, hair black; stick yellow, ring with black mark; robe green with black stripes and black marked white border; Neferma'at (*Medum*, pl. XXVIII).
- A 50  Flesh red, robe white, hair black, chair yellow; Rahotep.  
Flesh yellow and yellow chair with black markings; Meresankh III (female figure).
-  Determinative for *nbi*; flesh red, rectangle of water and curved line green; G 6020 (Fig. 165).  
Rectangle with green squares and green curved line; Sahura (pl. 72).
- C 10  Standing figure; flesh yellow, dress green, feather, necklace, armlets and anklets blue, hair light red with dark red lines; Akhet-hetep (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII).  
Standing figure; dress and *w's* sceptre green; User-neter, D 64.
- D 1  Face red, hair, eye-lines, beard black; Meresankh III, Yeduwat.
- D 2  Flesh yellow, outline of hair, beard, eyes, nose, and mouth drawn in black; outline of face and ears red, Meresankh III, Pl. B.  
Flesh yellow; hair and beard black, eyes and eyebrows drawn in black; nose, mouth, and outline of face and ears drawn in red; Perneb, Ka-m-sennuw, Ka-m-ankh.  
Hair black, beard blue; Nen-kheft-ka.
- D 4  Black on white with a touch of red in the corners; Neferma'at, Rahotep, G 6020.  
Eyeball brown; Meresankh III, Wepemnofret, D 64.  
Similar with red mark in corners, but with yellow background; Thiy and Yeduwat.
- D 7  Stripe under eye green; Perneb.
- D 9  Black outlines, tears blue; Yeduw (G 7102).
-  Mouth with curved line of water above; mouth red, water black; Atet.  
Mouth red, water blue; Perneb, D 64, Ka-kher-ptah.
- D 34  Flesh light red, shield black, mace yellow; Rahotep.
-  Arm with curved line of water above hand; Arm red, water grey outlined in black; Wepemnofret.
- D 45  Arm red, wand yellow; Wepemnofret, Ka-m-ankh, Perneb.  
Wand white with red details; Meresankh III.  
Wand brown; User-neter.  
Wand blue; Itety.
- D 61  White, red outlines; base rectangle, blue inside; G 6010.

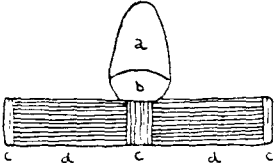
- E 11  Body brown, mane blue; G 6020.  
Black on body; D 64.  
— Cult figure of Anubis; Wepemnofret, see Plate A.
- E 21  Yellow with blue collar and tip of tail; Meresankh III.  
Body yellow; Sahura (pl. 48).  
— Lioness forming syllable *rw*; N 359, Plate A.  
— Lioness with axe above; Wepemnofret, Plate A.
- E 34  Yellow; Akhet-hetep, Yeduwt.  
Red; User-neter.  
Black drawing lines on white, stripe of yellow on back; Ka-kher-ptah, Plate B.
- F 1  White, red outlines, horns yellow; Wepemnofret.  
White, red outlines, black spots, red where neck is cut off; Thiy, Ka-kher-ptah (yellow horns).  
Yellow horns; Perneb.  
— Calf's head; black outline around white, large black spot around eye; Meresankh III.  
— Oryx head; red outlines around white, black horns and markings; Wepemnofret.  
Black horns; Perneb.
- F 4  Green with white markings and black outlines, mane yellow with red marks; Neferma'at (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XXVIII); less elaborate: Rahotep, Nefert-yabet (G 1225).  
Yellow, red mane, black outlines; Wepemnofret, Plate A, Nefer-seshem-ptah.  
Yellow with blue mane; Nesuwt-nofer, D 64, Perneb, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, Yeduwt.
- F 9  Yellow, black spots; Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, N 359, Plate A.
- F 18  Green markings; Sahura (pl. 56).
- F 25  White with red outlines, hoof and markings black; Atet (Cairo fragment, *J.E.A.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. VI).
- F 29  Yellow arrow and tail, skin white with black dots; Thiy.
- F 30  Central part white, with black marks, ends red; Rahotep (Petrie, *Medum*, Frontispiece).
- F 31  Iy-mery (G 6020): red drawing lines on background of wall, green stripe down the centre of each pendant; in another example in this chapel the stripe is blue.  
Sahura (pl. 56), yellow with green stripes.
- F 32  Wepemnofret: black markings on red.  
Meresankh III; red central stripe and outlines on white. Again with brown markings on yellow ochre.
- G 1  Atet (Cairo fragment): see Plate B, Fig. 61.  
Wepemnofret: see Plate A.  
Iy-mery (G 6020), Perneb; red outlines on white, face and legs yellow, wing blue with black tail markings.  
Kay: red legs and outlines and markings on white, wing blue.  
Ka-kher-ptah, Iha (Vienna): red outlines on white, face yellow, wing outlined in black.  
Hathor-nefer-hetep; wing yellow.  
Kha-bauw-sokar, beak and legs red, wing black.  
Sahura, Neferirkara: head white with red markings, wing green.  
N 359: unusual form, see Plate A.
- G 4  Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): blue-grey, once with wing yellow, marked with black, and once with wing red, marked with black.  
Neferma'at, Atet: brown with yellow beak and legs.  
Nesuwt-nofer: red-brown with beak and feet yellow.
- G 5  Blue wing and tail, white breast, yellow face and feet, black markings; Meresankh III.  
Body blue, red beak; Yeduwt.  
Sahura, Neferirkara: green on wing and tail feathers.
- G 7  Yellow bird and standard, red outlines and cloth on standard, black markings; Wepemnofret (Plate A), Iwnw, Thiy.
- G 14  Meresankh III, see Plate B, Fig. 61.  
D 64: 'leg feathers and feet blue, body spotted' (*Ptahhetep*, I, p. 19).

- G 16  Meresankh III: blue bird on green basket.
- G 17  White with yellow wing, tail, and tuft on head, marked with red and usually also with black; Wepemnofret. Plate A, Meresankh III (without black markings), Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII), Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece), Yeduwt, Perneb.
- G 23  Green with black markings; Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII).
- G 25  Green with blue wing, tail, and crest: Meresankh III, Plate B, Pl. 44 a.  
Green wing, blue breast, and red legs: Louvre Akhet-hetep.  
Red; Ka-kher-ptah, Plate B, Kahyfy, D 64, Akhet-hetep, Ith' (Vienna, red on wing).
- G 26  Black outlines around white, blue base; Meresankh III.  
Black outlines, red cloth on standard; N 359.  
Green on black standard; Itety.  
Head black, eye red, beak blue, stand yellow (?); Ka-m-sennuw.
- G 27  White with red markings and black on bill; Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece).  
Blue and red markings on white; Ka-kher-ptah, Plate B.
- G 29  Head and wings blue; Thiy, G 6020.  
Yellow on head and wing; Sahura (pl. 36).  
Head black, wing blue, red beak and legs, red outlines over black; Ka-kher-ptah.
- G 30  Wepemnofret, see Plate A.
- G 35  Ka-kher-ptah, see Plate B.
- G 36  Grey and black markings on white; Wepemnofret, Plate A, Iwnw.
- G 37  Ka-kher-ptah, see Plate B.  
Blue on wing, Perneb.
- G 38  Itety, breast green, wing red.  
Ka-kher-ptah, see Plate B.
- G 39  Wepemnofret, see Plate A.  
Meresankh III: blue, black, and grey markings on white.  
Nen-sezer-ka: blue on wing, red-brown on head and tail.  
Ka-kher-ptah: similar, black feet.  
Kahyfy: blue on neck, wing and tail yellow with orange marks, legs black.
- G 40  D 62: wings blue.  
Perneb: body, beak, legs blue, tail feathers black, wing brown, head red.
- G 43  Wepemnofret, Plate A.  
Atet, Cairo fragment, Plate B, Fig. 61.  
Akhet-hetep: yellow, legs and beak light red, markings blue (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII).  
Perneb: yellow, red lines and black markings.  
Yeduwt: yellow, beak and legs red.  
Sahura (pl. 12): yellow with green markings.
- G 47  Ka-kher-ptah, see Plate B.  
Nesuw-nofer, Perneb (?): traces of blue.  
Akhet-hetep: flesh red, tail and wings blue.
- G 49  Thiy: black outline around white or yellow, red-brown on heads of birds.
- G 51  Ptah-hotep (D 64): blue on wing of bird.
- H 1  Nesuw-nofer: light-red.  
Akhet-hetep: yellow.  
Ka-kher-ptah: yellow, red beak.  
Nesuw-nofer: red-brown on face, beak and neck markings blue.
-  Trussed goose; Meresankh III: black line around yellow. Ptah-hotep: yellow.
- I 7  Wepemnofret, see Plate A.
- I 9  Nesuw-nofer: yellow with blue collar.  
Atet, Cairo fragment: red outline around white, black horns and markings.






















- I 13  Meresankh III: yellow snake on green basket, red lines around yellow, black lines on green.  
Sahura (pl. 69): snake yellow.
- K 1  Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): white belly, black scales on buff of back, red scales on white, fins yellow marked with red and black.  
D 64, Akhet-hetep: blue.
- K 3  Wepemnofret, see Plate A.  
N 359: Blue with dark blue spots, red fins and marks on tail.
- Blow-fish, determining word *špt*; Ka-kher-ptah, Plate B.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: blue on tail and fins.
- L 2  Weserkaf: body and head green, wings buff, black marks on wings, red outlines.
- L 6  Ka-kher-ptah: alternate red and black parallel lines marked on white.  
Perneb: partly green.  
Sahura (pl. 63), Neferirkara, p. 30: green.
- M 1  Cairo stele 1415, see Plate B.
- M 4  N 359: blue, once with red dot on side, and again with black notched marks down side.
- M 8  Meresankh III: flowers green with red centres and black outlines, stems brown, black water-lines on base.  
G 5080: flower blue with red petals.
- M 12  Nefert-yabet (G 1225): leaf yellow, stem and base red.  
Nesuwat-nofer, Nen-sezer-ka, Ptah-hotep, Thiy: leaf and tabs on base green, stem red or brown.  
G 5170 (Tübingen), Kahyfy: leaf green, stem red, base blue.
- M 13  Wepemnofret, see Plate A; Rahotep similar.
- M 15  Meresankh III: stems green, markings black, yellow tips to flowers, red-brown rippled marks on base.  
Yeduwt: plants green, base red.
- M 16  D 64, Akhet-hetep: flowers green.  
Hathor-nefer-hetep: base black.  
Yeduwt: plants green, base red.
- M 22  Green, with tips of shoots blue; Ptah-hotep (D 64), Perneb.
- M 23  Variation in Wepemnofret combined with Aa 1, see Plate A.
- M 26  Ptah-hotep: plant green, flowers red (?), base blue.  
Neferirkara, p. 29: plant blue, flowers green.
- M 28  Wepemnofret, see Plate A.  
Kaninesuwat II: plant green, base red.  
Itety: plant green with blue flowers and base.
- M 30  Wepemnofret: green outlined in red with yellow top and bottom.
- M 39  Wepemnofret: basin red, grains all black, green, or yellow in different examples.
- M 41  Ka-kher-ptah: yellow band around white, outlined in red.
- M 43  Akhet-hetep: supports red, vine green with brown stripes, grapes blue.  
Perneb: Ka-kher-ptah: supports and vine red, grapes blue.
- N 5  Cairo 1415: red centre, red outer line.  
Meresankh III: red centre, black outer line.
- N 7  Akhet-hetep: disk, red lines on white, base blue and red.
- N 11 + 14  Cairo 1415: moon half black and half white outlined in red, star yellow outlined in red.  
Itety: moon green, star red.  
G 7120: moon blue.
- N 18(?) or 17  Meresankh III, see Pl. B (estate name, E. wall, outer room).
- N 22  Ka-kher-ptah: red around pink with red and grey dots.  
Ptah-hotep: red with green spots.







- N 25  Nesuwt-nofer, see Plate B.  
Akhet-hetep: red with green base.  
Sahura (pl. 55): red with dots, green base.  
Meny (Hildesheim): pink with red spots.
- N 26  Rahotep, G 6010: light red with green base.  
Atet: pink with red, black, white, and green dots.  
Ka-kher-ptah: red line around pink, with red and grey dots.  
Ptah-hotep: spotted red with green base.
- N 28  Ptah-shepses (Abusir): traces of red and blue semicircular marks.  
Sahura (pl. 34): blue, green, blue bands, also green, brown, green.
- N 30  Rahotep: black with green plants.  
D 62: plants green.
- N 31  Meresankh III: no colour on central part, plants green, with black lines.  
Ka-m-sennuw: centre orange, plants green.
- O 11  Nen-kheft-ka: yellow framework, green base, inner part white.  
Yellow framework, blue base, yellow strokes inside frame.  
Perneb: yellow frame, black base.
- O 15  Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII): enclosing wall blue, shrine yellow with white and red markings, basin red, cake blue.
- O 17  Akhet-hetep: snakes yellow, building blue.  
D 62: snakes red, building blue.
- O 19  Neferma'at: yellow building with red details.
- O 21  Meresankh III: yellow and green with red lines, see Pl. B; also yellow with black markings (architrave, W. wall, outer room).
- O 22  Yellow shrine set on black base with red lines and red column; Rahotep, Sneferuw-in-shat-f, Nesuwt-nofer, Iy-mery, and Ka-kher-ptah without black base.  
Green shrine with black lines, column red, Meresankh III.
- O 24  Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII): red lines around white, grey and white mottling at base of pyramid.  
G 2423 A: yellow apex separated from lower part of pyramid by red line.
- O 28  Red, black base; Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece), Hemyuwnuw.  
Red, green base; Iwnw.
- O 44  Meresankh III, see Plate B (title of Ka-wab, E. wall, outer room).
- O 48  Weserkaf: green circle with red marks.
- O 49  Wepemnofret: black marks on grey.  
Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XXVIII): black marks on blue.  
Rahotep: black with green triangles around white.  
Perneb: partly blue.  
Sahura (pl. 11), Ne-user-ra, p. 93: green background.  
Tety: all green.
- O 51  Black lines on blue; Akhet-hetep, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, Ka-m-sennuw.
- P 3  Rahotep: green boat on blue water with black lines.  
Wepemnofret: green boat with white object inside, on grey water with black outlines.  
D 64, Sahura (pl. 55): boat green.
- Q 6  Meresankh III: see Pl. B (architrave, W. wall, outer room).
- Q 7  Ka-m-sennuw: blue with green tabs on base.

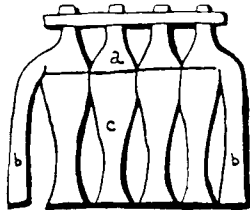
- R 4  Rahotep: a, b white; c yellow, d green.

Wepemnofret: see Plate A.






- Meresankh III: a green, b, c yellow, d green.  
 Cairo 1415: a, b white surrounded by red line, c yellow, d green.  
 Ka-m-anekh: a, b red around blue, c, d grey with black lines.  
     a, b red outline, c, d black around yellow.  
 Akhet-hetep: cake yellow, mat green.  
 Perneb: a, b, c yellow, d green.
- R 8    𓄠 Meresankh III: see Plate B (architrave, W. wall, outer room).  
 Cairo 1415: upper part red lines on yellow, below, black triangles and lines on yellow.  
 Kay: upper part red lines on white, lower part of staff green.  
 Wepemnofret: upper part red lines on yellow, lower part of staff black on grey, or on another example  
     black on green.  
 D 64: yellow with green and blue markings below.
- R 9    𓄡 Wepemnofret: as above with black triangles on green and black disk below.  
 Ka-kher-ptah: upper part yellow, disk at base red around white and protruding piece red around yellow.
- R 11    𓄢 Rahotep: column yellow, upper divisions alternately red and green.  
 Seneb: column black and upper part red.  
 Meresankh III: column white with red base, upper divisions blue, red, white, and blue (the blue may be  
     disintegrated green).  
 Ptah-hotep (D 64): stem alternately red and green (?).  
 Sahura (pl. 76): yellow dividing lines, spaces green, yellow, light green, dark green, light green, red, green.
- R 13    𓄣 Nesuwt-nofer: wing and feather on standard blue, beak, feet, and standard yellow, red cloth on standard.
- R 15    𓄤 Nesuwt-nofer: standard yellow and triangle in centre, side pieces white with red marks, white loops  
     hanging down from standard.
- R 17    𓄥 Nesuwt-nofer: feathers blue, standard yellow with red outline.  
 ——— *lit.*: Wepemnofret: see Plate A.
- 𓄦 Sign for Aphroditopolis Nome; Nesuwt-nofer: standard yellow, serpent yellow with blue belly, feather  
     on back of serpent partly yellow, partly blue.
- Sign for *hw*; Wepemnofret: see Plate A.
- 𓄧 Sign for *mnw* (fortress); Nesuwt-nofer: building blue, desert sign pink with green base, red dots on pink.
- Sign for Letopolis Nome: Meresankh III: see Plate B (title of Ka-wab, E. wall, outer room).
- R 21    𓄨 Wepemnofret: see Plate A.
- R 23    G 6010: centre red, side pieces blue.  
 Ptah-shepses (Abusir): centre red, side pieces white (?) striped with red.  
 Sahura (pl. 34): centre red, side pieces yellow, green, yellow.
- R 25    𓄩 Cairo 1415: bows yellow outlined in red, case white with red stripes.
- S 12    𓄪 Rahotep: green and red strands, red ties.  
 Cairo 1415: one blue strand, red ties.
- S 19    𓄫 Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): seal blue with yellow stripe above and below, blue bead below, beads of  
     necklace alternately red and blue.  
 Tep-m-anekh (Cairo 1564): blue on seal.  
 D 64: green on necklace.
- S 20    𓄬 Ptah-hotep (D 64): cord blue, cylinder blue and red.  
 Cairo 1417: cord red (?), cylinder black (?).
- S 22    𓄭 Rahotep: centre white, cords red.
- S 42    𓄮 Akhet-hetep: head green; blue, red, blue, green stripes on handle.  
 Nen-kheft-ka: green stripes on head and handle.
- S 44    𓄯 Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): staff white, flail green, red and black, black outlines.
- T 3    𓄰 Wepemnofret: head white, handle yellow, red outlines.  
 Thiy, D 64: red stripe on white head, black handle.  
 Ka-m-anekh: red lines on white head, black outline on white handle.  
 Kaninesuwt II: red crossed lines on white head, handle white above with red outline, green below.

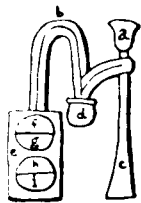
- M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: white head and upper handle, stripe on head yellow, base of handle yellow with red cross-lines.
- T 7  Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): white handle with black lashings, blade blue-grey.  
Wepemnofret: all yellow with black lashings.
-  Bow case; Rahotep: black with red decorations, white with green markings.
- T 11  Wepemnofret: see Plate A.  
Nofert (G 1207): shaft red.
-  Crossed arrows, symbol of Neith; Cairo 1415: yellow with red outlines and black cross-lines and feathering.
- T 21  Iy-mery (G 6020): see Plate B, Fig. 75.  
Rahotep: red with grey-blue point and white loop.  
Perneb: similar with black loop.  
Thiy: orange with black point.  
Fetekta (LS 1): handle black with red upper part and loop, blue point.
- T 28  Hathor-nefer-hetep: black frame with red triangles inside.  
Thiy, User-neter, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, M.F.A. Ptah-sekhem-ankh, Nekhebuw: blue frame with red triangles inside.
- T 30  Iy-mery: handle yellow, blade blue.
- T 32  Nesuwt-nofer: knife blue, legs red.  
Sneferuw-in-shat-f: knife white outlined in black, legs white outlined in red.
- T 33  Iy-mery (G 6020): blue blade, handle yellow with red outline.  
User-neter, Itety, Nefer-seshem-ptah, G 6010: blue blade with red handle.  
Thiy: black blade with red handle.  
Sneferuw-in-shat-f: blue blade outlined in black, handle red line around brown (?).
- U 6  Meresankh III: red, cord yellow.  
Thiy: red, cord black.
- U 21  Meresankh III: brown blade, handle black on yellow.  
Perneb: blade black or blue.  
Yeduwt: tool yellow, block black.  
Ka-kher-ptah: handle, black marks on yellow; blade, black around red.
- U 22  Rahotep (*Medum*, Frontispiece): handle striped with brown and yellow, blade blue-grey.
- U 23  Neferma'at, Atet: handle yellow, blade black.  
Atet (Cairo fragment): handle striped yellow and white outlined in red-brown, blade black.  
Fetekta (LS 1): handle striped blue and yellow, blade blue.  
Meresankh III: see Plate B, Pl. 44.  
Ptah-hotep, Perneb: handle green, blade blue.  
Perneb, Thiy: handle green, blade black.  
Sahura (pl. 51): handle green.
- U 25  Ka-kher-ptah: red, bags white with red markings.
- U 27  Iy-mery (G 6020): handle red, blade blue.
- U 29  Neferma'at: yellow, red lines, black markings, *Medum*, pl. XXVIII.  
Sneferuw-in-shat-f: yellow, black lines and markings.
- U 30  Akhet-hetep (*Ptah-hetep*, I, pl. XVIII): top and projection at side red, body blue.  
Ka-kher-ptah: body grey (black outline), top and projection red.  
G 2423 A: Top light red spotted with dark red, projection red. Black lines around body.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, Perneb: body blue.  
Thiy: body white, projections red orange.
- V 19  Meresankh III: yellow, red lines, black cross-piece.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: red on yellow background.
- V 30  Nesuwt-nofer: green with squares of basket-work pattern in dark red.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: green with basket-work squares in black.

- V 31  Atet (Cairo fragment): white with yellow cross-lines and red-brown outline, black handle.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: green with basket-work pattern squares in black.
- V 33  Neferma'at: black marks on white bag, red tie.
- W 1  Rahotep: body of jar green speckled with black, cover red.  
Ka-kher-ptah: white with black dots and red outlines.
- W 9  Perneb: green on handle and front projection.
- W 14  Meresankh III, Perneb: upper part blue, lower part red.
- W 16  Nesuwt-nofer: jar light red, water blue.  
Ka-kher-ptah: upper part of jar black, lower part red, water blue.





- W 18 Neferma'at, Atet, M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret, Perneb, Thiy: a black, b, c red.

- Wepemnofret: see Plate A.  
Meresankh III: a black, b red, c green.  
User-neter, D 64: a, b blue, c red.  
Neferirkara, p. 28: a green, caps red, b, c red.
- W 21  Wepemnofret: Plate A.  
Nefert-yabet and Nesuwt-nofer similar.  
Iwnw: upper part of jars blue instead of black.  
Nofert (G 1207): jars red above and below, corded space green.
- Single wine jar; Rahotep; Ka-kher-ptah: black above and red below.
- W 22  Wepemnofret, Perneb, Ka-m-ankh: upper part black, red below.  
Meresankh III: upper part blue, red below.
- X 4  Ka-m-ankh: white, red outlines, black markings.  
G 6010: red lines and marks, trace of yellow.
- X 6  Ka-kher-ptah: red lines on white, yellow marks.  
D 64 (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII): red-brown lines on white, two yellow grains above.
- Y 1  Akhet-hetep: seal blue, once green.  
Yeduwt: yellow with red lines.



- Y 4 or 3 Akhet-hetep (*Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XVIII): a, b, d, g, i red, c, f, h black, e green.

- Wepemnofret: see Plate A.  
Kay: a, b, c, d red, e green, f, g, h, i red; Kahyfy similar; G 6010 similar but d is green.  
Nesuwt-nofer: a, b, c, d yellow with red lines, e green, f, g yellow, h, i red.  
Ka-kher-ptah: case blue outlined in black with red top and bottom, b, d red, e white, f and h red, g and i black.  
Ptah-hotep: pot blue, case red with middle part black.  
Yeduwt: c black, a, d, i red.  
M.F.A. Ka-m-nofret: c black, d, b, g, h red, e green.  
Thiy: a, c, g, i black, b orange, e, h yellow, f red.
- Y 5  Rahotep: board yellow, pieces green, red, green, black, green, &c., also board black lines on white.  
G 7650: pieces alternating green and blue.  
Ptah-hotep: green base with black lines, sometimes red with black lines (*Ptahhetep*, I, p. 35).  
Thiy: board yellow.
- Y 6  Nen-kheft-ka: striped yellow and black.

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| LG 37 (G 5340): Ka-seza.          | LG 58 (G 7550): Duwa-ne-hor.      | LG 100: Khent-kauw-s, Queen.     |

## LIST OF SAQQARAH MASTABAS

Arranged according to the numbering in Mariette's *Mastabas* (A 1, A 2, &c.) and correlated with an earlier series of numbers (1, 2, 3, &c.) as given in *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, Appendix C. For a complete correlation certain mastabas not mentioned in the present text are listed, although these will not be found in the Index of Personal Names. A few of Mariette's tombs lacking old numbers and not referred to in this text have been omitted.

A 1: No. 18 (FS 3076?): Akhet-hetep.	C 21: No. 45: Kay.	D 34: No. 29: Ptah-shepses.
A 2: No. 5 (FS 3073): Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep.	C 22: No. 51: Ptah-mery-ra.	D 35: No. 28: Ra-hotep.
A 3 (QS 2405): Hesi-ra.	C 23: No. 44: Sabuw-kem.	D 36: No. 27: Iy-kauw (Cairo statue No. 105: p. 80).
A 4: No. 86: Subterranean galleries, Step Pyramid enclosure.	C 24: No. 66: Ra-hotep.	D 37: No. 26: Ma-noter.
B 1: No. 71: Thenty.	C 26: LS 20: Iy and Nofret.	D 38: No. 24: Wash-ptah.
B 4: No. 9: Ipy.	C 27: Ka-hap.	D 39: No. 22: Kapuwra.
B 5: No. 1: Ruwzy.	D 1: No. 78 (QS 901): User-neter.	D 40: No. 21: Ankh-ma-ra.
B 6: No. 3: Sethuw (Cairo statue No. 190: p. 79).	D 2: No. 79 (QS 905): Ka-m-remeth.	D 41: No. 20: Ptah-sekhem-ankh.
B 9: No. 88: Huwty.	D 3: No. 80: Ra-m-ka.	D 42: No. 19: Kha-bauw-ptah.
B 10: No. 2: Ifefy.	D 4: No. 81: Ankh-ir-s.	D 43: No. 14: Itwesh, called Semen-khuw-ptah.
B 11: No. 4: Khnum-hotep.	D 5: No. 82 (QS 908): Queen Mersankh.	D 44: No. 13: Sokar-nefer.
B 12: No. 12: Nefer-hetep.	D 6: No. 83 (QS 907): Khenuw (Cairo statue No. 171: p. 79).	D 45: Perseu.
B 13: No. 11: Beb-ib or Senezem-ib.	D 7: No. 84 (QS 919): Ka-m-thenenet.	D 46: Sethuw.
B 14: Akhy.	D 8: No. 85 (QS 910): Isesy-ankh.	D 47: Nen-kheft-ka.
B 16: No. 15: Ankh-ir-s.	D 9: No. 77: Meruwka.	D 48: Ny-ka-ankh.
C 1: No. 48: Ptah-shepses.	D 10: No. 75: Tep-m-ankh.	D 49: Khnum-hotep.
C 2: No. 8: Hetep.	D 11: No. 76: Tep-m-ankh.	D 52: Senuw-ankh.
C 3: No. 25: Ptah-weser.	D 12: No. 74: Ny-ankh-sekhemet.	D 54: Ptah-shepses.
C 4: No. 68: Ptah-kha-merer.	D 13: No. 73: Shepsesy.	D 55: Neter-nct-n-t.
C 5: No. 40: Ranofer and Hekenuw.	D 14: No. 70: Queen Khuwit.	D 59: Duwa-hap.
C 6+C 7: Nos. 41+42: Ptah-hotep and Ptah-hotep-deshet.	D 15: No. 69: Mer-hotep.	D 60: Akhet-hetep-het.
C 8: No. 36: Ka-aper ('Sheikh el-Beled').	D 16: No. 67: Ankh-ma-k.	D 61: Duwanera.
C 9: No. 50: Ptah-shepses.	D 17: No. 65: Ny-ma'at-ra.	D 62: Ptah-hotep.
C 10: No. 49: Ptah-shepses.	D 18: No. 64: Queen Nuwb-nebty.	D 63: Itety Ankh-ir-s.
C 11: No. 17 (?): LS 22: Iyzefa.	D 19: No. 63: Kay.	D 64: Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep.
C 12: Ra-hotep.	D 20: No. 62: Wer-ir-n.	D 70: LS 15: Pehenuwka.
C 13: No. 7: Ity.	D 21: No. 61: Neter-her-n-ptah.	E 1: 2: Nos. 37-38: Sabuw (Ibeby) and Ptah-shepses.
C 14: No. 10: Ankhi.	D 22: No. 60: Thiy.	E 3: No. 47: Sabuw Thety.
C 15: No. 6: Hemra, usurped by Thiy.	D 23: No. 57: Ka-m-nofret.	E 4: No. 16: Hapuw.
C 16: No. 39: Sabuw.	D 24: No. 56: Ny-ma'at-ptah.	E 5: No. 23: Qednes.
C 17: No. 43: Yenty and Thety.	D 25: No. 55: Zefauw.	E 6: No. 58: Sneferuw-nefer.
C 18: No. 72: Thenty.	D 26: No. 52: Yeny-ankh.	E 7: No. 59: Sneferuw-nefer.
C 19: No. 54: Sekhem-ka.	D 27: No. 53: Ankh-ma'a.	E 10: Qednes.
C 20: No. 35: Kay ('Scribe Rouge').	D 28: No. 46: Senezem-ib.	E 12: Sabuw Ibeby.
	D 29: No. 34: Ra-wer.	F 1: Ny-ankh-ra (Cairo statue No. 62: p. 79).
	D 30: No. 33: Khnum-hotep.	F 3: Min-nefer.
	D 31: No. 32: Kakay-ankh.	H 2: LS 17: Ma-nofer.
	D 32: No. 31: Zed-shepsesy(?)-puw.	
	D 33: No. 30: Shepsesy.	

## SAQQARAH OLD KINGDOM TOMBS WITH LEPSIUS NUMBERS

LS 1: Fetekta.	LS 15: (MM D 70): Pehenuwka.	LS 22 (MM C 11): Iyzefa.
LS 5: Seshemuw.	LS 16 (QS 902): Ra-shepses.	LS 31: Ptah-hotep.
LS 6: Methen.	LS 17 (MM H 2): Ma-nofer.	
LS 14: Ka-m-ked.	LS 20 (MM C 26): Iy and Nofret.	

QUIBELL NOS. OF MASTABAS IN LINE  
NORTH OF STEP PYRAMID

QS 901 (MM D 1 = No. 78): User- neter.	QS 907 (MMD 6 = No. 83): Khenuw.	QS 913: Perneb.
QS 902 (LS 16): Ra-shepses.	QS 908 (MM D 5 = No. 82): Queen Meresankh.	QS 915: Ny-kauw-hor.
QS 905 (MM D 2 = No. 79): Ka-m- remeth.	QS 910 (MM D 8 = No. 85): Isesy- ankh.	QS 919 (MM D 7 = No. 84): Ka-m- thenenet.

NORTH OF MASTABA OF THIIY

QS 920: Cairo relief with vase-makers: p. 194.

QUIBELL, FIRTH AND EMERY NOS. IN  
ARCHAIC CEMETERY

QS 2146 E: Schefener.	FS 3032: p. 141.	FS 3073 X: pp. 141 ff., 248.
QS 2171 H: p. 121.	FS 3034: p. 141.	FS 3076 (MM A 1 ?): Akhet-hetep(?).
QS 2302: Ruw-ab-n.	FS 3036 X: pp. 142-3.	FS 3078: pp. 149, 151, 249, 303, 361.
QS 2401: Niy (?).	FS 3037: Ra-khuw.	FS 3080: pp. 173-5, 245, 246.
QS 2405 (MM A 3): Hesi-ra.	FS 3073 (MM A 2): Kha-bauw- sokar.	Emery 3302: p. 150.

## TRANSLITERATIONS

- šht-htp*: name on statue fragment: p. 31.
- šz*-garment: p. 262.
- Tw-gšw*: name on Munich statue: p. 68.
- ibw*: in funeral scene: pp. 104, 319, 349.
- Ipi-wr* (G 1039): name on statue: p. 63.
- imy-rz*: 'captain': p. 182.
- imy-rz kst nbt nt nšwt*: title: pp. 151, 357.
- imy hnt*: p. 137.
- Tnti* (G 2420): name on statue: p. 75.
- int-rd*: funerary rite: p. 201.
- Inkf* (G 1032): name on statue: p. 62.
- Tnt-kz-š*: princess (Zoser): p. 134.
- Tnt-kz-š* (G 1039): name on statue: p. 63.
- iry lit šh*: archaic title: p. 16.
- Thi(?) -nt(?)* (G 1171): name on statue: p. 64.
- Thz* (G 1039): name on statue: p. 63.
- Thwi* (G 2415): name on statue: p. 75.
- Isi-ꜥnh* (G 4410): name on statue: p. 72.
- Isw(?)* (G 2035) name on statue: p. 70.
- Išct*: (MM D 20) servant figure: p. 96.
- Iti-wr*: (MM D 20) servant figure: p. 96.
- Ity* (G 2035): name on statue: p. 70.
- Itt-kz* (G 1214): name on statue: p. 65.
- ꜥff*: 'fly': p. 358.
- ꜥnh*-sign: pp. 11, 16, 38, 47, 132, 133, 224, 243.
- ꜥnh* (MM C 14): p. 355.
- ꜥnh-mꜥ-š* (G 2088): servant figure: p. 98.
- ꜥnh-rmn-š*: son of *Hꜥ-kz-rꜥ* (G 1314): p. 66.
- ꜥnd*-staff: p. 125.
- wš*-sceptre: pp. 11, 12, 123, 125, 131-4, 144, 243.
- wbt*: in funeral scene: pp. 319, 349.
- Wct*: name on Munich statue: p. 68.
- Wp-wšwt*: god: pp. 132, 133, 134.
- Wnw*: Hermopolis: p. 137.
- Wnwt*: goddess of Hermopolis: p. 137.
- Wri* (G 2415): name on statue: p. 74.
- wrt-htš*: queen's title: p. 134.
- Whm-nfꜣt*: (MM D 20) servant figure: p. 97.
- wꜣt*-priest: pp. 201, 352.
- Bšw* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- Bšrw* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- Bbi* (G 2415): name on statue: p. 75.
- Ppy-šnb* = *Nsy*: painter: p. 354.
- pr wr*: Upper Egyptian shrine: p. 120.
- pr nsr*: Lower Egyptian shrine: p. 158.
- Pt-pn-nšwt* (G 1105): dwarf's name: p. 64.
- Pth-ir-ꜥnh* (G 1501): name on statue: p. 74.
- Pth-ir-k* (G 1402): name on statue: p. 66.
- Pth-nfꜣt* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- Pth-hꜣꜥ* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- Pth-hꜣꜣꜥ* (G 2004): name on pair statue: p. 69.
- Pth-kꜣp* (G 1171): name on statue: p. 64.
- ms(st) Hr*: Queen's title: p. 134.
- Mštit*: goddess of XIIth Nome: p. 354.
- Mšct-nfꜣr*: Gebelein relief: p. 137.
- Mnꜣꜥ-pꜣꜥ*: name of dog: p. 229.
- Mnꜣt Snꜣꜣꜥ*: estate name: p. 153.
- Mnꜣꜥ-ꜥnh* (G 7130 X): name on statue: p. 76.
- Mnꜣꜥ-nfꜣr* (G 2427): name on statue: p. 75.
- Mnꜣ-hꜣf*: servant figure: p. 98.
- Mnꜣꜣꜥ-ꜥnh* (G 4520): name on statue: p. 71.
- Mnꜣꜣꜥ*: foreign people: p. 202.
- Mr-nšꜣꜣt* (G 1301): name on statue: p. 65.
- Mit*: goddess: p. 358.
- Mr-tš* (G 1039): name on statue: p. 63.
- Mit-ib* (G 1109): name on statue: p. 62.
- Mš-w* (G 1020): name on statue: p. 61.
- Mš-w* (G 1104): name on statue: p. 64.
- Mš* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- Mš Tꜣꜣꜥ*: in year name: p. 120.
- mšꜥ*: pp. 155, 275.
- Ni-ꜥnh-hꜣthꜣr* (G 1501): name on statue: p. 74.
- Ni-ꜥnh-hꜣthꜣr* (G 4522): name on statue: p. 72.
- Ni-šꜣš-nšꜣꜣt* (G 4410): name on statue: p. 72.
- Ni-kz-rꜥ(?)* (G 1032): name on plaque: p. 63.
- Ni-kꜣꜣꜥ-hꜣꜣꜣꜥ* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.
- nb*-name of Zoser: p. 133.
- nbi*: 'to swim': p. 307.
- Nb-nt-kz* (G 1039): name on statue: p. 63.
- Nbt-m-pt*: servant figure: p. 96.
- Nfꜣt-int* (G 2088): servant figure: p. 98.
- Nfꜣr-šhꜣn(?)* (G 2185): name on statue: p. 74.
- Nfꜣr-ššm-š* (G 2197): name on statue: p. 53.
- Nsy Ppy-šnb*: p. 354.
- Ntr-ht*: Zoser: p. 133.
- Nꜣmꜣꜥ* (G 2420): name on statue: p. 75.
- Rꜣꜣꜣy* (Meresankh III): p. 351.
- Rꜣꜣꜣy* (Wepemnofret): p. 351.
- Rꜣhtꜣ* (MM C 12): p. 355.
- Rni-sr-š-n* (G 1402): name on statue: p. 66.
- Rnꜣt-nfꜣt* (G 1020): name on statue: p. 61.
- rꜣꜣꜣt*-bird: pp. 14, 110.
- Rꜣht-š-rš*: Meir: p. 220.
- Rdi-f* (= Redyzet): p. 16.
- ht sp*: Early Dynastic tablets: pp. 118, 119.
- Hy* (G 4522): name on statuette: p. 72.
- hm bꜣꜣꜣ nhꜣn*: p. 135.

*hry wdb*: title: p. 201.

*Hs* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.

*Htpi* (G 1020): name on statue: p. 61.

*Htp-ib* (G 1032): name on statue: p. 63.

*Htp-hr-nbty*: queen (Zoser): p. 134.

*Hr-k3-rr* (G 1314): name on statue: p. 66.

*Hwy* (G 2231 X): name on statue: p. 74.

*Hwfw-ꜥnh* (G 4520): name on statue: p. 71.

*Hwfw-hnwi* (G 2407 D): name on statue: p. 75.

*Hwfw-šnb* (G 2035): name on statue: p. 70.

*hws*: 'to build': p. 119.

*Hwt* (G 2231 X): name on statue: p. 74.

*Hnw*: servant figure: p. 100.

*Hnt-m-štw* (G 7946): name on statue: p. 76.

*Hšfy* (G 2036): name on statue: p. 70.

*hry-hb*: title: p. 201.

*Hrtj*: ram god: p. 358.

*hkr*-pattern: pp. 127, 134, 144, 149.

*Št-mrt* (G 1109): name on statue: p. 62.

*št*: pavilion: pp. 171, 193, 197, 214, 216, 290, 291, 297, 319, 349.

*sš md:t ntr*: title: p. 355.

*sš kdct*: painter's title: pp. 351 ff.

*Šbw* (G 1402): name on statue: p. 66.

*šht*: funerary rite: p. 201.

*šnh*: sculptor's title: pp. 356, 359.

*Šwlm(?)* (G 1036): name on statue: p. 63.

*šm*-priest: pp. 183, 202, 282.

*šm*?: decorative emblem: p. 37.

*Smrt*: servant figure: p. 98.

*Šnb(?)* (G 2420): name on statue: p. 75.

*Snnw* (G 2032): name on statue: p. 70.

*Šssh* (G 2009): name on statue: p. 69.

*Ššm-nfr* (G 2197): name on statue: p. 53.

*Štpt* (G 1032): name on statue: p. 63.

*šdr*: p. 357.

*Špsšt*: name on wooden figure: p. 95.

*šmw*: plant of Upper Egypt: pp. 36, 37.

*šmw*: personification of: p. 237.

*šmšw Hr*: feast: pp. 119, 120, 137.

*šn*-sign: pp. 37, 48, 148.

*šndyt*-skirt: private statue: p. 79.

*Šmw*: vintage god: pp. 210, 358.

*škr-ꜥnh*: prisoners: p. 182.

*šdht*-youths: p. 210.

*Šdt*: Crocodilopolis: p. 120.

*Kš*: Cusae: p. 358.

*kršw*-coffin: p. 268.

*k3*-sign: p. 11.

*Kšp* (G 4522): name on statuette: p. 72.

*Kš-m-št* (G 2407 D): name on statue: p. 76

*Kš-m-tnt*: owner of G 1171: p. 64.

*Kššw* (G 1214): name on statue: p. 65.

*gnw*: see song birds.

*gnwtj(?)*: sculptor's title: p. 356.

*Tti* (G 1040): name on statue: p. 63.

*Tyw* (G 7946): name on statues: p. 76.

*Tnti* (G 7946): name on statues: p. 76.

*Ttti*: name on statue: p. 88.

*di nšwt htp* formula: p. 30.

*Dbrwt*: town: p. 121.

*dd*-sign: pp. 14, 99, 103, 123, 131, 197, 204, 243.

PLATES

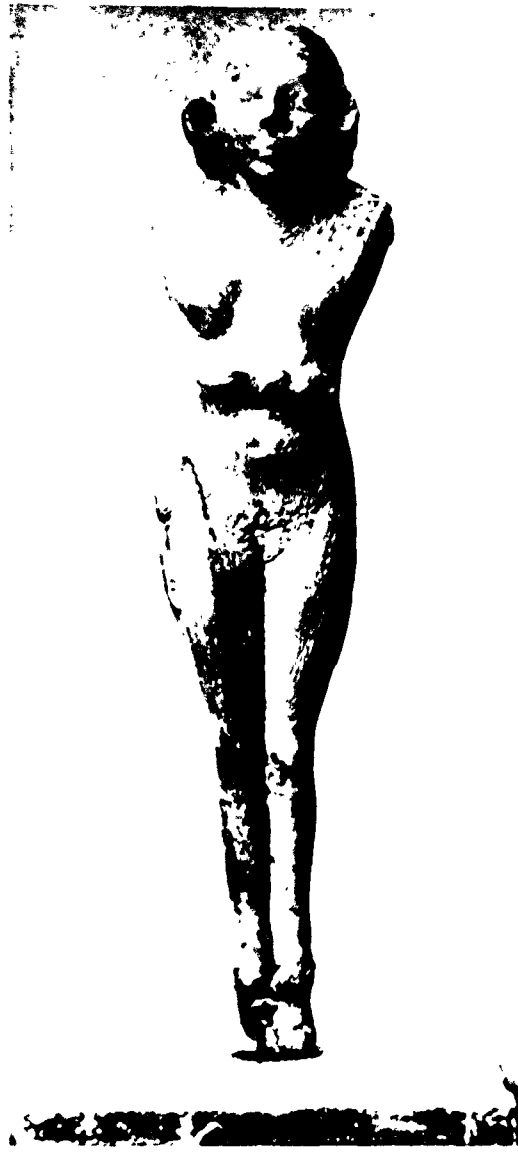
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*a.* Ivory king, British Museum.



*b.* Basalt figure, Ashmolean Museum.

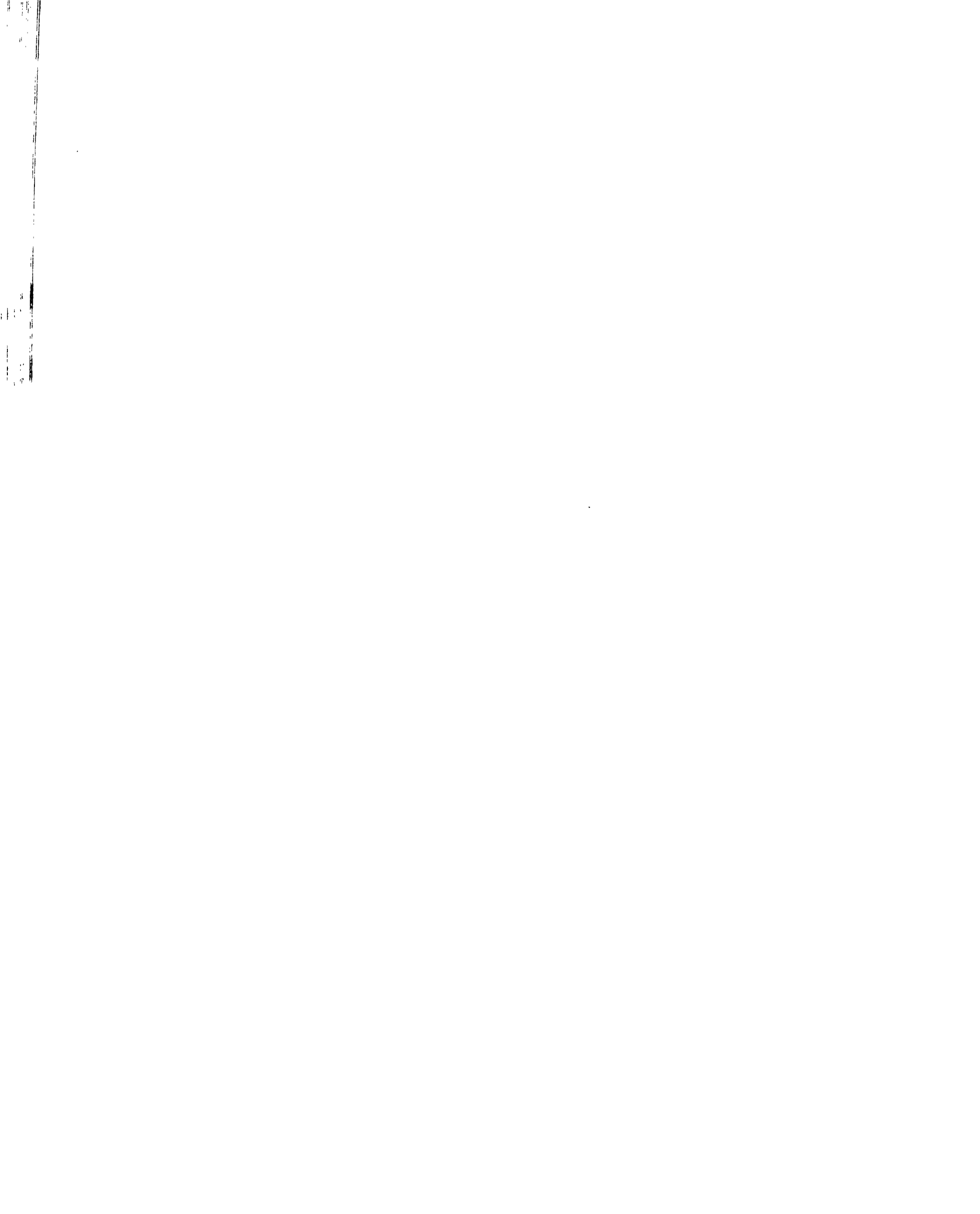


*c.* Ivory statuette, Louvre.



*d-e.* Hierakonpolis limestone figures, University College.







*a.* Limestone figure, Berlin.



*b.* Kneeling man, Cairo.



*c.* Limestone statue of Zoser, Cairo.



*d.* Slate figure of Kha-sekhem, Cairo.





*a.* Seated Princess, Turin.



*b.* Seated figure, Naples.



*c.* Nezem-ankh, Leiden.



*d.* Bezmes, British Museum.





*a.* Standing woman, Brussels.

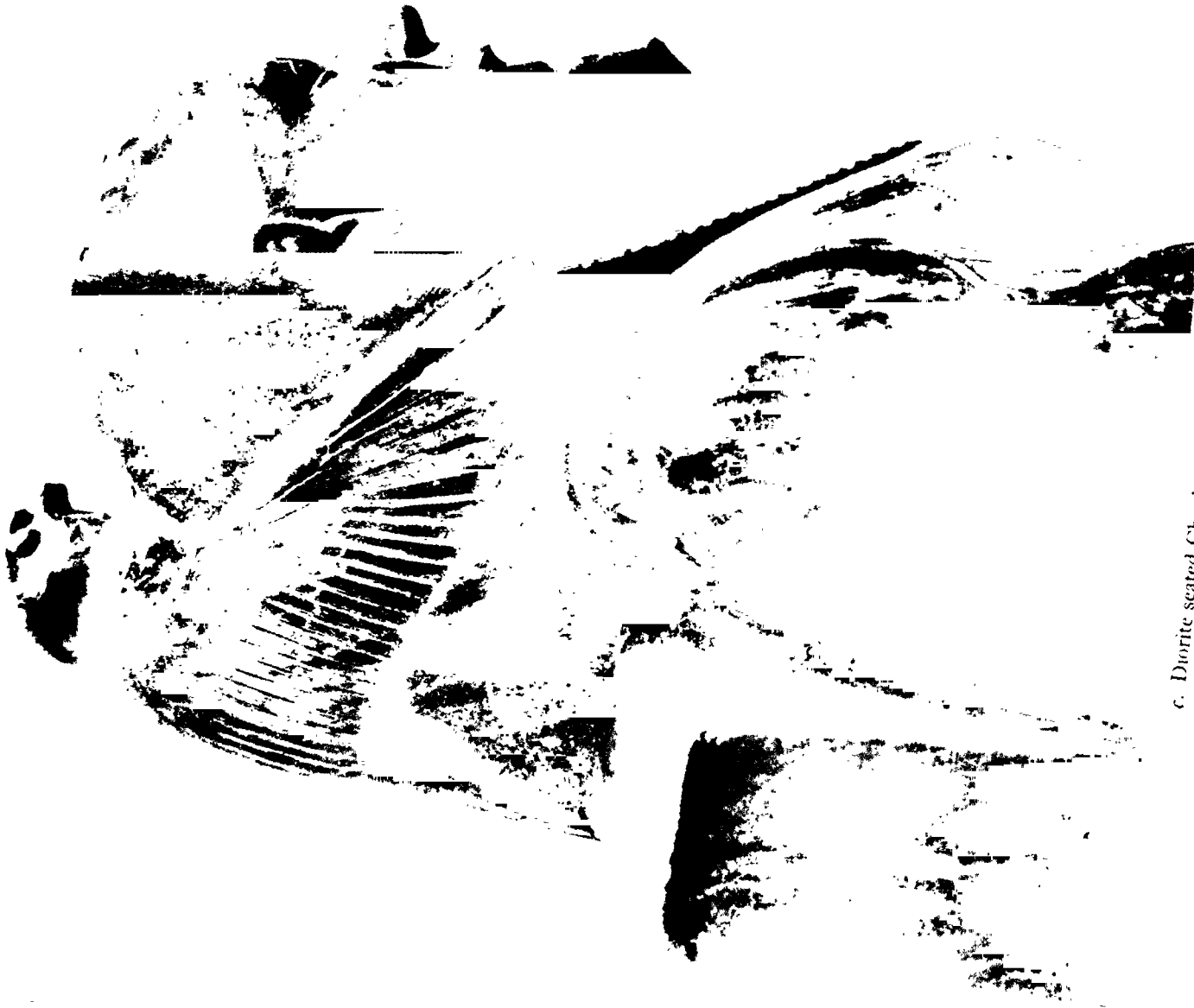


*b.* Methen, Berlin.

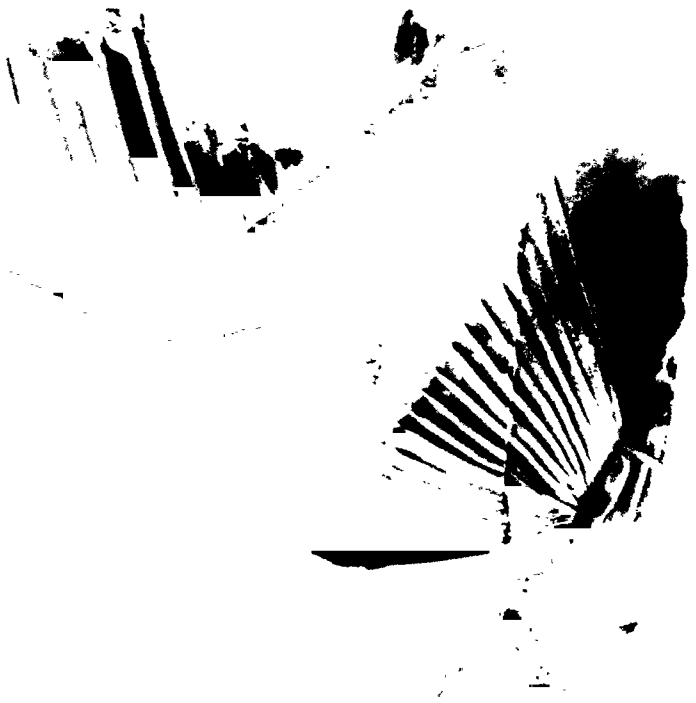


*c.* Limestone statues of Sepa and Neset, Louvre.





*c. Diorite seated Chephren, Cairo*



*a. Fragmentary alabaster royal head, Boston.*



*b. Ivory Cheops, Cairo.*







*a.* Dahshur head, Cairo.



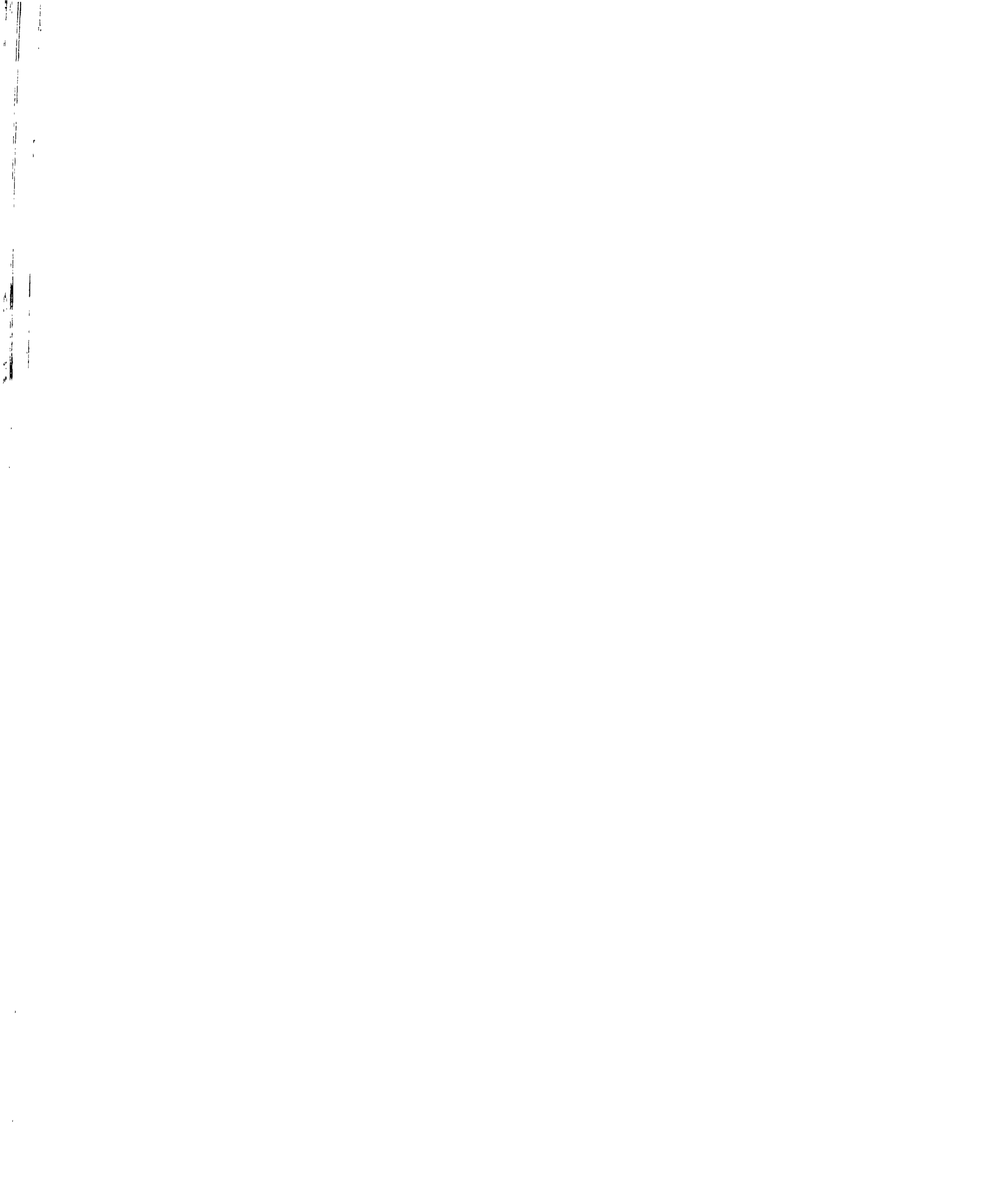
*b.* Merytyetes (G 4140), Cairo.



*c.* Rahotep and Nofret, Cairo.



*d.* Hemyuwnuw (G 4000), Hildesheim.





*a.* G 5020 Annex, Cairo.



*b.* G 4140, Boston.



*c.* Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240), Cairo.



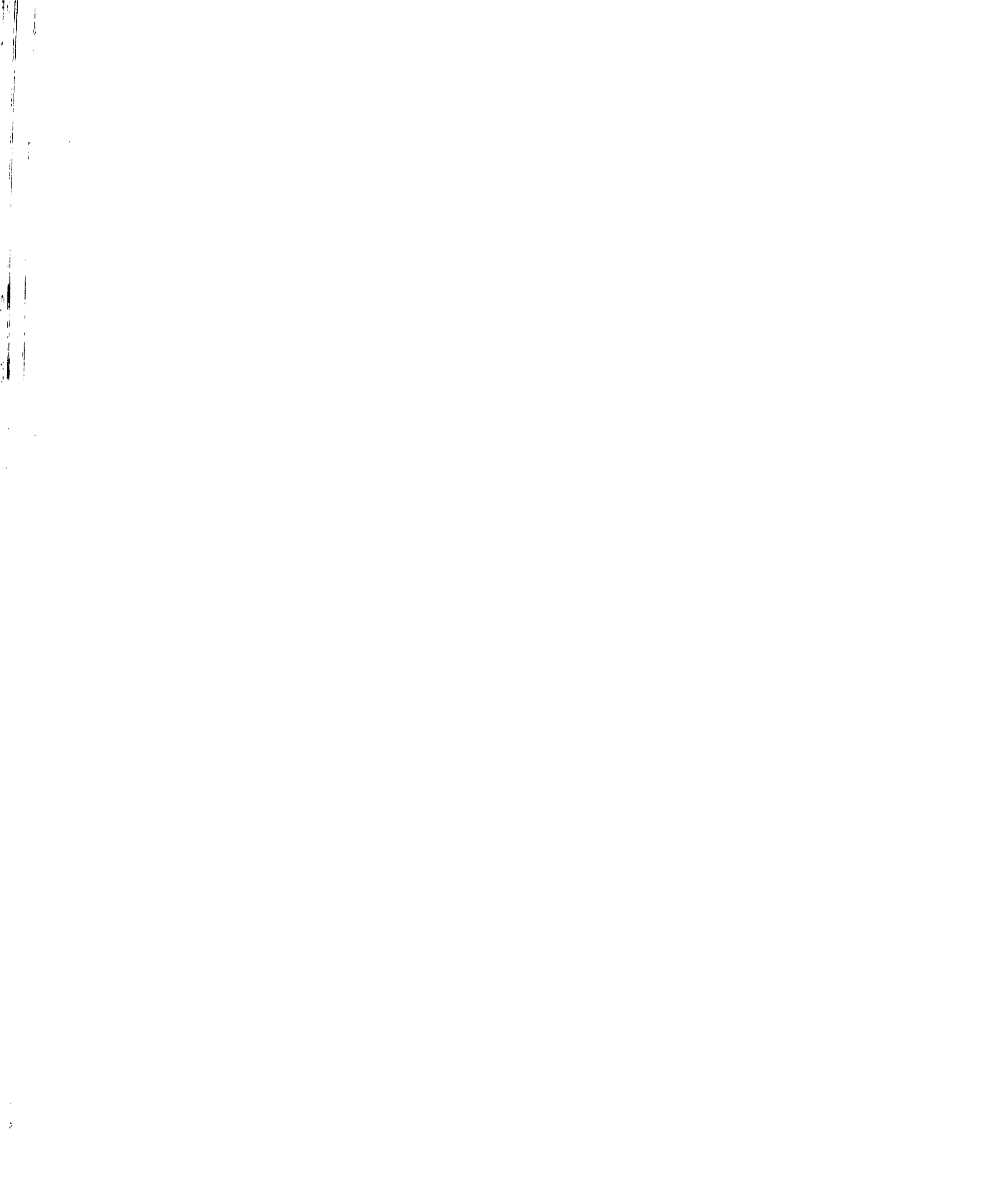
*d.* G 4540, Boston.



*e.* G 4340, Cairo.

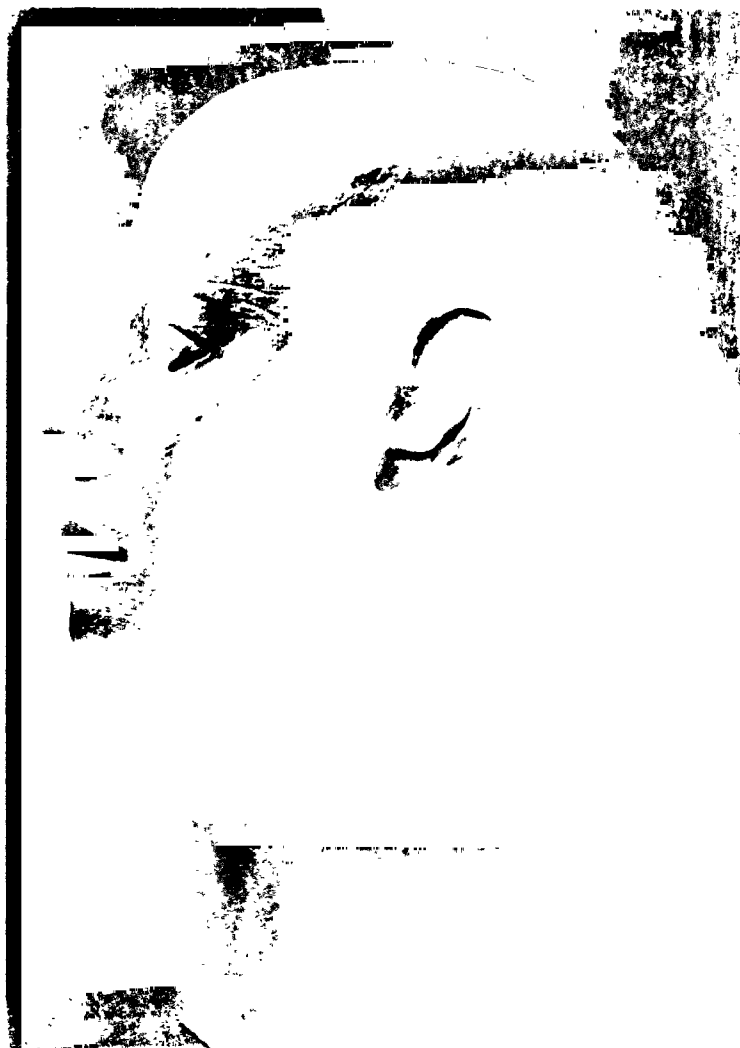


*f.* G 4640, Cairo.

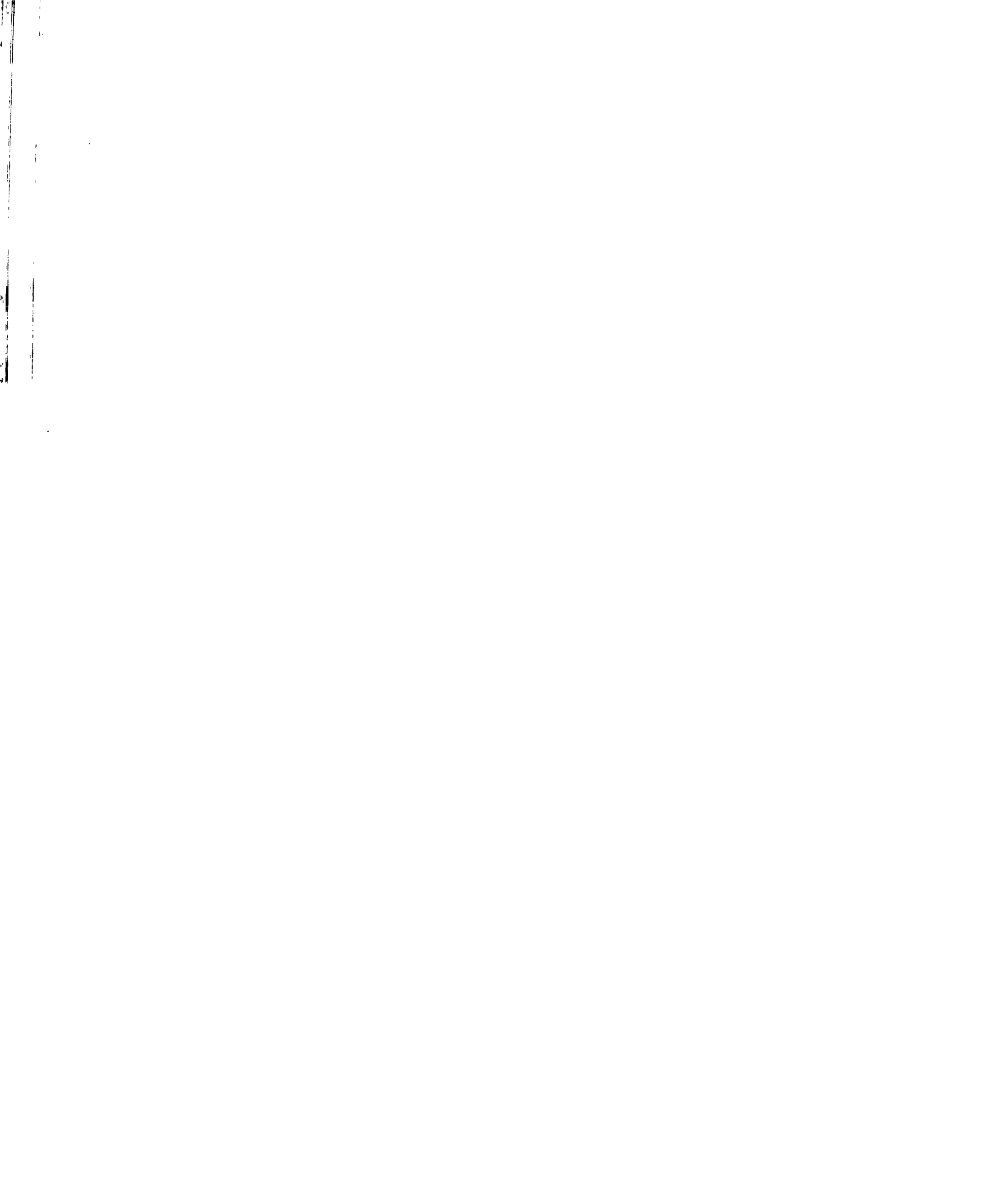




*a-b.* Reserve head of man, G 4440, Boston.



*c-d.* Reserve head of wife, G 4440, Boston.





*a.* Intrusive head, G 4940, Boston.



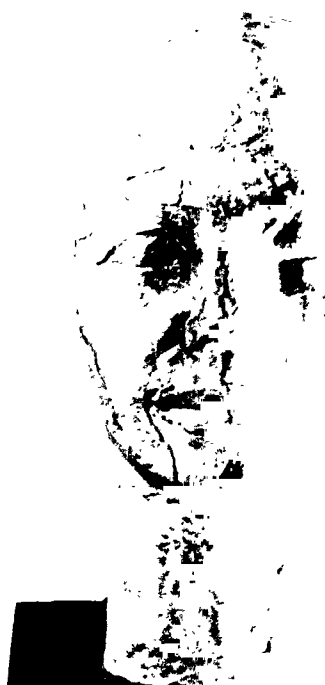
*b.* Head from G 1203, San Francisco.



*c.* Plaster mask, G 2415 T, Cairo.



*d.* Cairo head No. 37832.

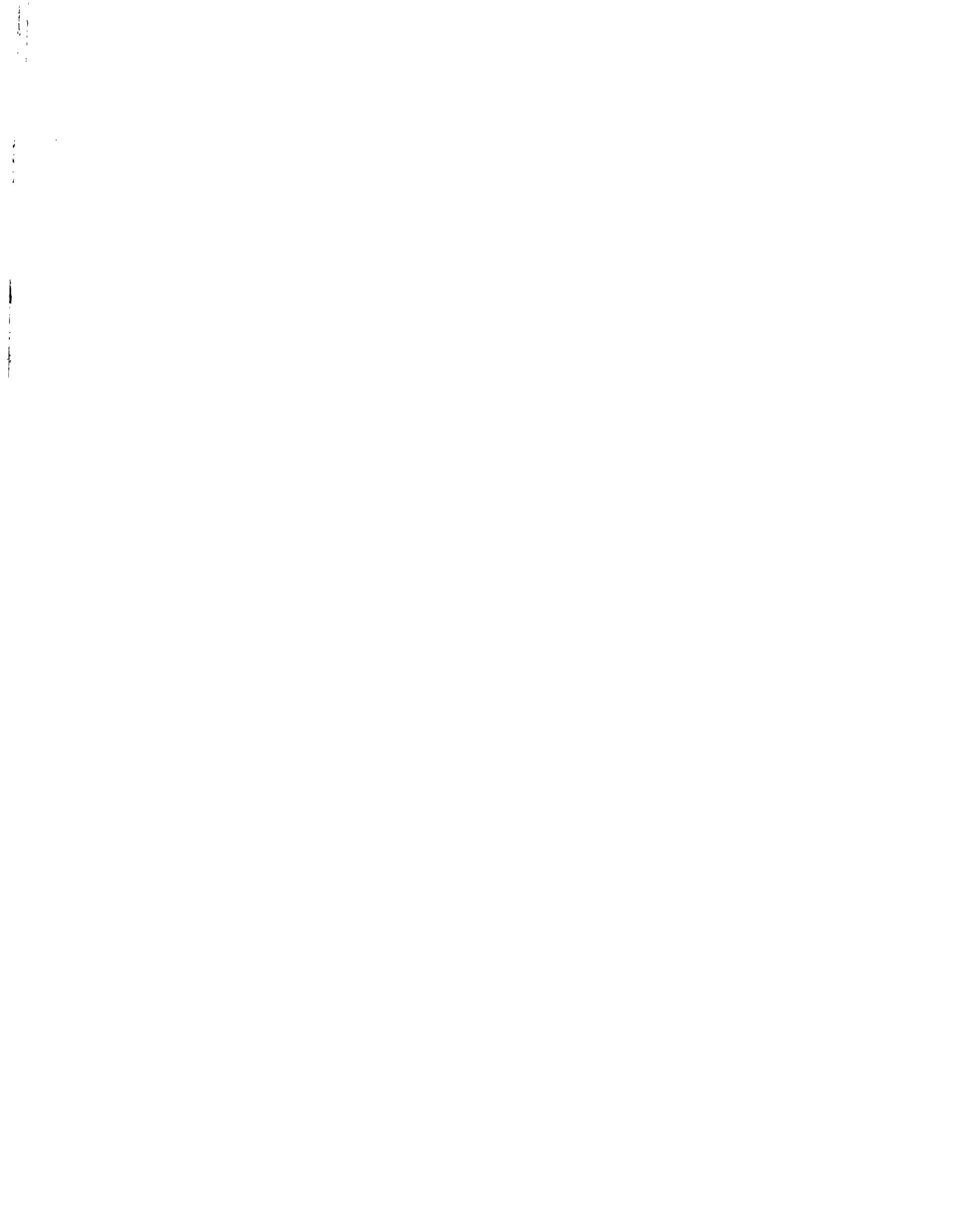


*e.* Cairo head No. 47838.



*f.* Plaster mask, G 7491, Cairo.







a. Prince Ka-wab, No. 34-4-1, Boston.



c. Prince Khuwnera, Boston.



b. Prince Ka-wab, No. 25-1-393, Boston.



d. Prince Set-ka, Louvre.





c. Cairo head of Radedef.



a-b. Louvre head of Radedef.



d. Cairo head of Radedef.





*a.* Boston No. 21.351.



*b.* Boston No. 21.951.



*c.* No. 12-12-175, Boston.



*d.* Copenhagen.



*e.* Leipzig.

CHEPHREN HEADS





*a.* Slate pair of Mycerinus and Kha-merer-nebty, Boston.



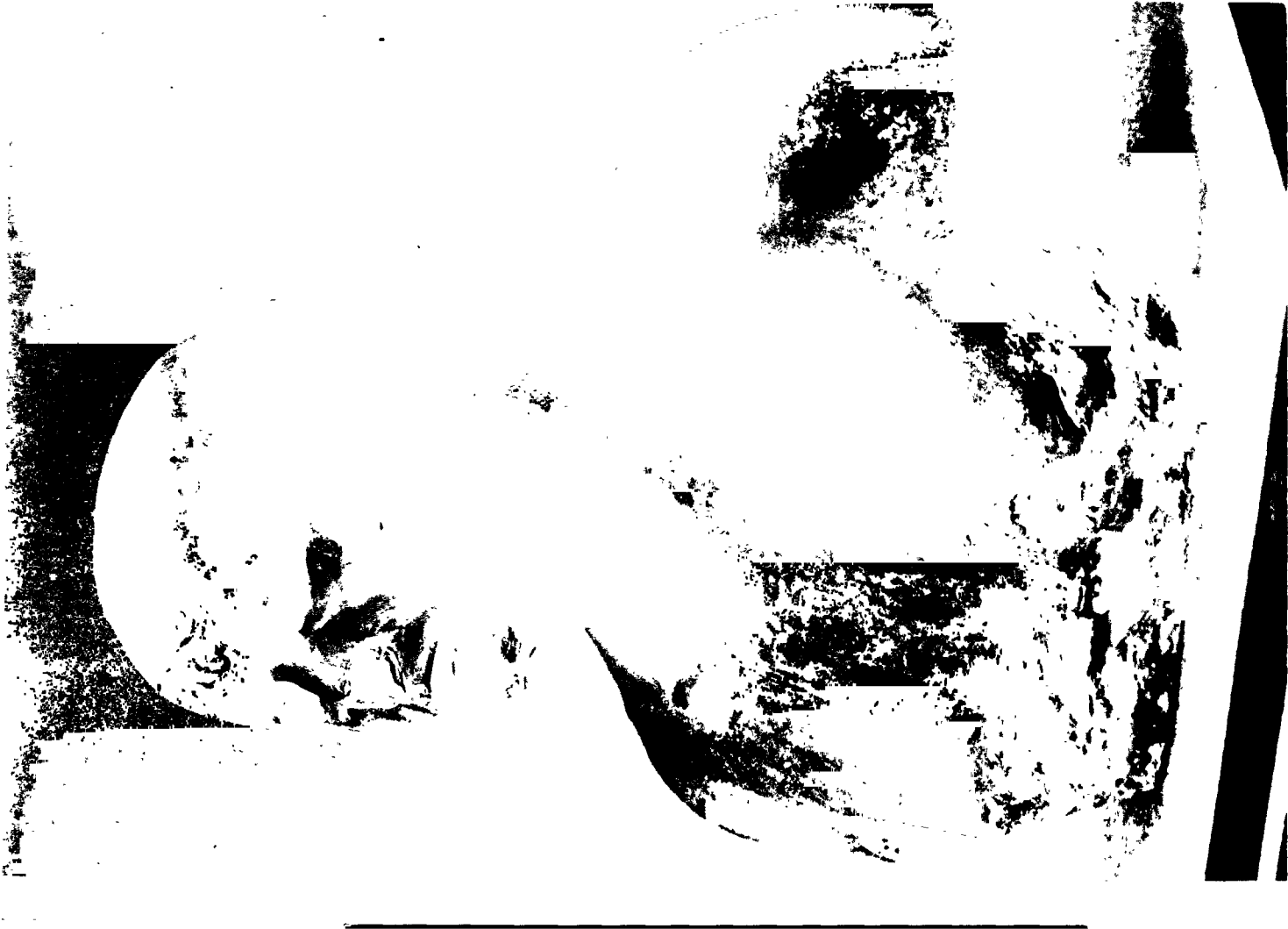
*b.* Alabaster seated Mycerinus, Boston.



*c.* Slate triad of Mycerinus, Boston.







Limestone bust of Prince Ankh-haf (G 7510), Boston.



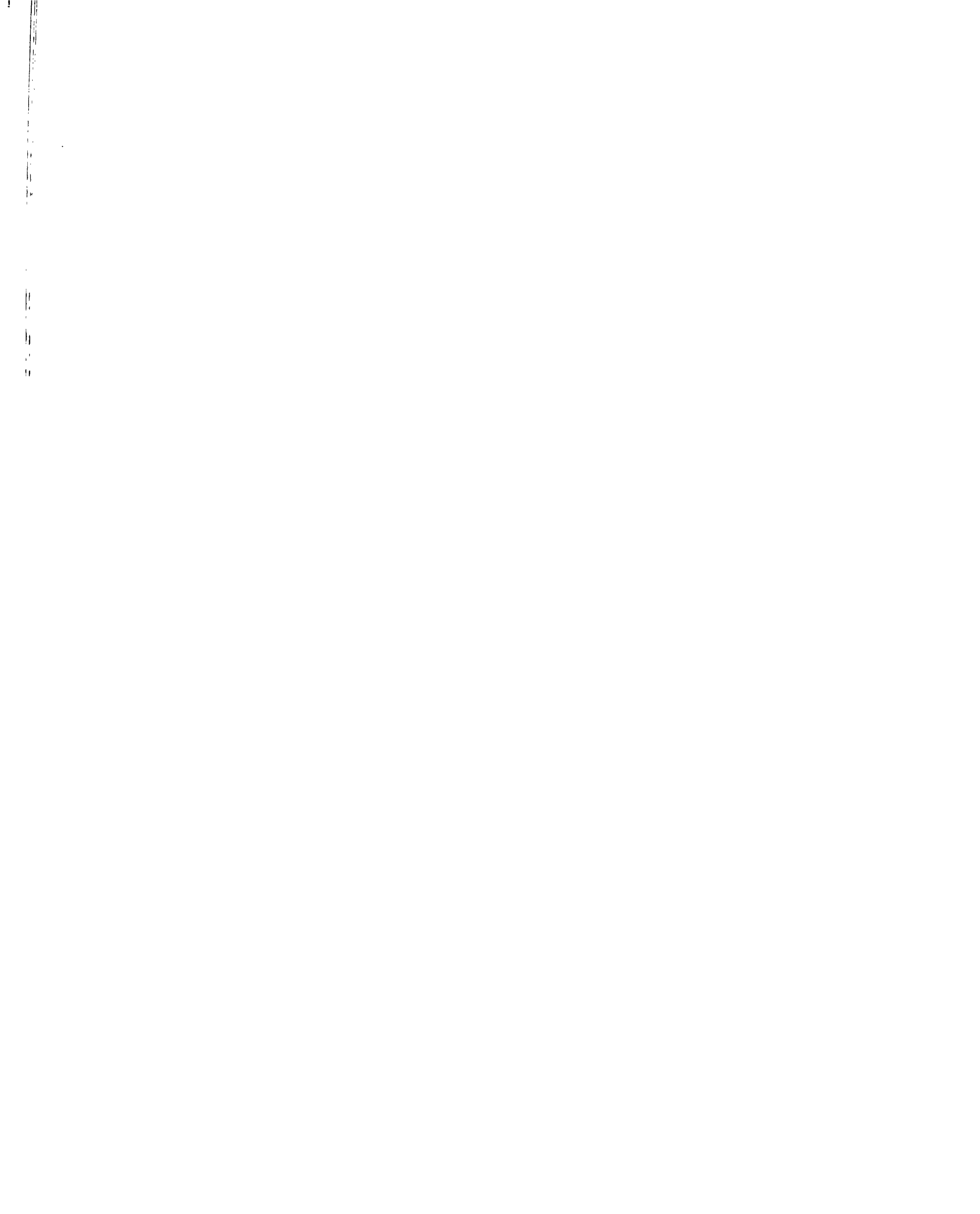




*a.* Limestone bust of Ankh-haf (G 7510), Boston.



*b-c.* Limestone head of unknown man, Louvre.





a. Limestone statue, Worcester.



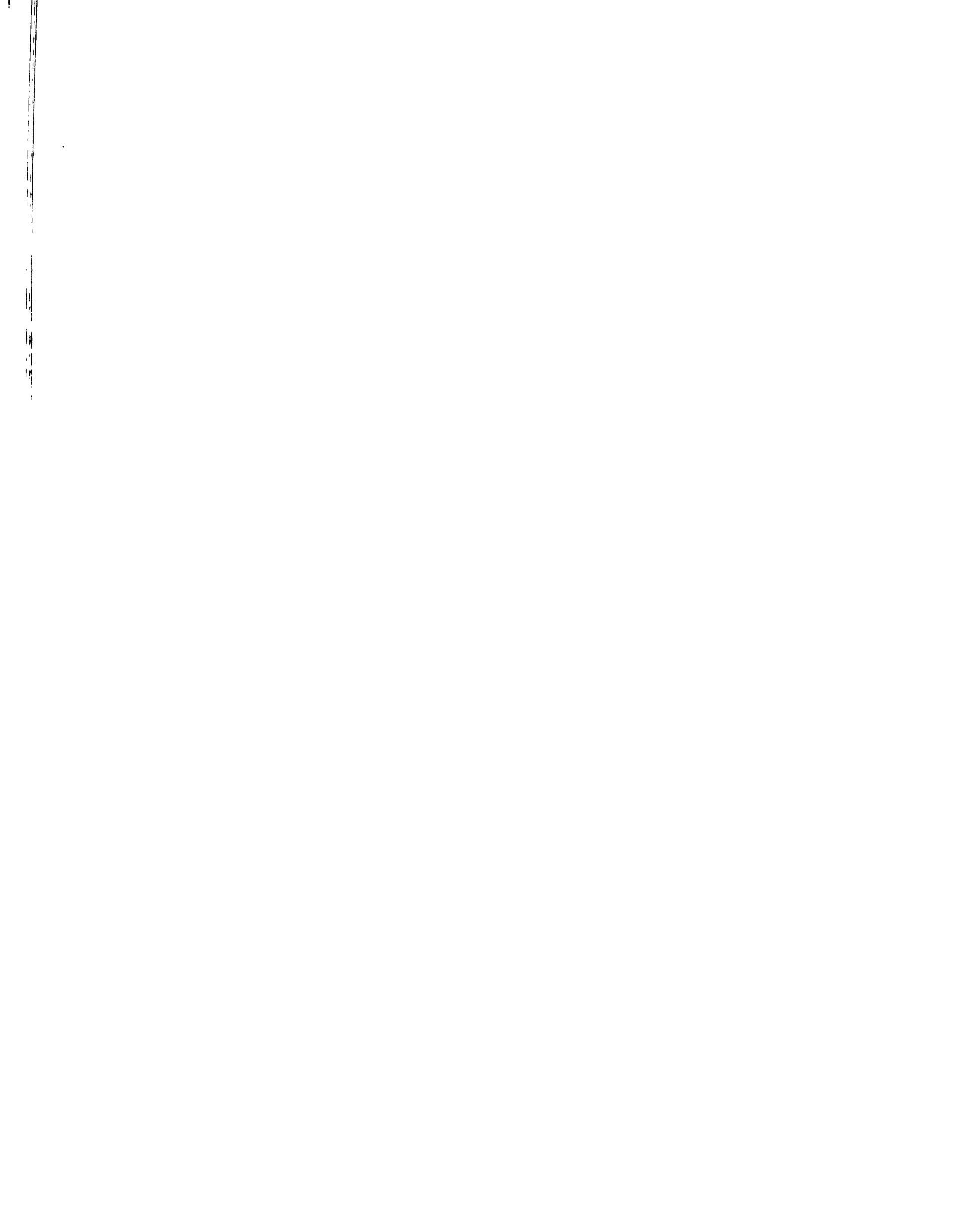
b. Alabaster statuette, British Museum.



c. Hetep-heres II and Meresankh III, Boston.

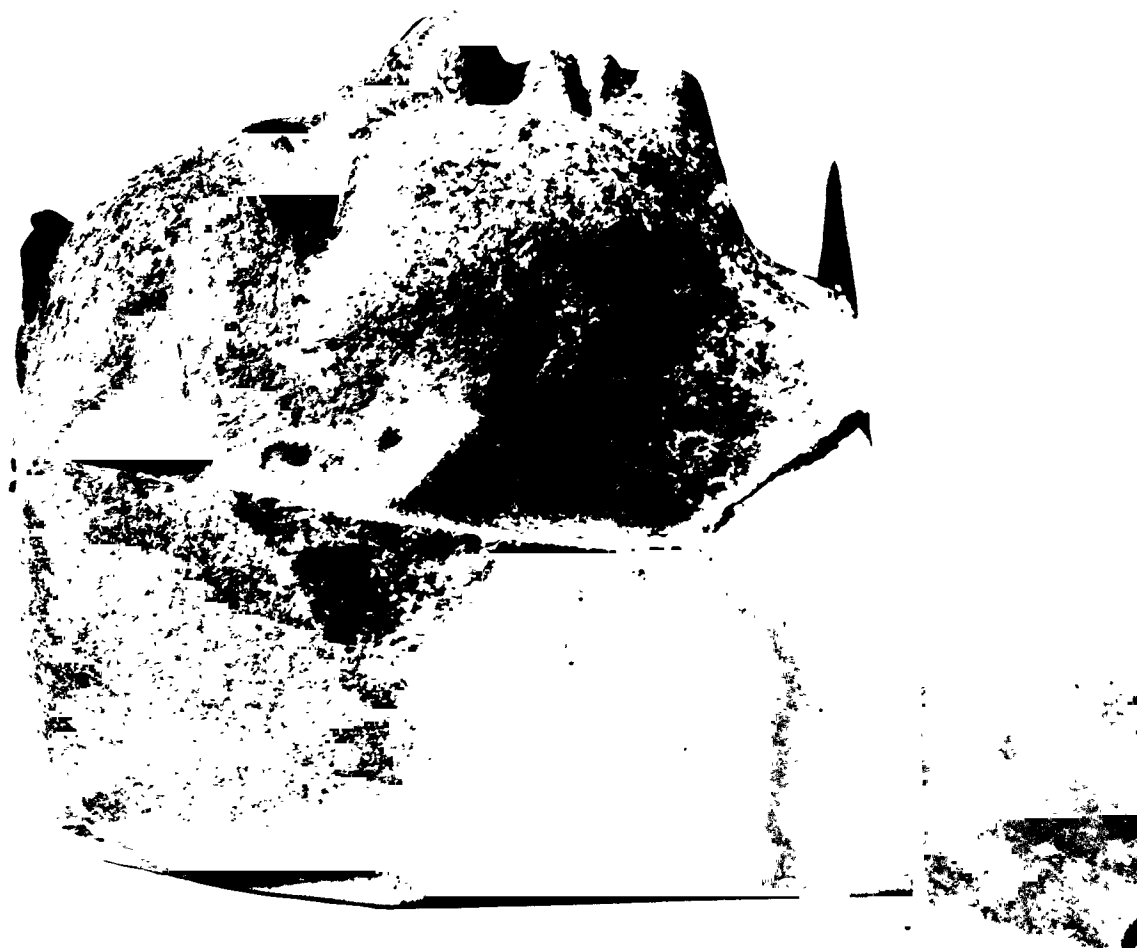


d. Rock-cut statues of daughters of Meresankh III (G 7530).



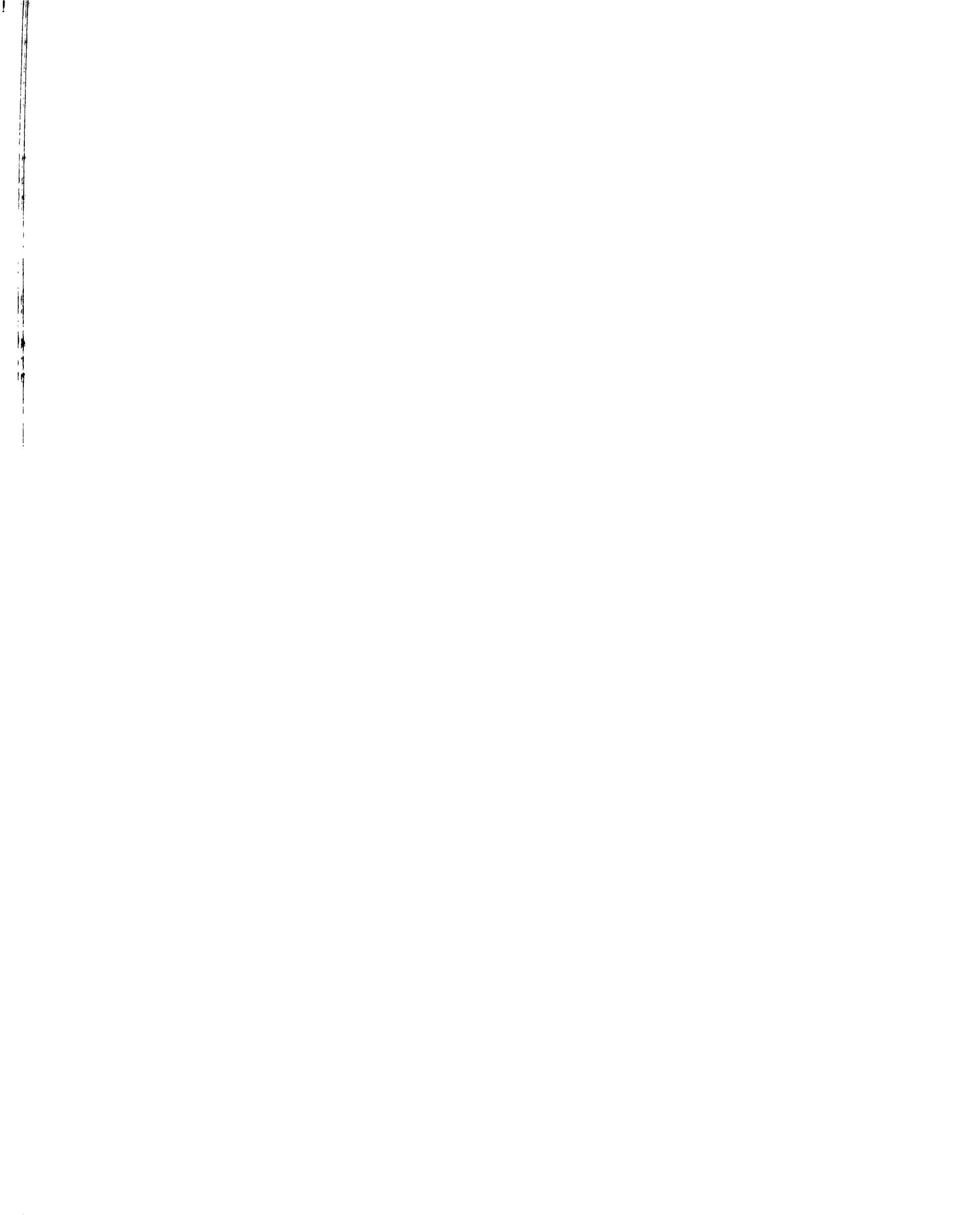


*b.* Sahara and Coptos Nome, Metropolitan Museum.



*a.* Colossal head of Weserkaf, Cairo.







*a.* Louvre scribe.



*b.* Head of Ranofer, Cairo.



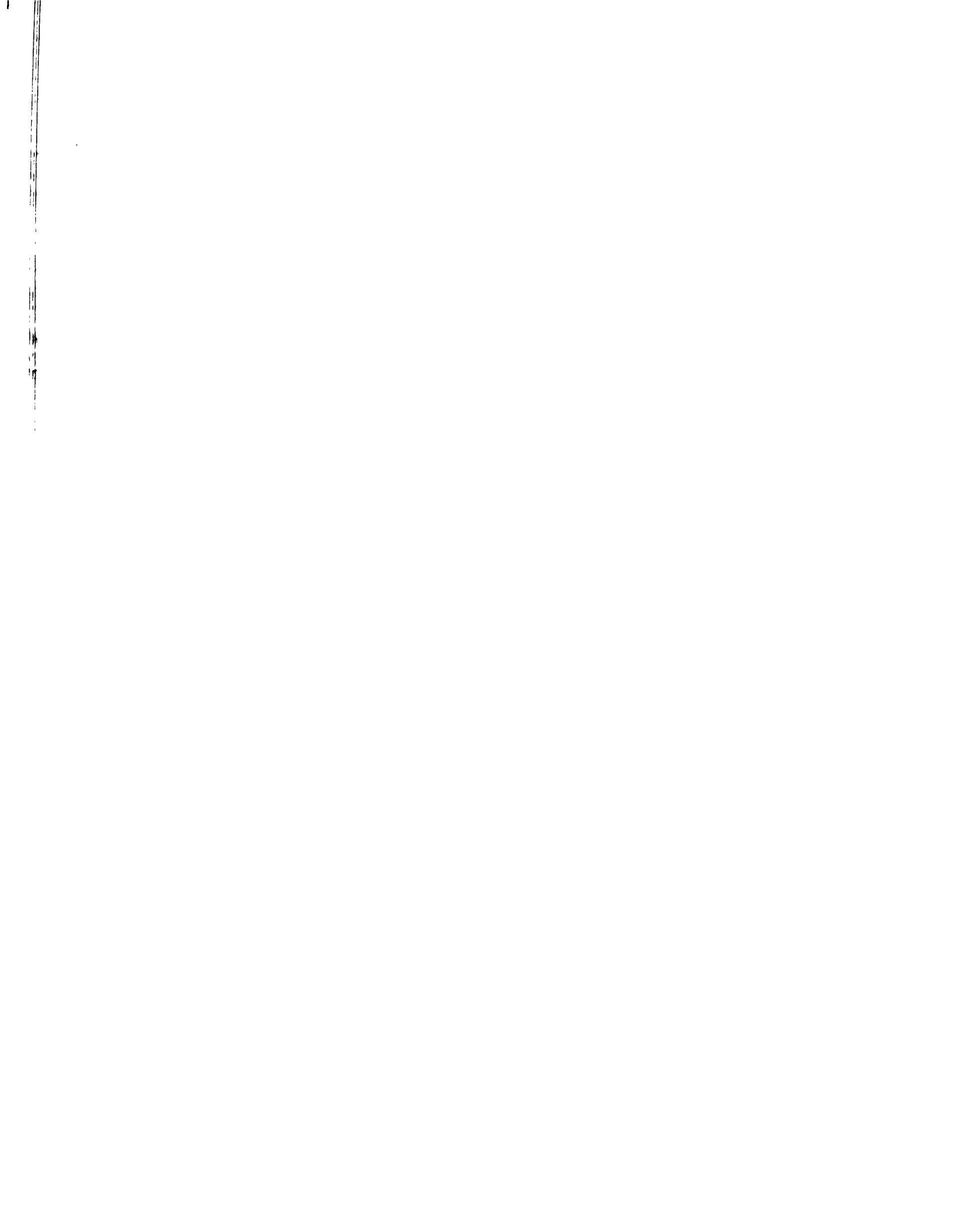
*c.* 'Sheikh el-Beled', Cairo.

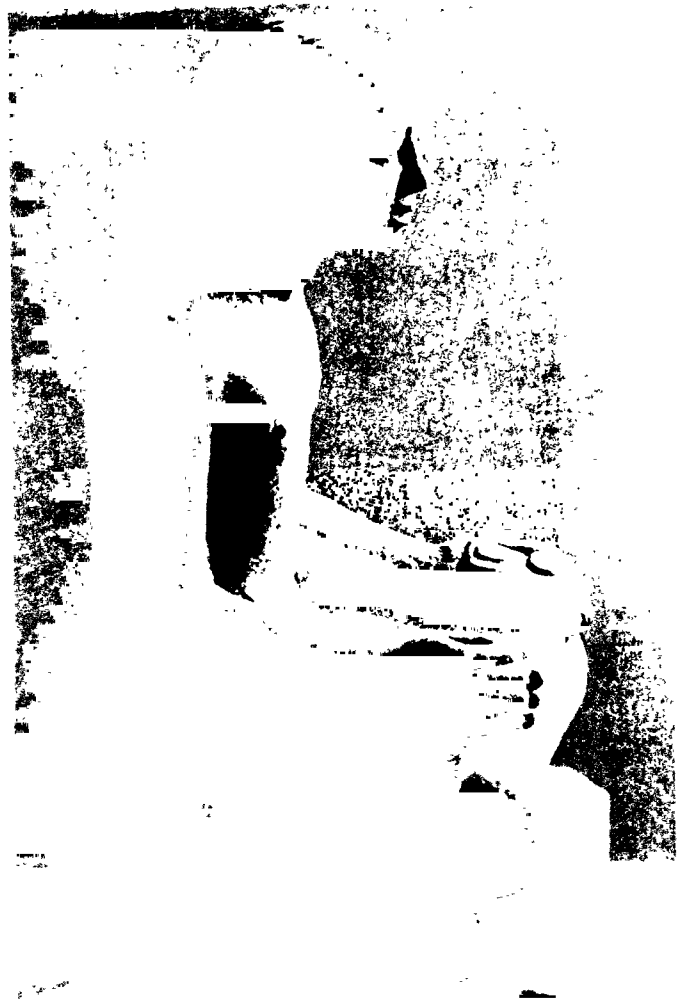


*d.* Ranofer, Cairo.



*e.* Thiy, Cairo.





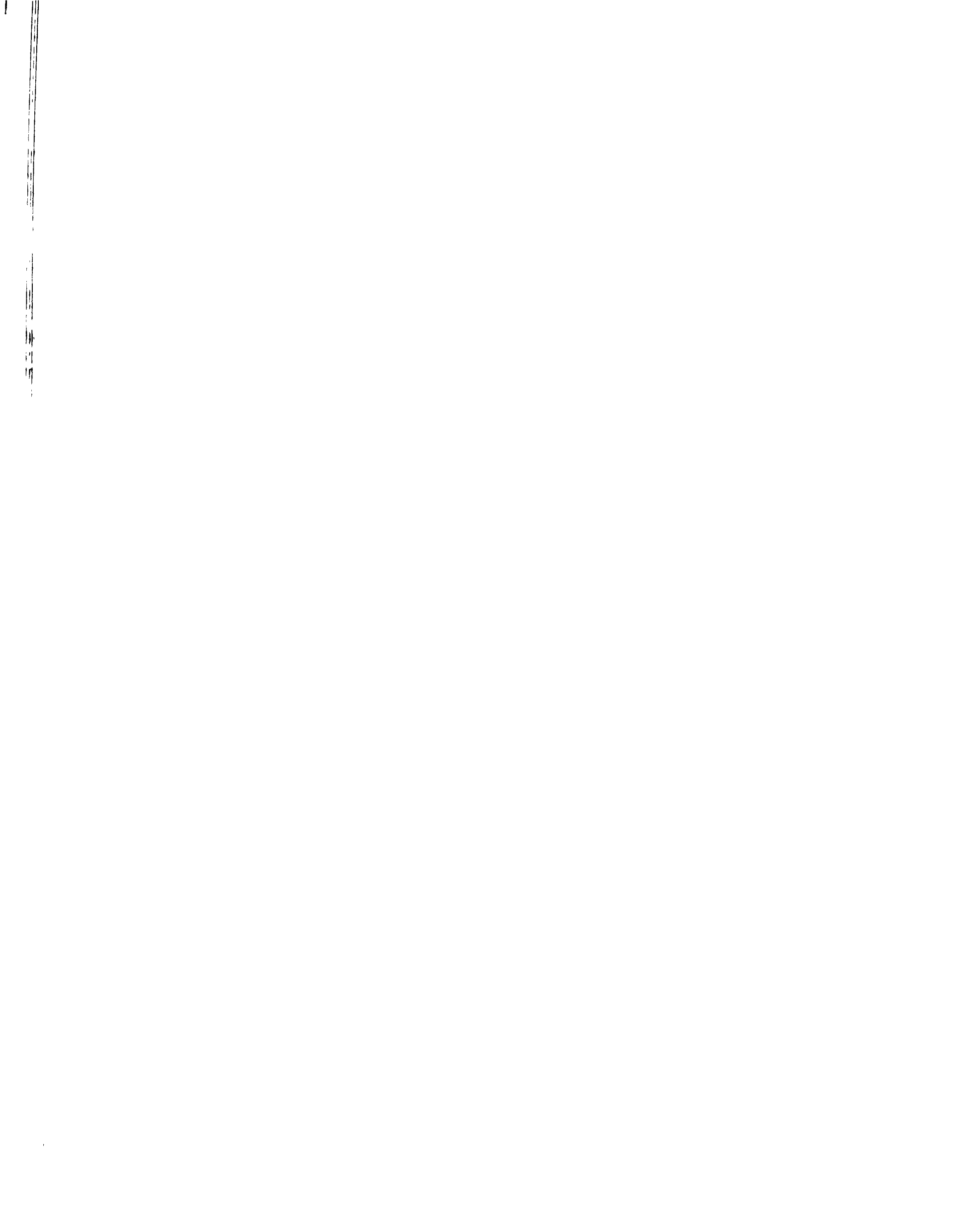
*a.* Khnum-baf as scribe, Boston.



*b.* Alabaster fragments of Khnum-baf, Boston.



*c.* Limestone statues of Khnum-baf (G 5230), Boston.





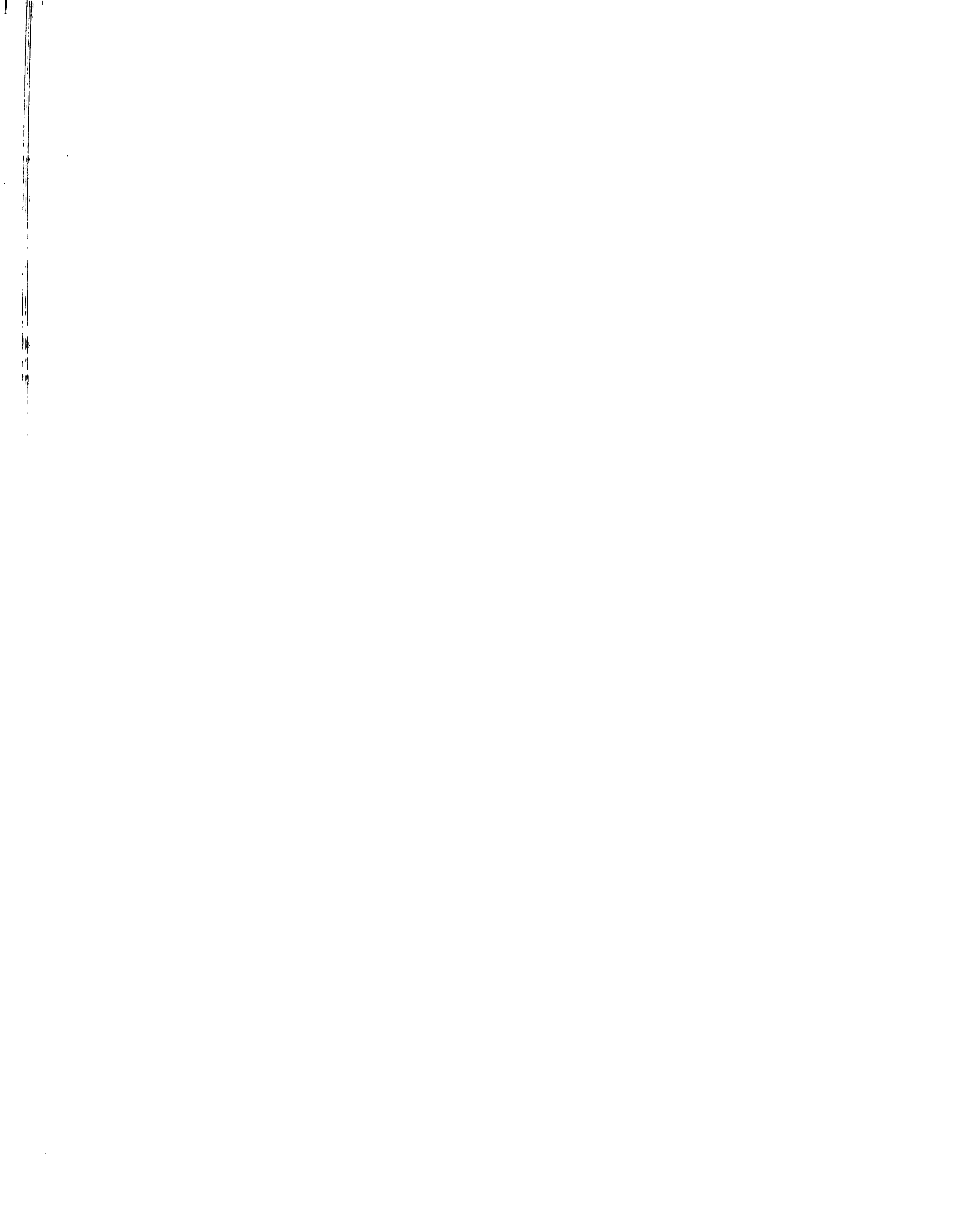
*a-b.* Granite head of Seshem-nofer (G 5080), Boston.



*c.* Granite head, Cem. G 4000, Boston.



*d.* Granite head, Cem. G 7000, Cairo.





a.



b.



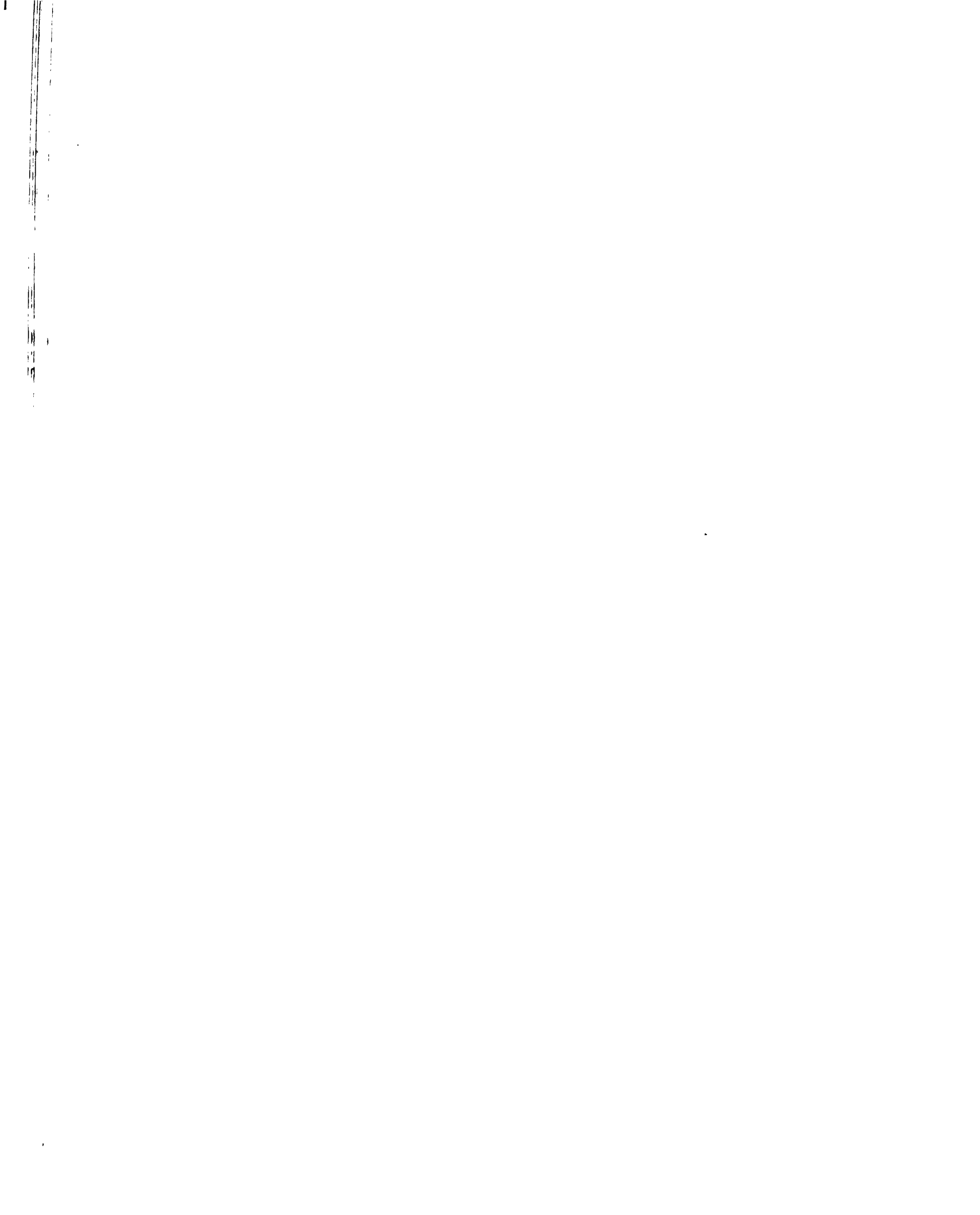
c.

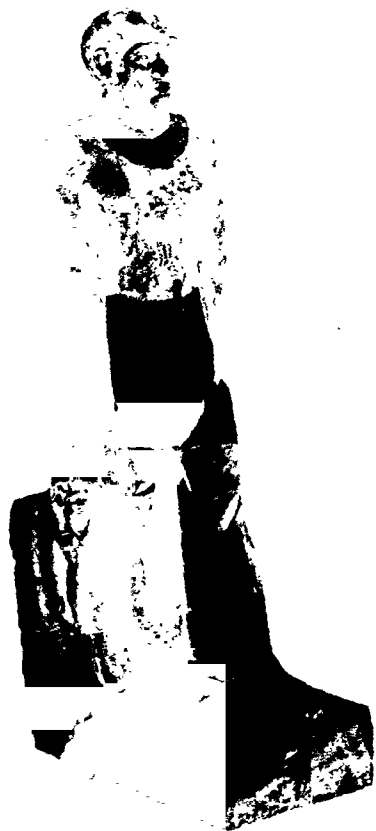


d.

a. Pair statuette, G 2185, Cairo.  
b-d. Statues from serdab of Pen-meruw (G 2197), b. Cairo, c-d. Boston.







*a.* Statuette from G 1402, University of California.



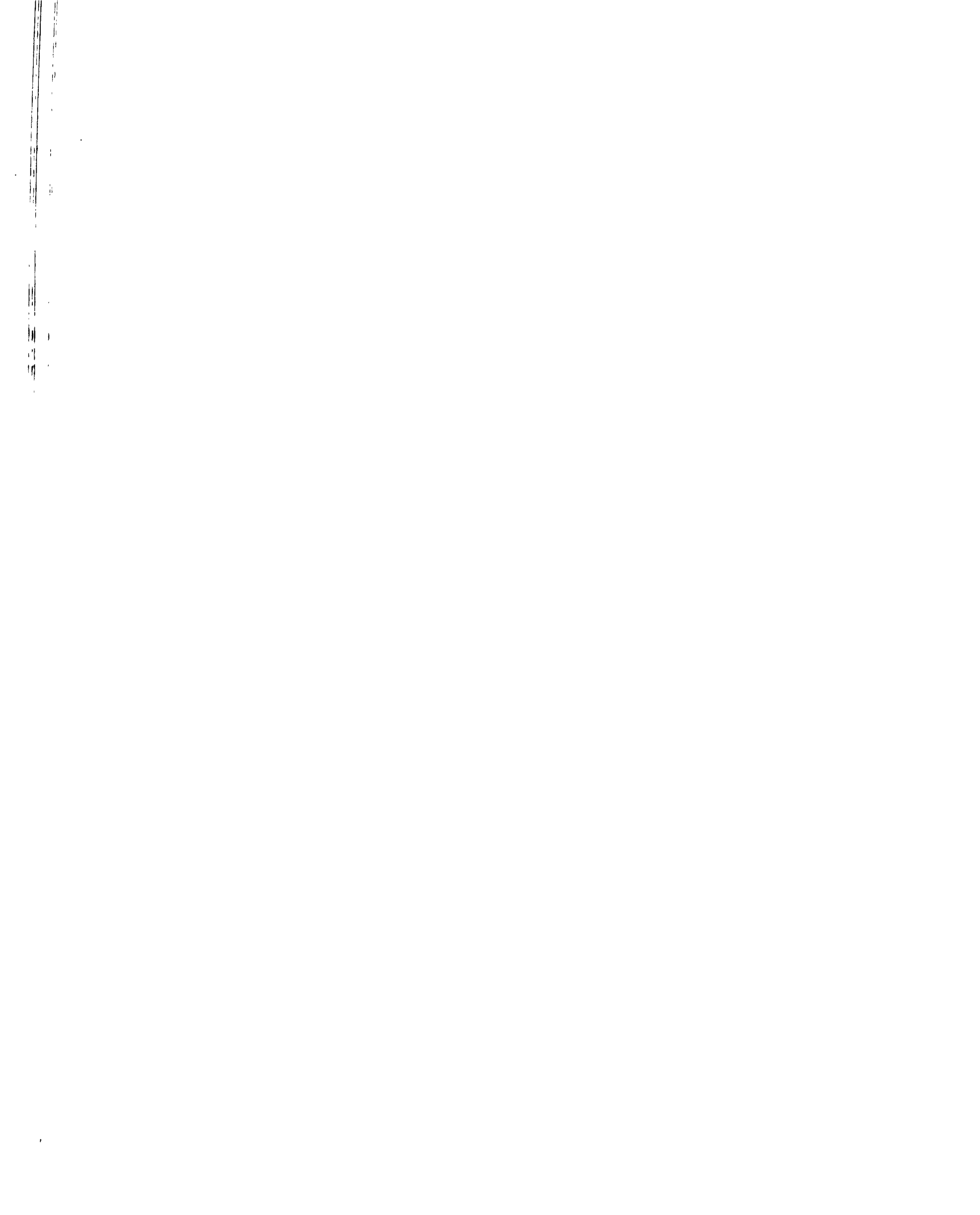
*b.* Upper part of seated figure (G 4817), Boston.



*c.* Akhet-mery-nesuwt (G 2184), Boston.



*d.* Sennuw (G 108), Cairo.





*a-b.* Wooden statue of Senezem-ib Mehy (G 2378), Boston.



*c-d.* Wooden boy (G 1152), University of California.

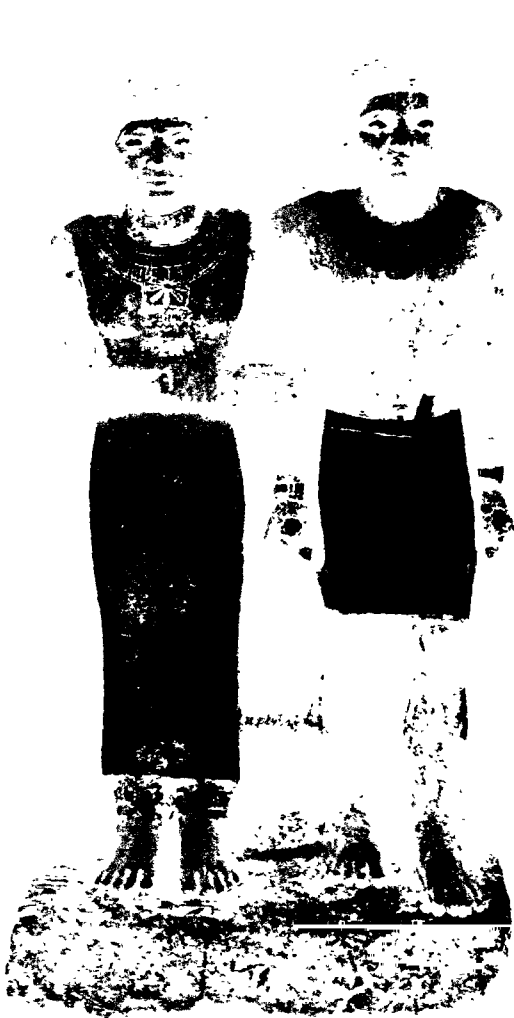


*e-f.* Wooden statuettes of prisoners, (G 2378, burial chamber), Cairo and Boston.





*a.* Statuettes in position in serdab of G 2009.



*b.*



*c.*

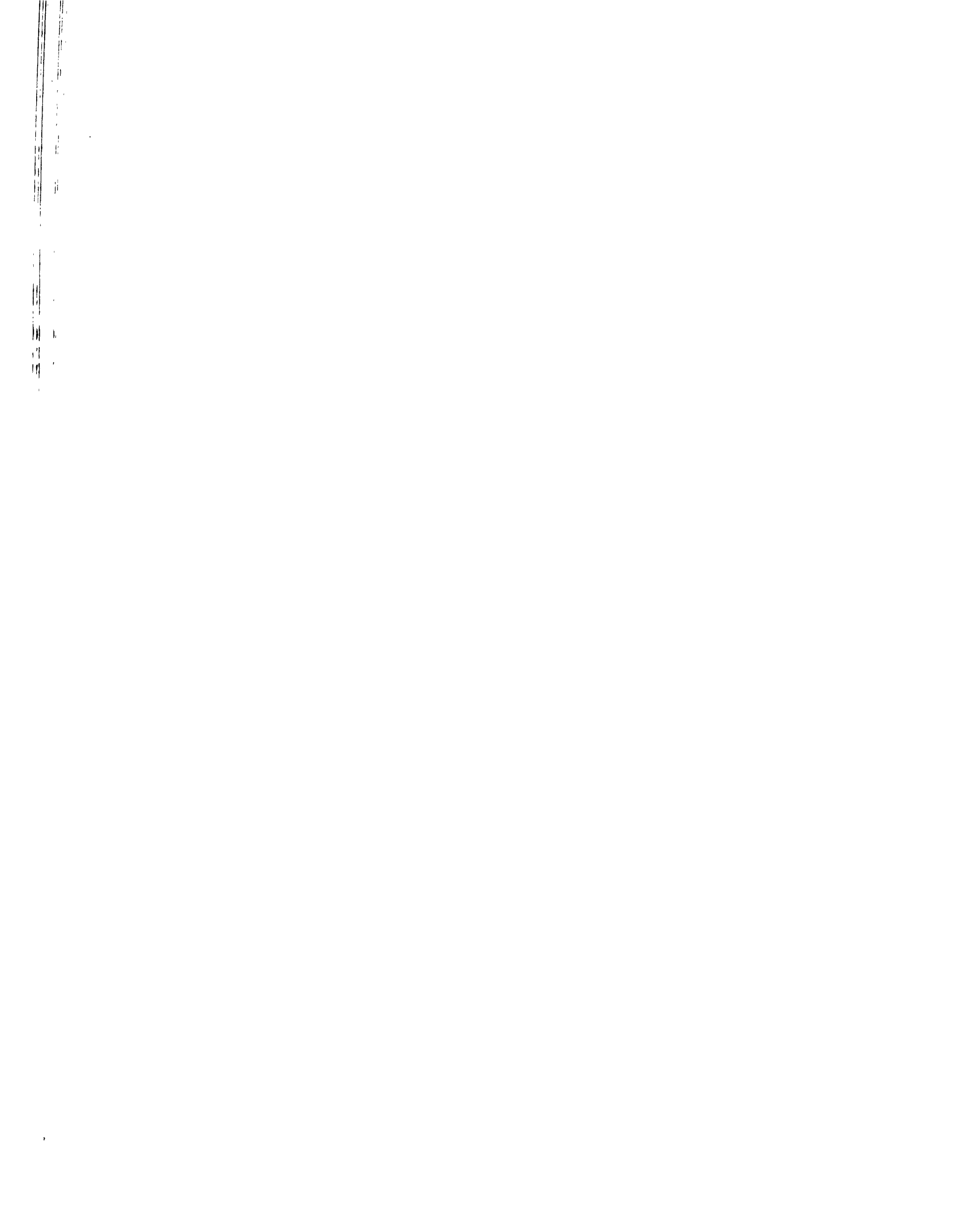


*d.*



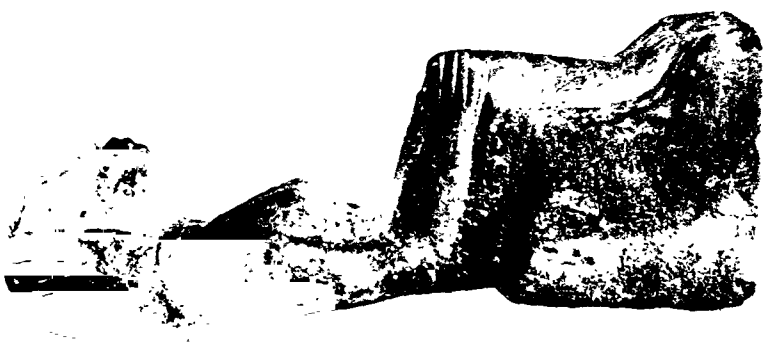
*e.*

*b-e.* Statuettes of owner and family from G 2009  
(*b* in Cairo, *c-e* in Boston).





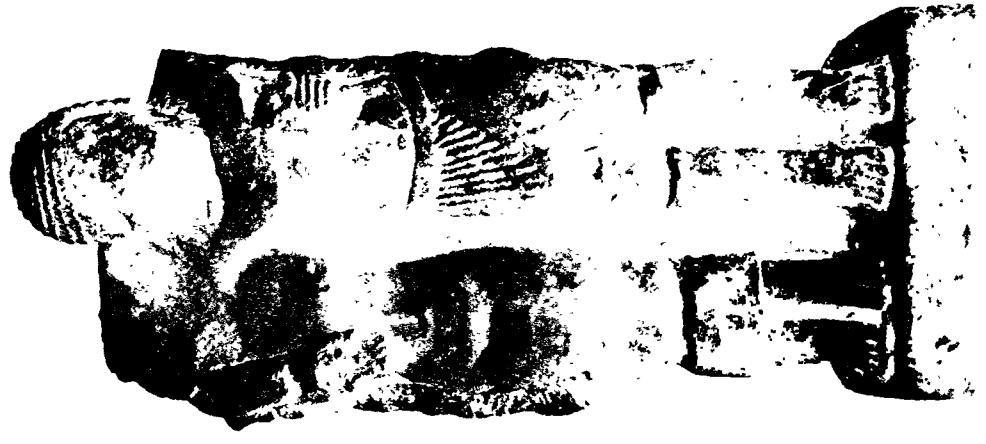
*a b.* Statuettes from G 7772.  
(*a.* in Cairo; *b.* in Boston)



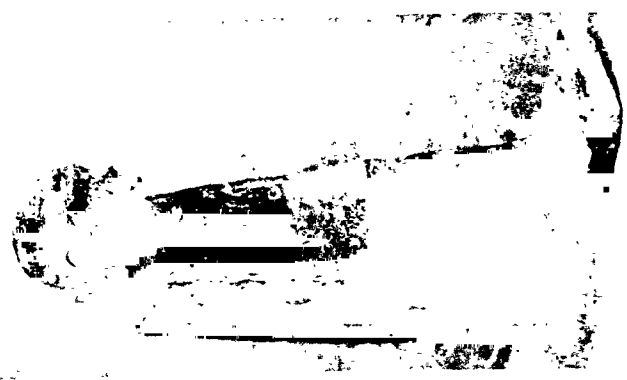
*b.*



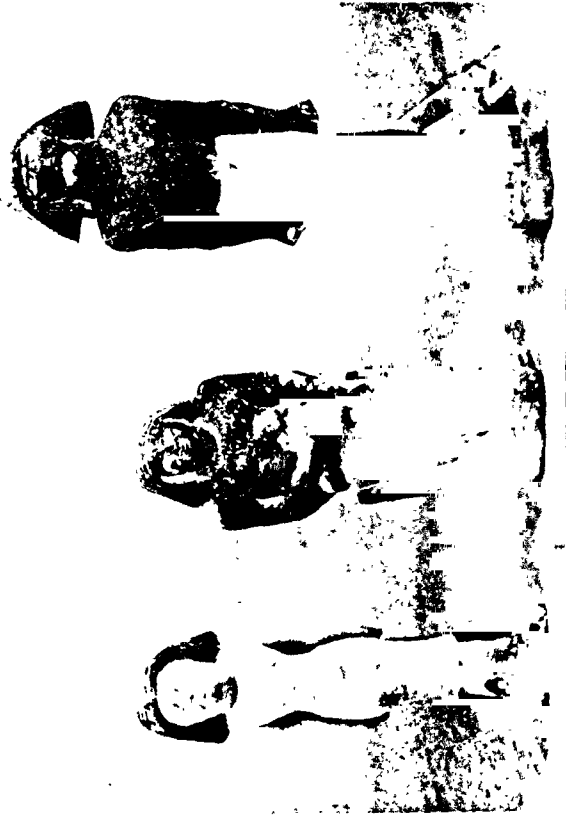
*c.* Pair statuette (G 1032), California.



*f.* Pair statuette (G 2353), Boston.

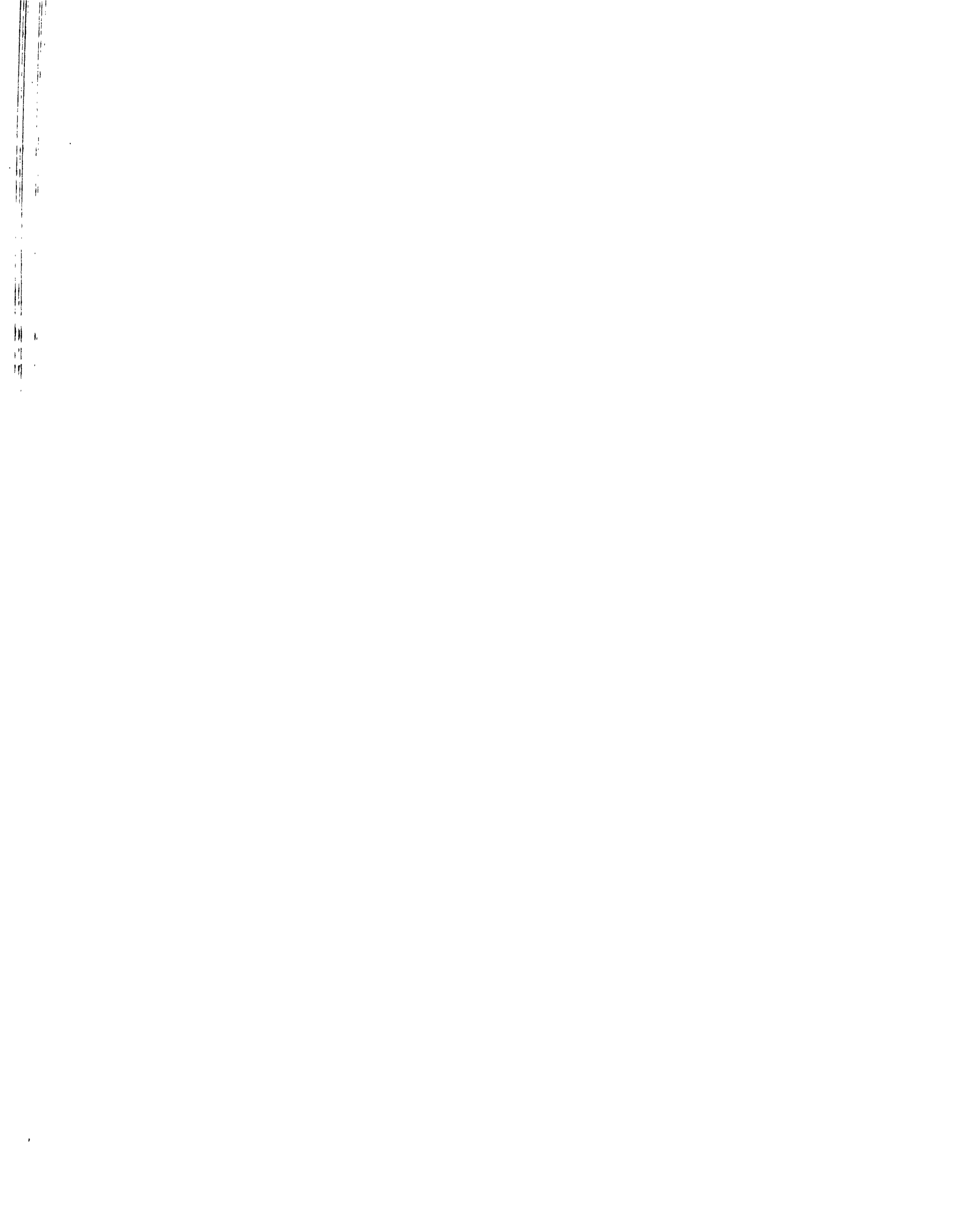


*d.* Dwarf (G 1105), Cairo.



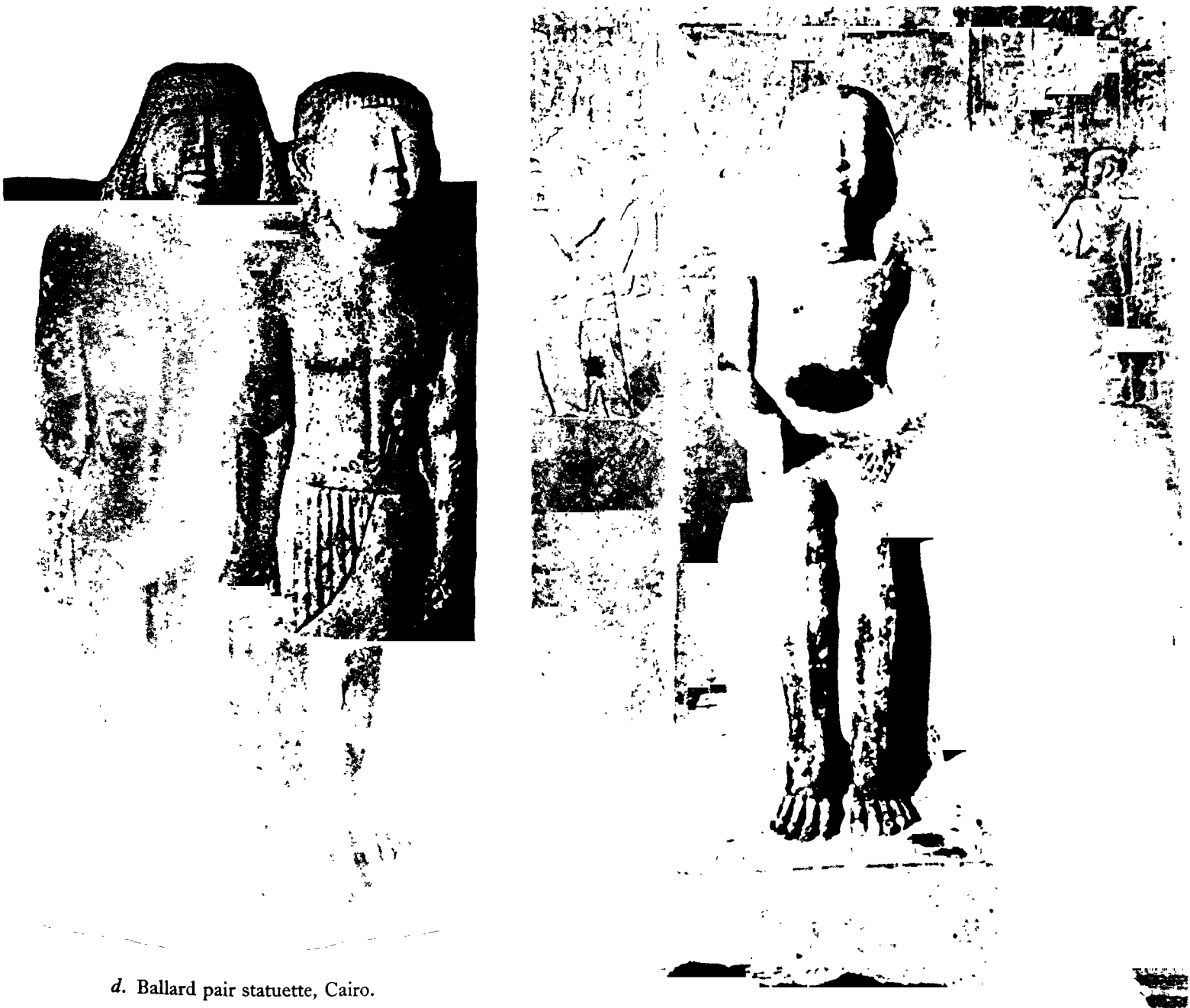
*e.* Statuettes from G 1040, Cairo.





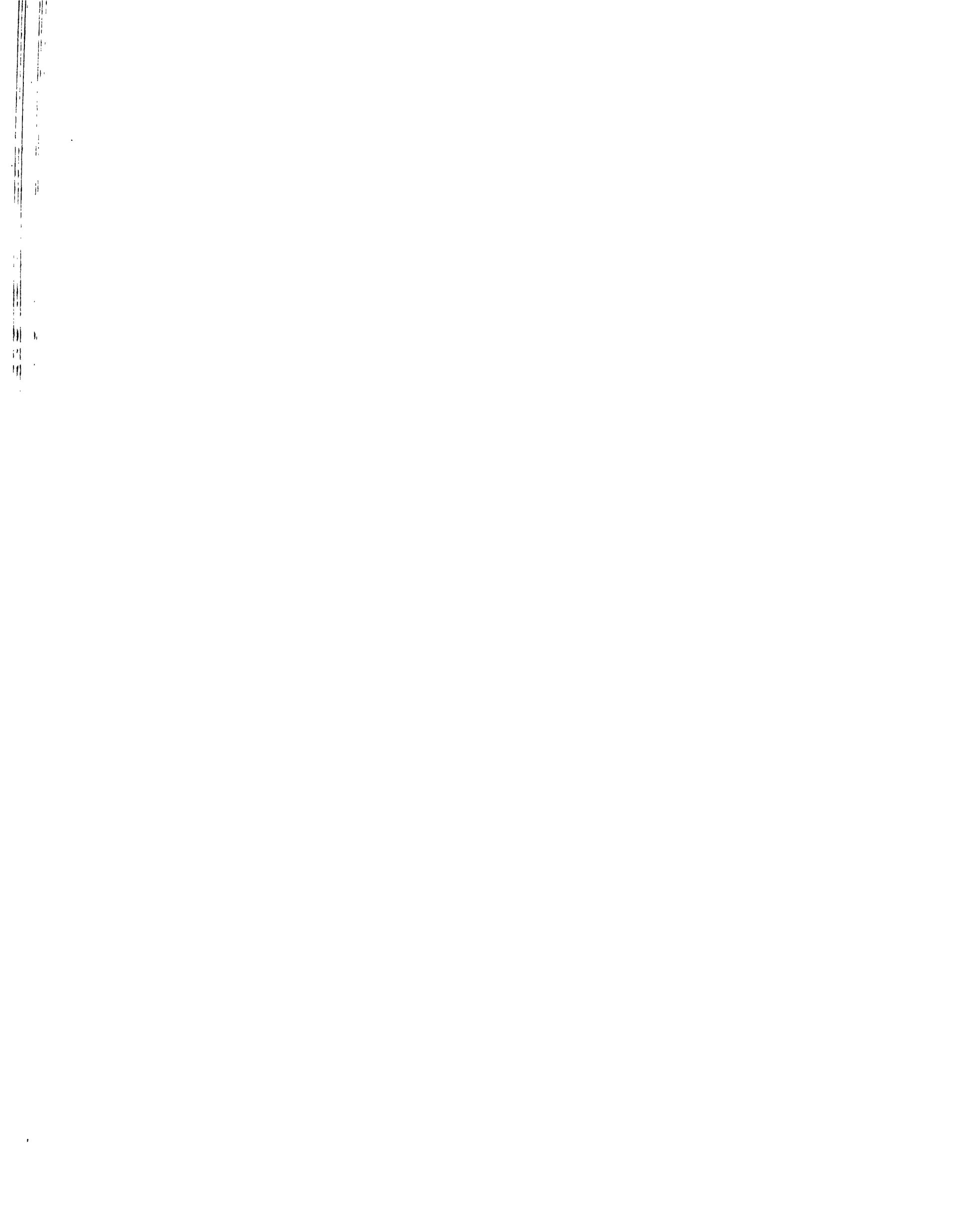


a-c. Statuettes and heads of Nekhebuw (G 2381) and head in short wig from G 2325.



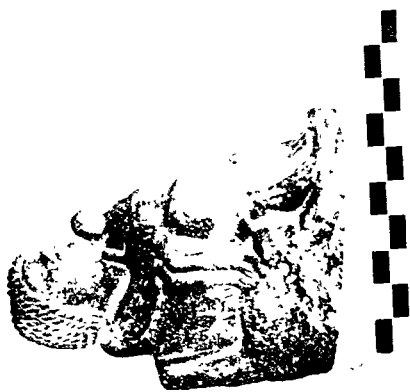
d. Ballard pair statuette, Cairo.

e. Edfu statue of Qar, Cairo.





d. Woman with children, serdab of Ne-  
inpw-kauw, Metropolitan Museum.



c. Woman with child, G 1903, Cairo.



a-b. Woman carrying child (Giza, D 37), Leipzig.



e-f. Musicians, playing children from serdab of Ne-inpw-kauw, Oriental Institute, Chicago.





b. Small dwarf with jars, G 7715, Cairo.



a.



d. Man feeding dog, G 7715, Cairo.



e.

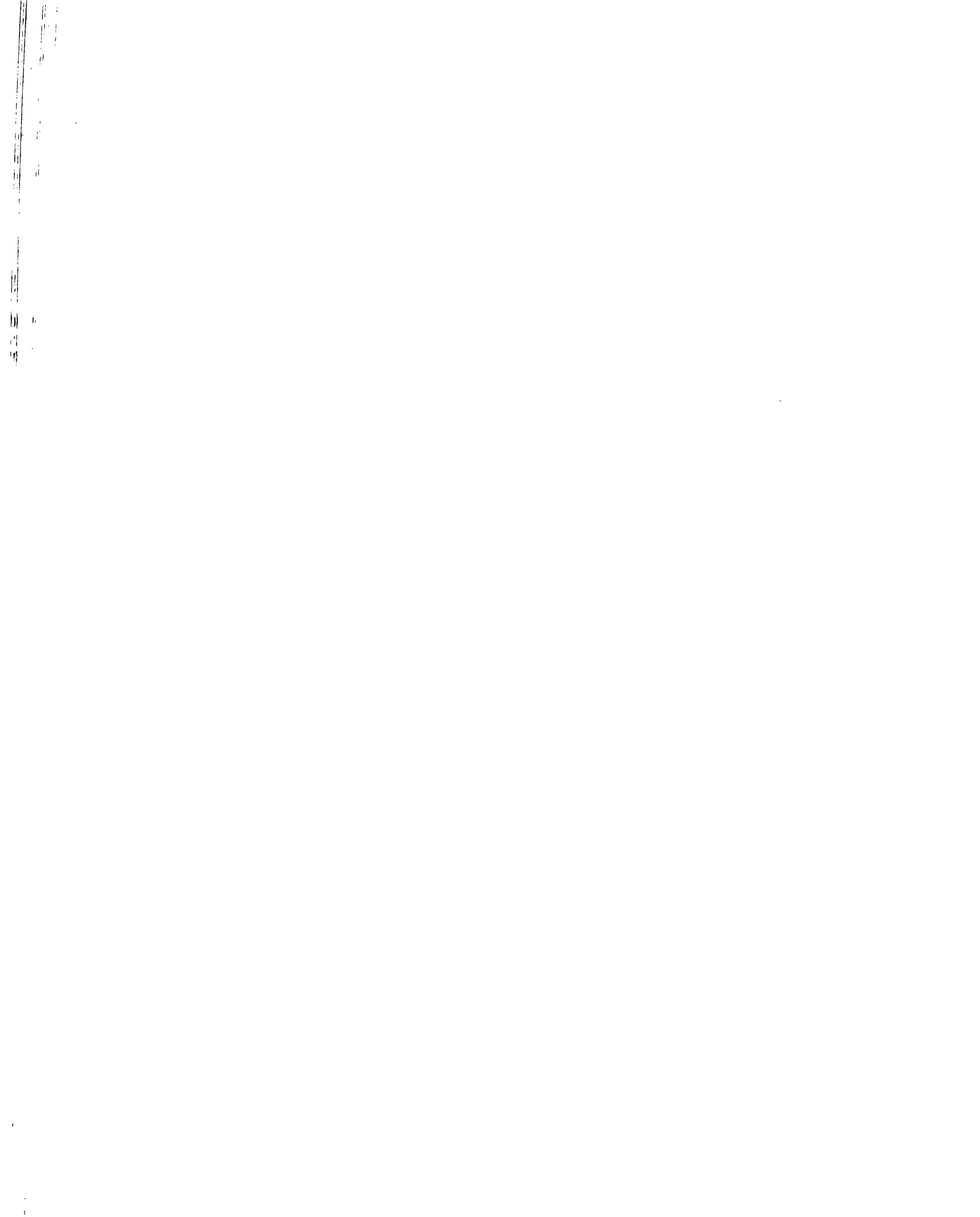


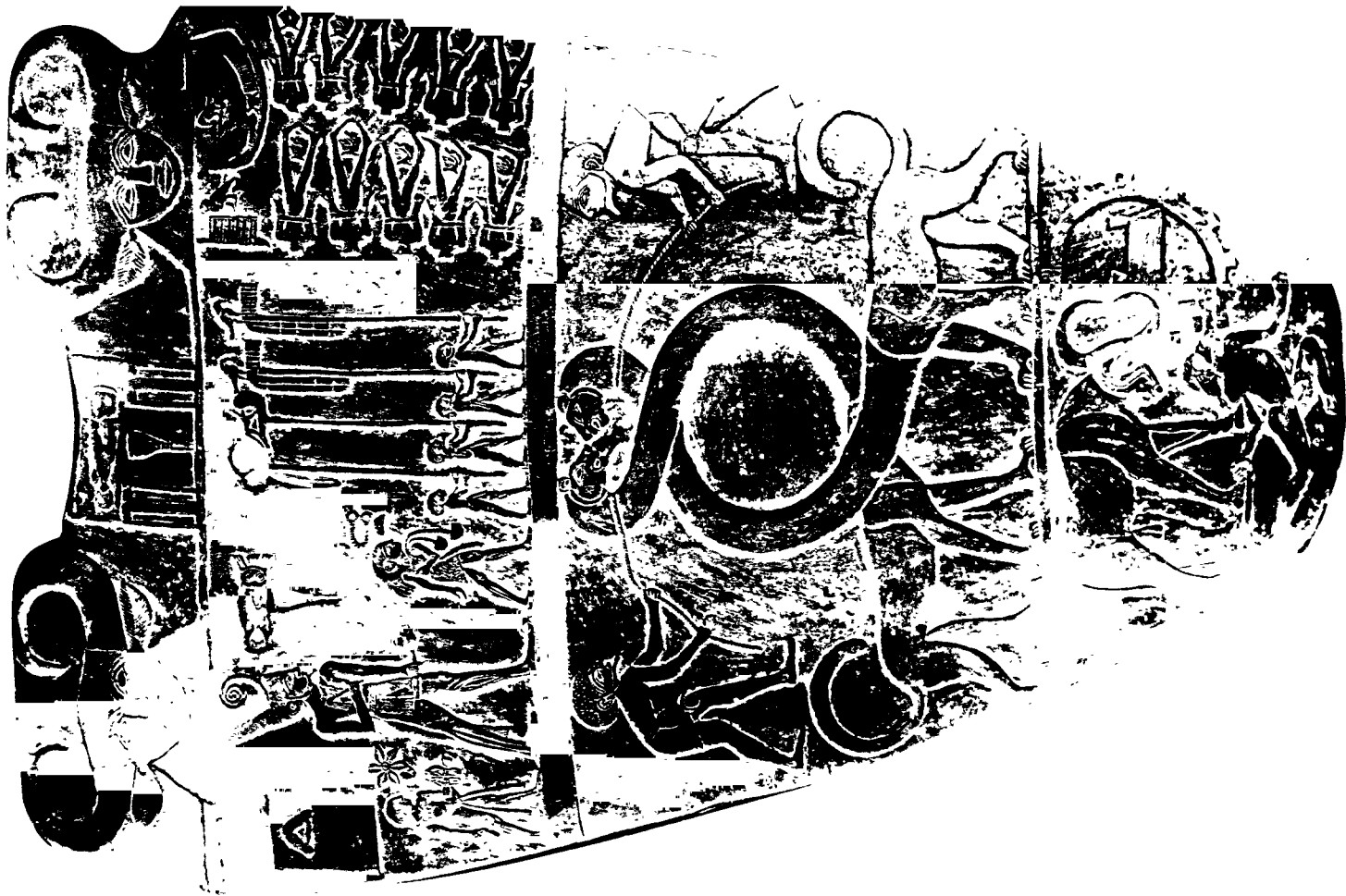
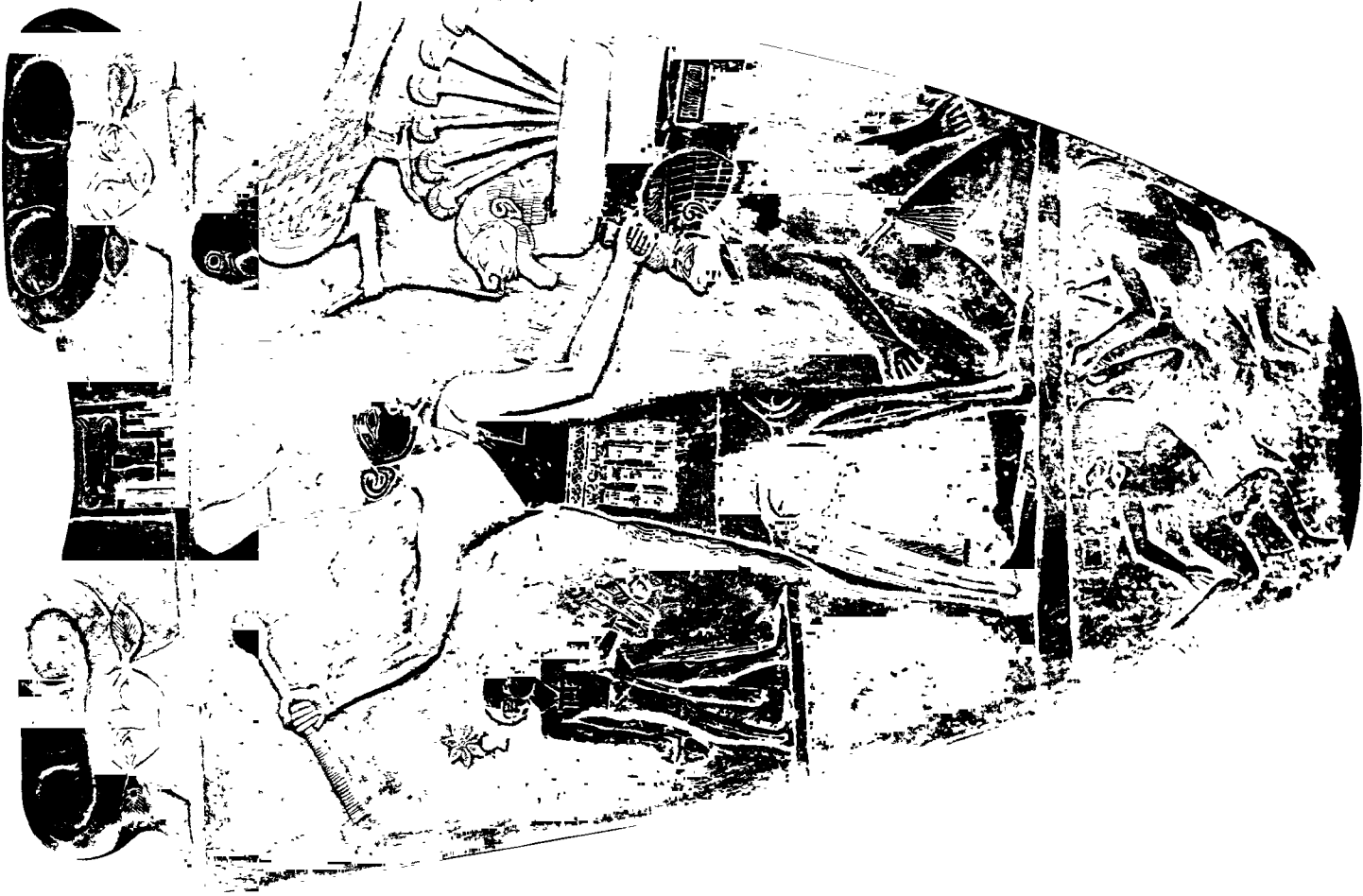
f.



g.

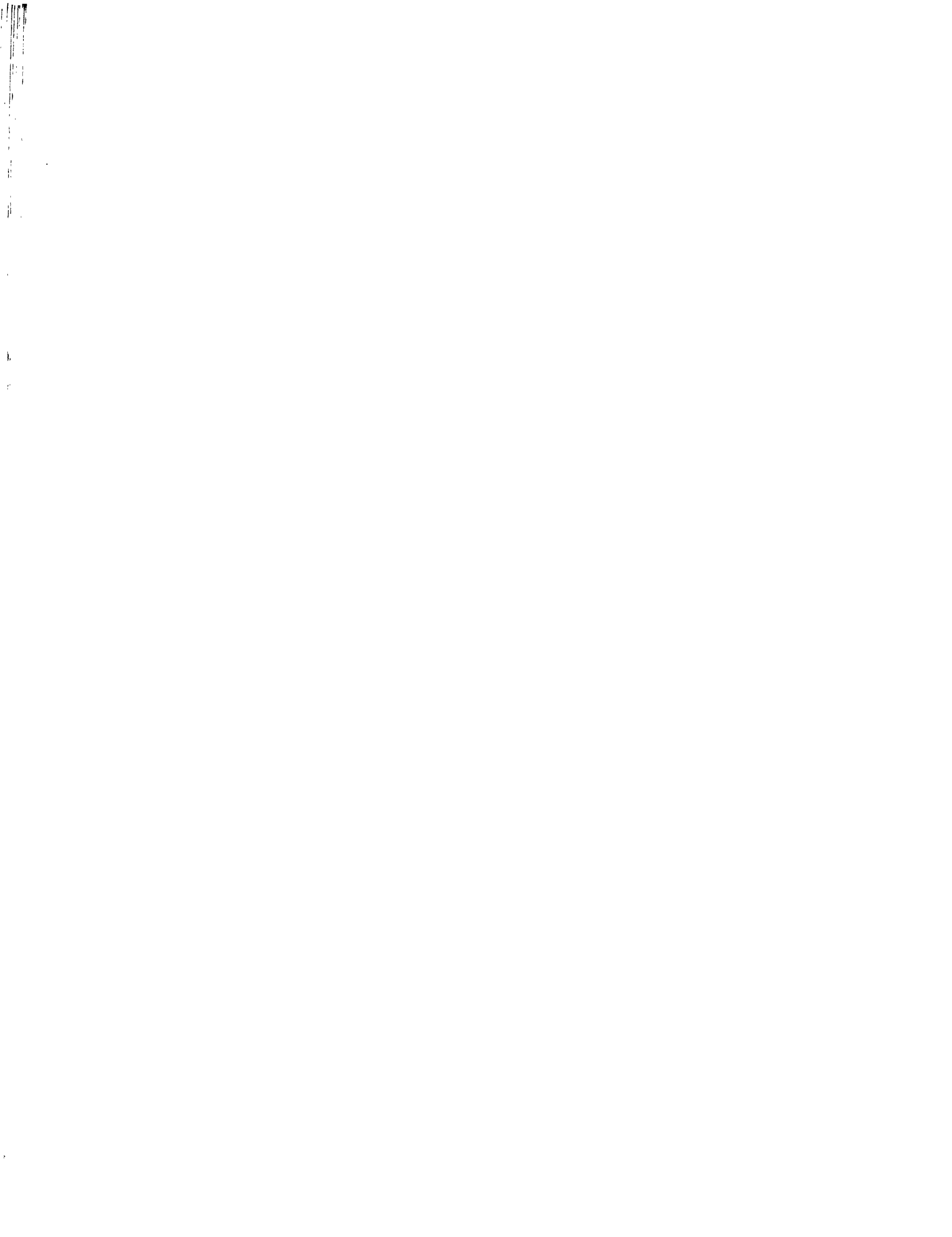
a, c, e-g. Man with blow-pipe, woman pouring grain, man slaughtering bull, brewer, potter from serdab of Ne-inpw-kauw, Oriental Institute, Chicago.





*a b.* Two faces of Narmer Palette, Cairo.



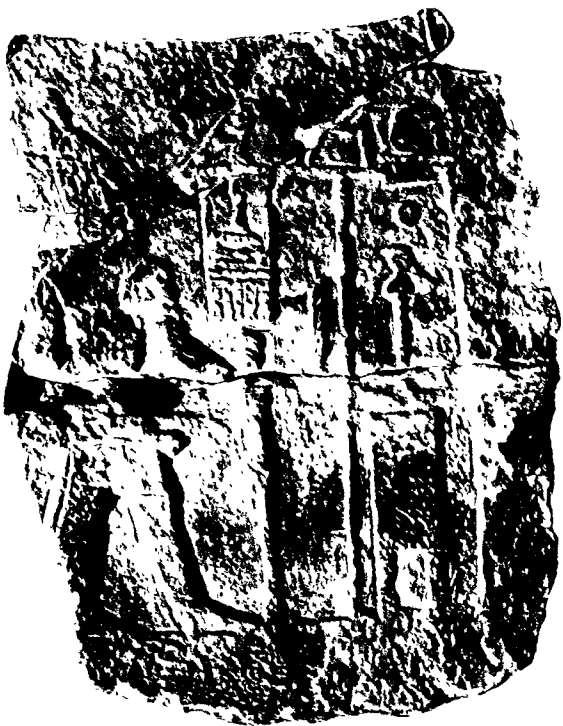




*a.* Louvre palette.



*b.* Palette fragment, Ashmolean Museum.



*c.* Sa-nekht relief, Cairo.

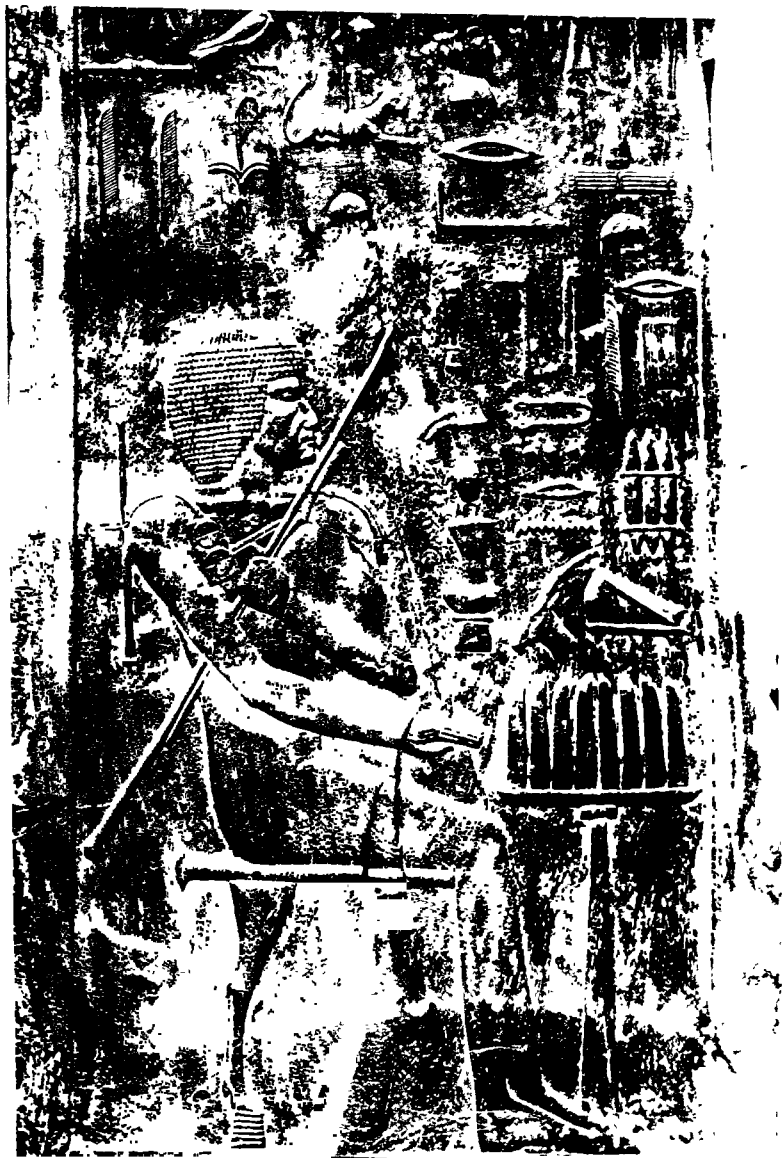


*d.* Gebelein (?) relief, Cairo.





*a.* Zoser relief, Step Pyramid.

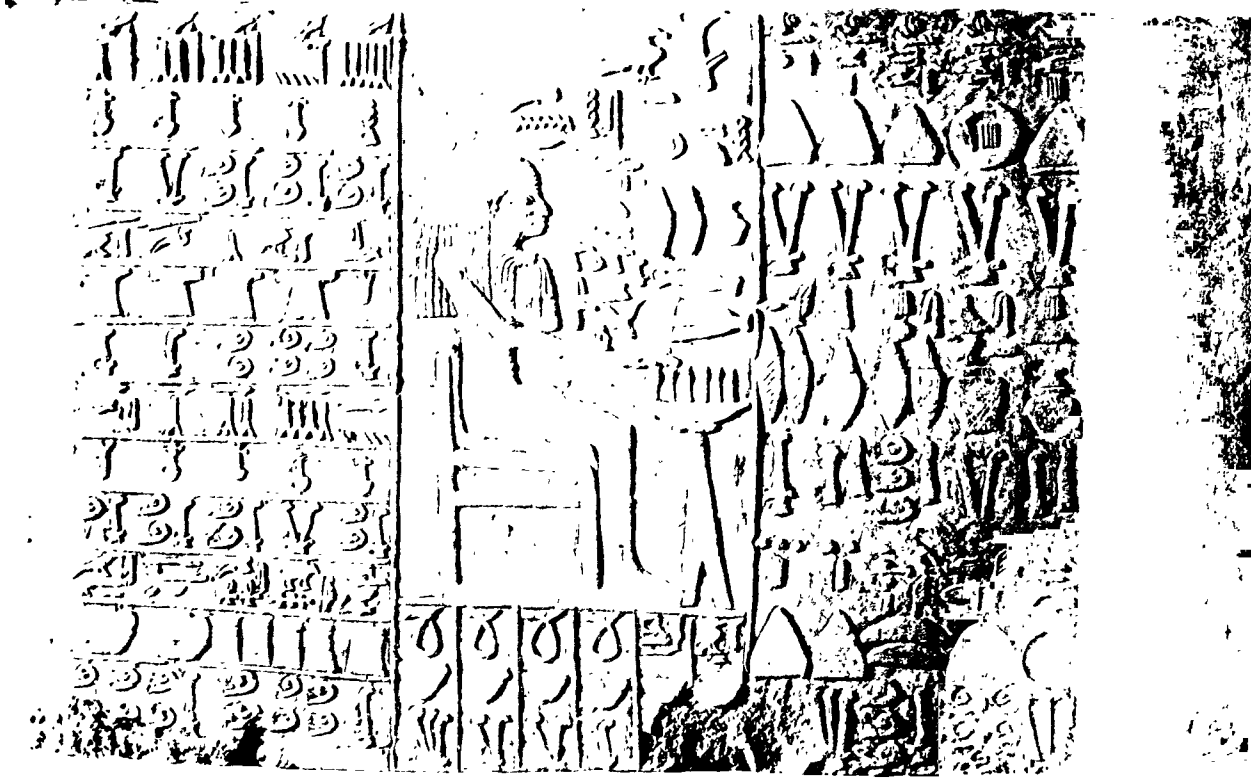


*b.* Wooden panel of Hesy-ra, Cairo.

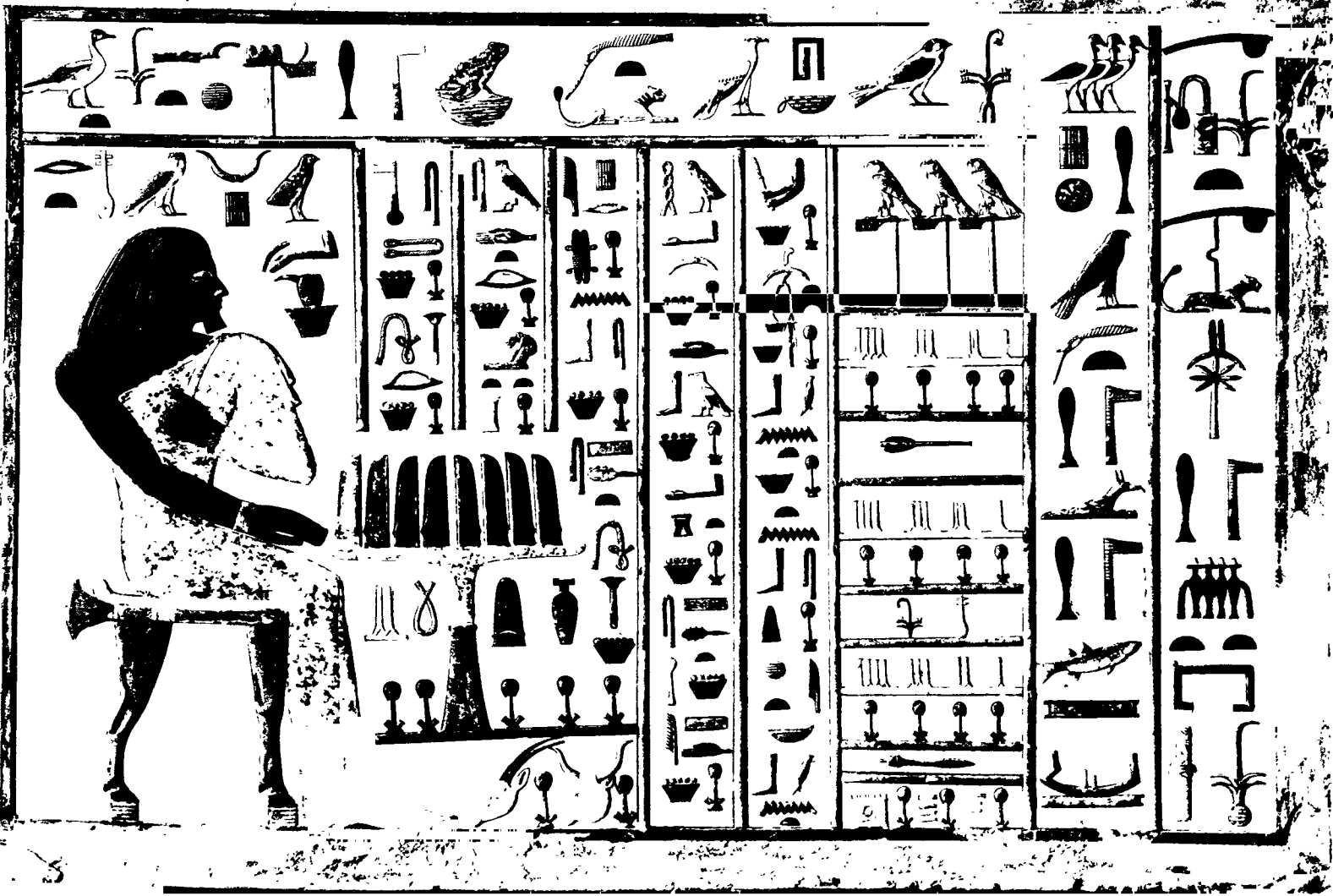


*c.* Zoser statue base, Cairo.



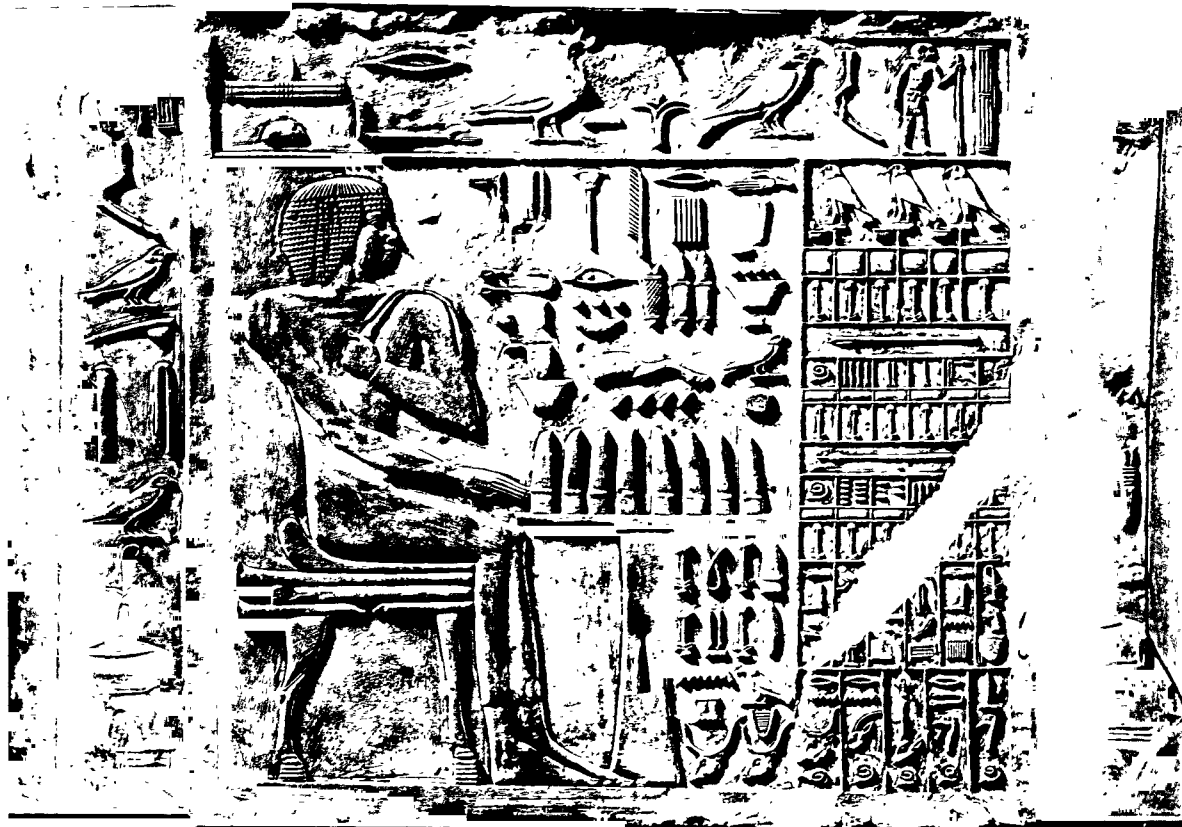


a. Primitive niche-stone of Sehefener, Cairo.

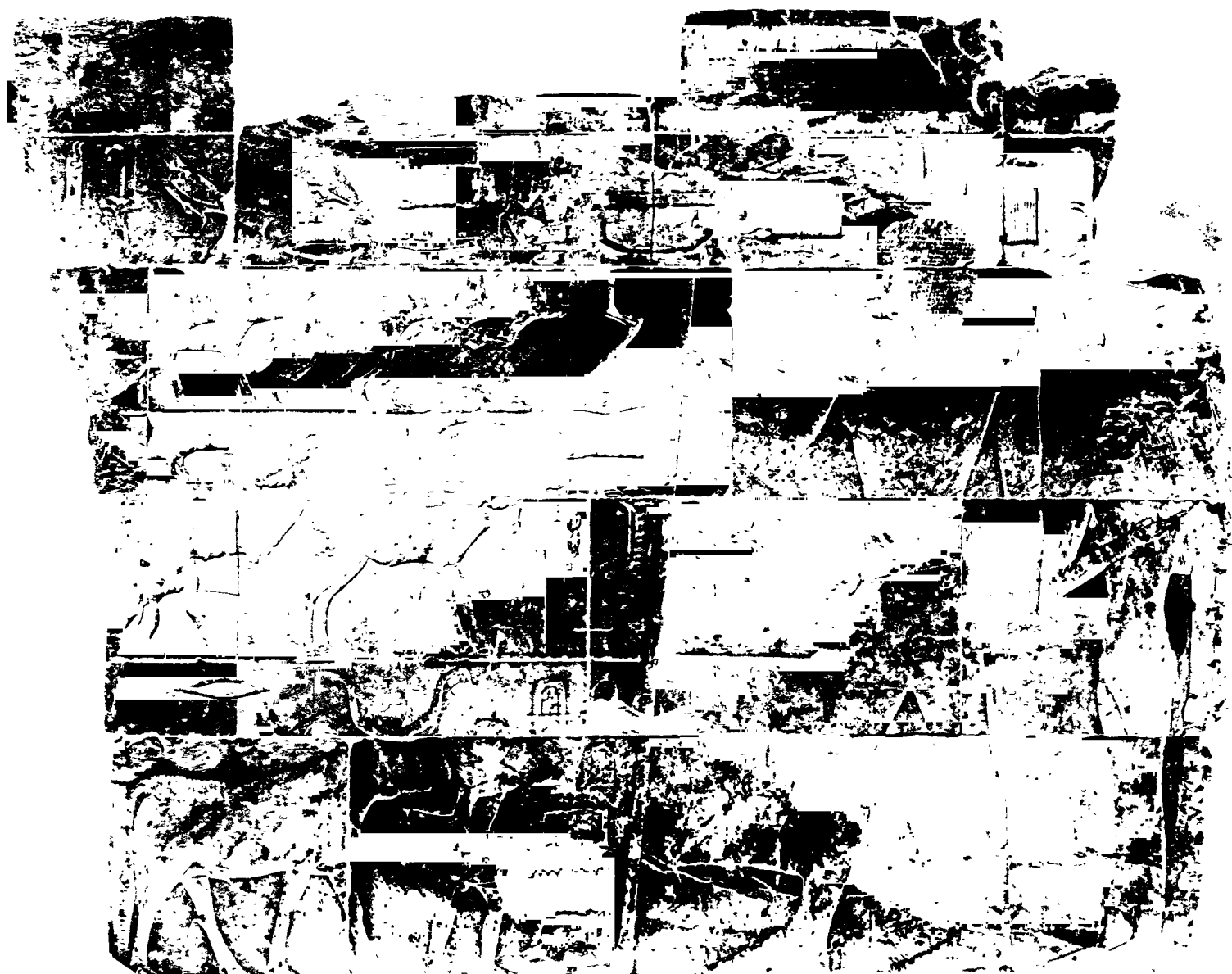


b. Slab-stela of Wepemnofret (G 1201), University of California.





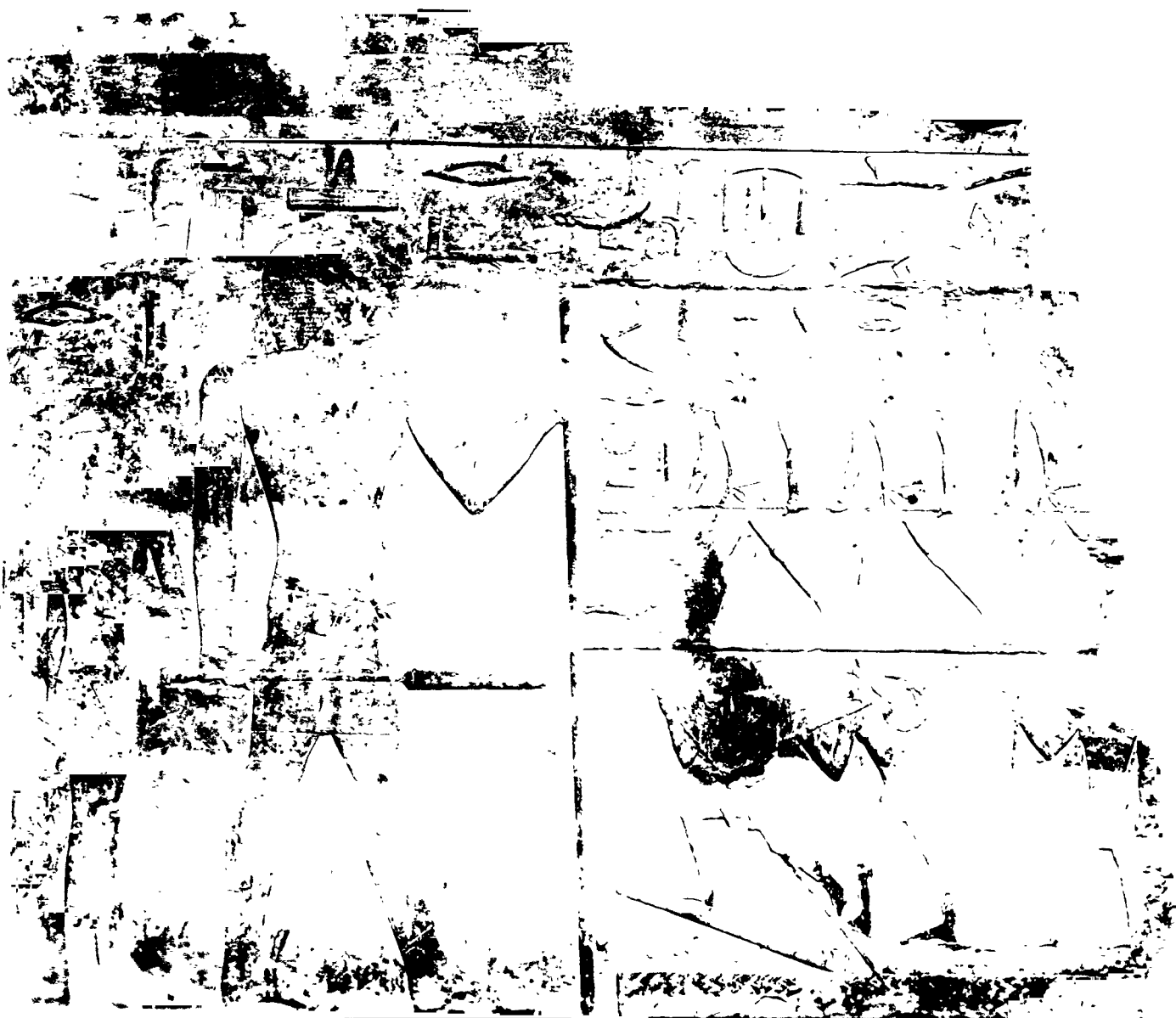
*a.* Tablet of Rahotep, British Museum.



*b.* South wall, corridor of Rahotep, Cairo.



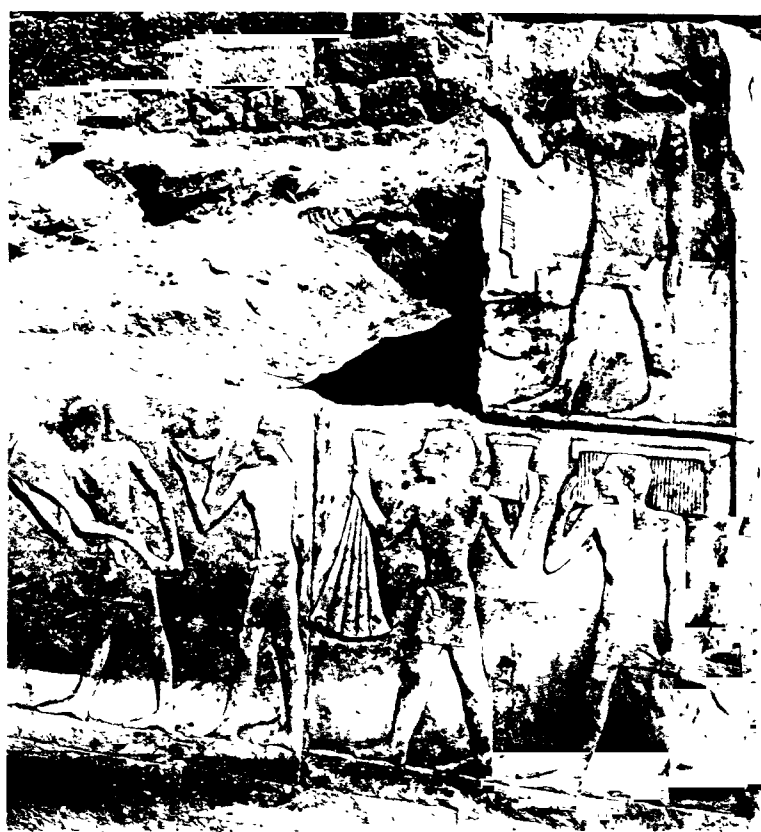




*a.* North wall, corridor of Rahotep, Cairo.



*b.* Relief fragment, Rahotep, Berlin.



*c.* North wall of entrance, FS 3078, Saqqarah.





Door-jamb from chapel of Akhet-a'a, Louvre.





*a.* Inner niche, Kha-bauw-sokar, Cairo.



*b.* Niche of Iy-nefer, Cairo.





Hieroglyphs on gold casing of jamb of Hetep-heres bed-canopy (G 7000 X), Cairo.







*a.*



*b.*

*a-c.* Fragments of relief from chapel of Queen's Pyramid G I b, Boston.



*c.*





Fragments of Cheops relief re-used in pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, Metropolitan Museum.





a.



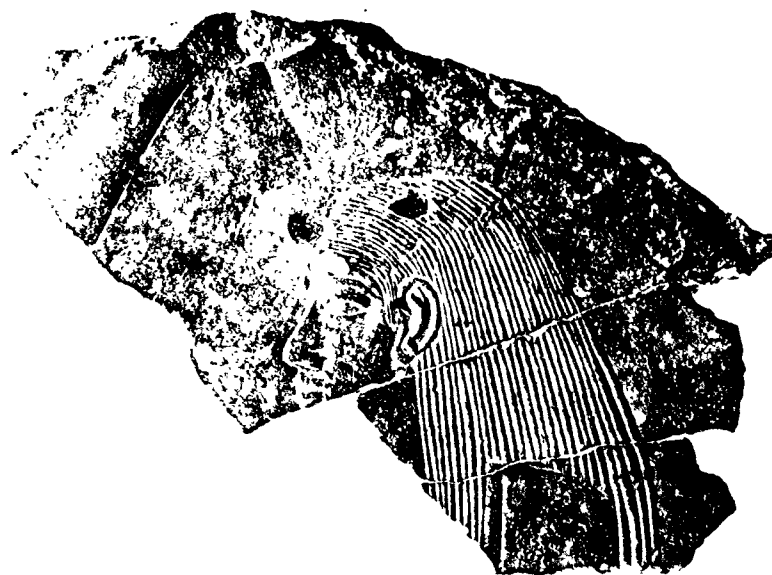
b.



d.



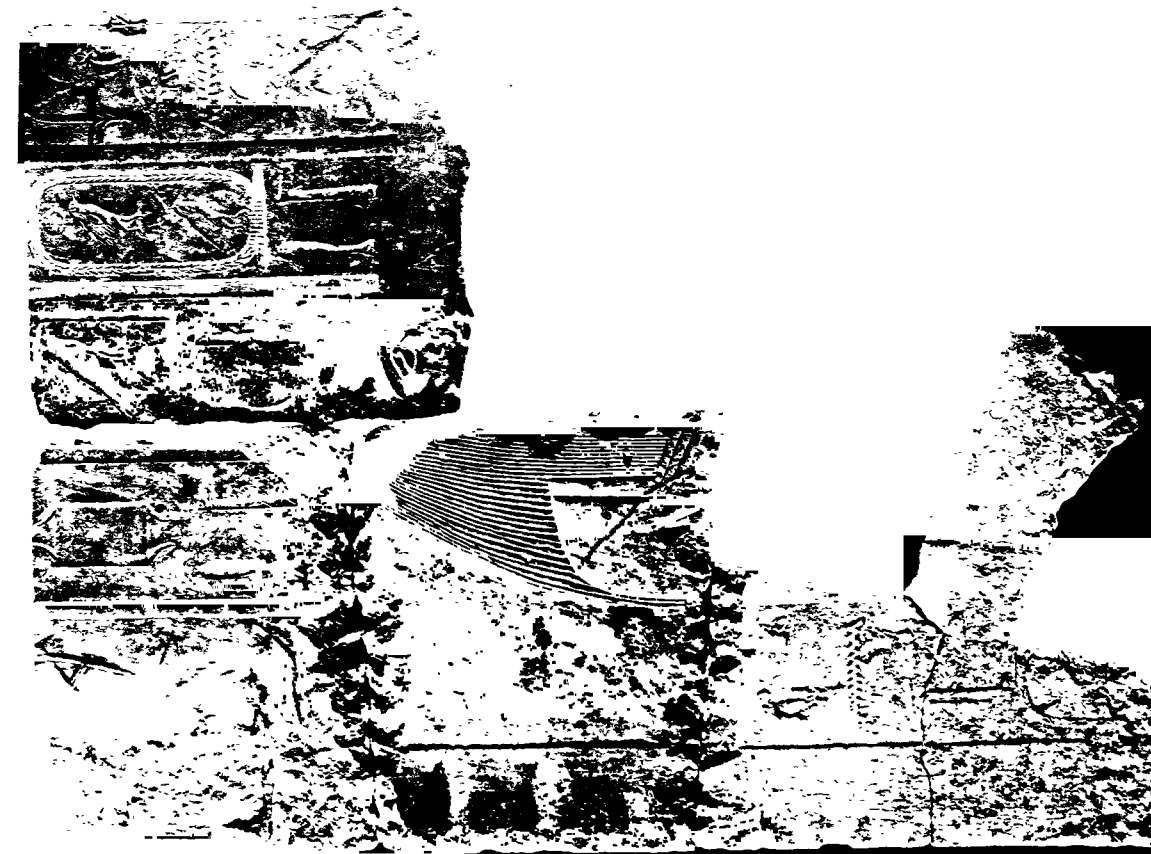
c.



e.

a-e. Fragments from chapel of Ankh-haf (G 7510) (a, c, d, e in Boston).





a. Fragments from east wall, G 7650, Boston.



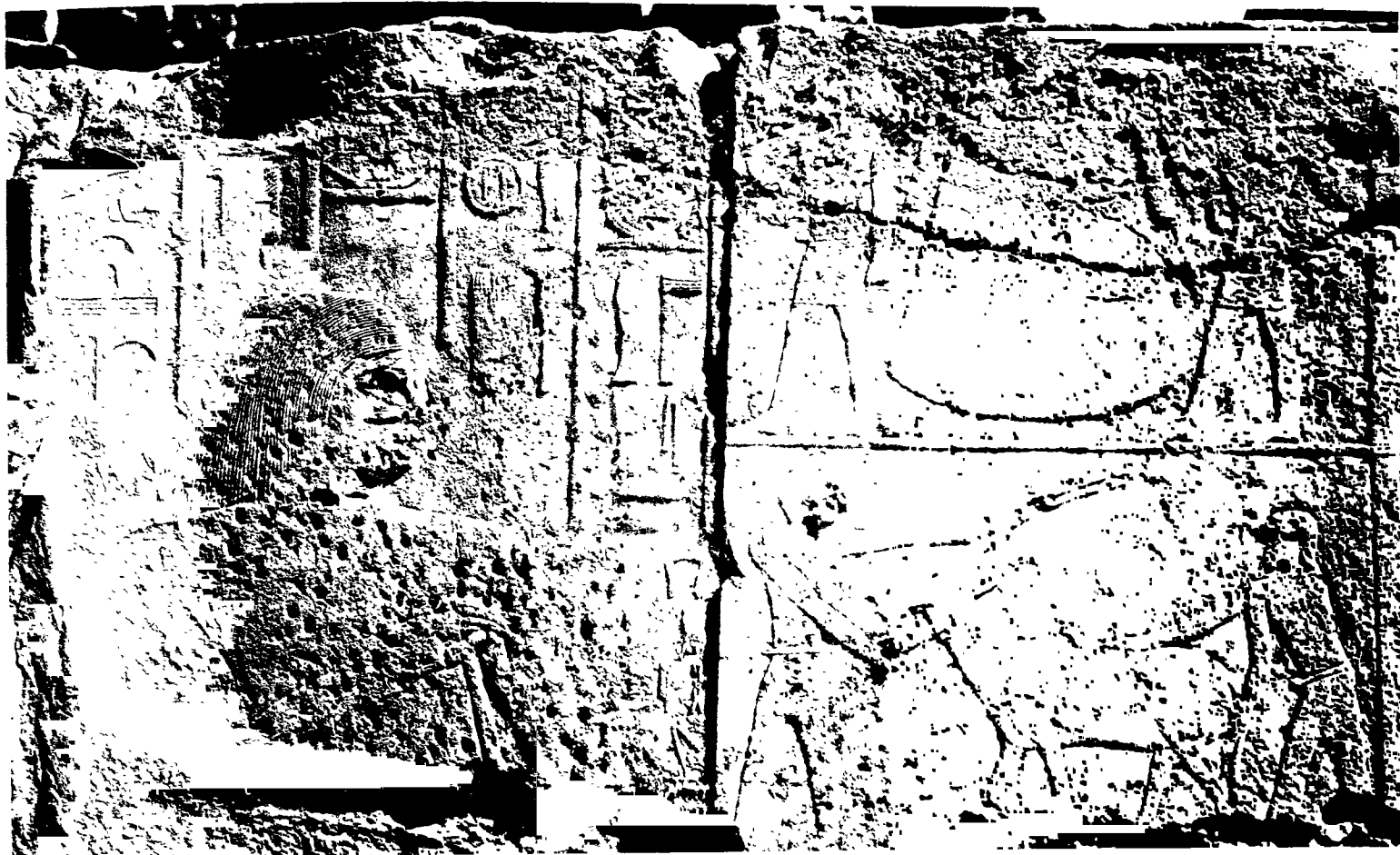
b. Fragment from west wall, G 7650, Gullbenkian Collection.



c. Detail of west wall, G 7650.







*a.* North wall, G 7650.



*b.* Fragment, Barracco Collection, Rome.

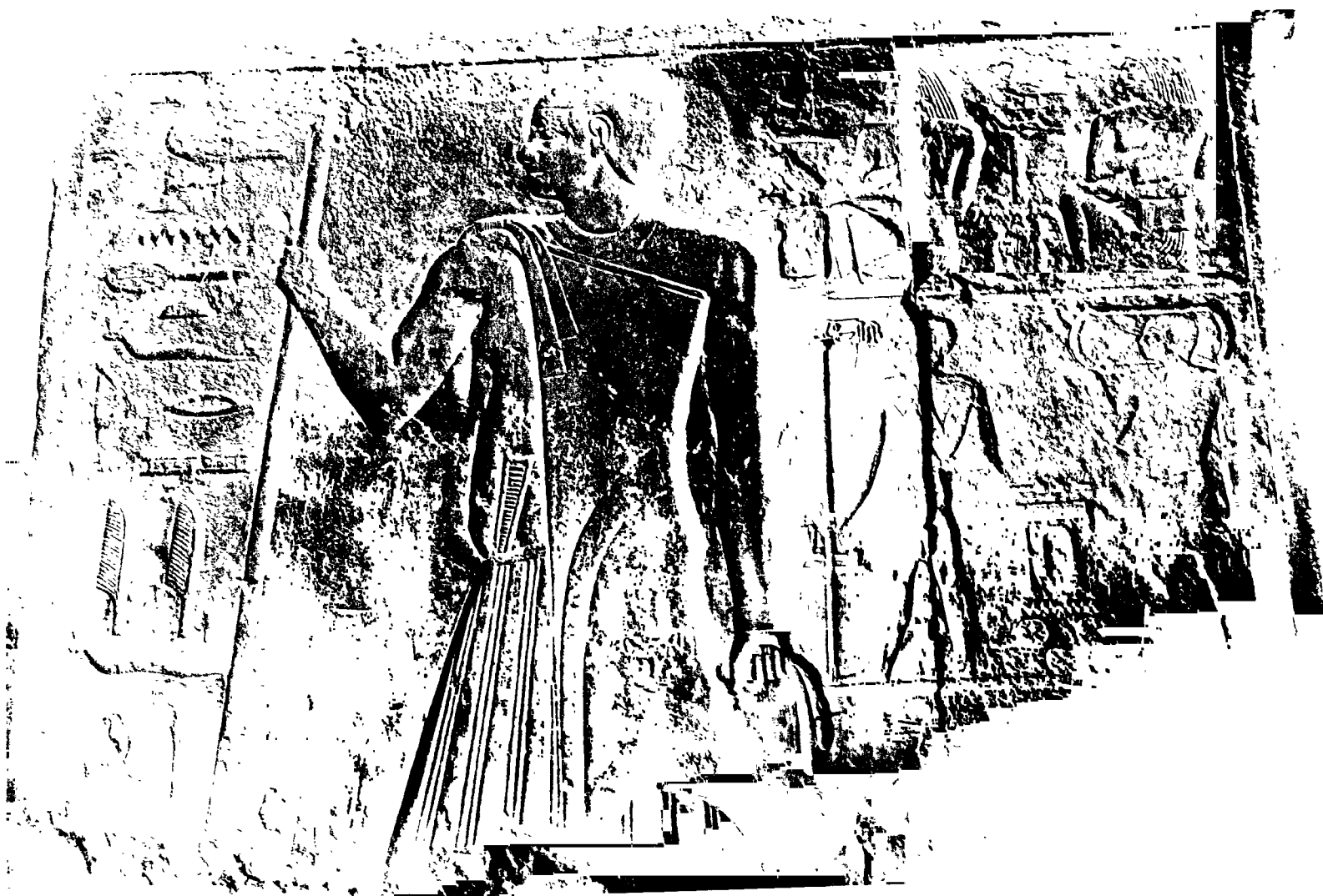


*c.* G 7140, east wall (Khufuw-khaf).





*a.* Khufuw-khaf (G 7140), west wall.



*b.* Khufuw-khaf (G 7140), north side of façade.





*a.* Meresankh III (G 7530), west wall outer room.

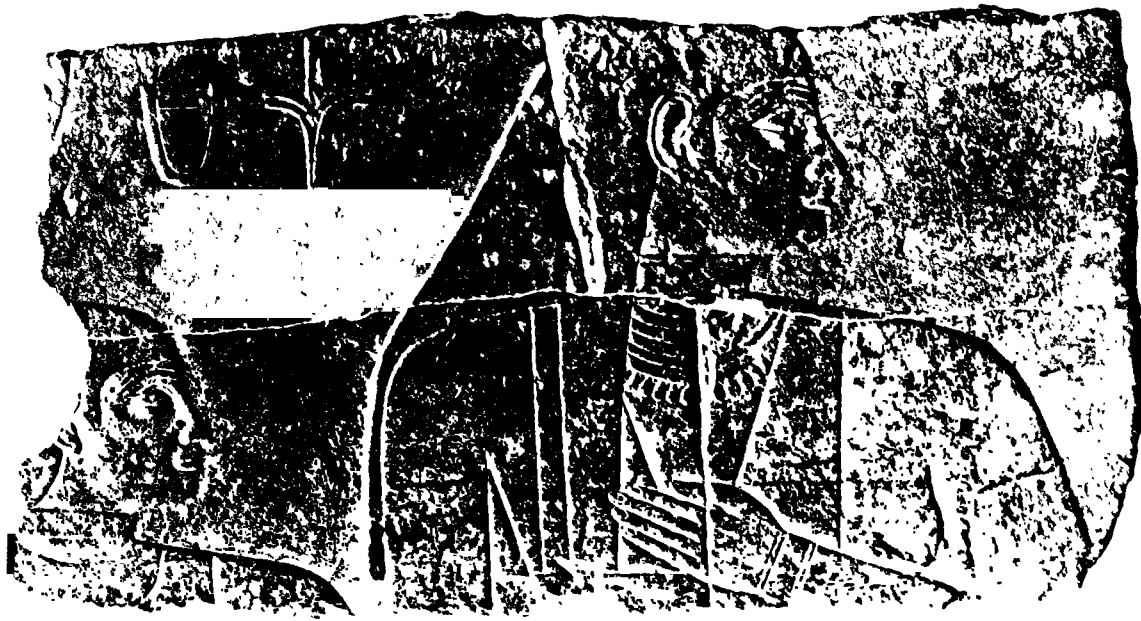


*b.* G 7140, façade, south side.



*c.* G 7530, head of Hetep-heres II, west wall outer room.





a. G 7350, portraits of Hetep-heres II (?) and Meresankh III (?), Cairo.



b. West wall of Sennuwka (G 2041), Boston.







a. Architrave of Min-khaf (G 7430 + 7440).



b. Small sons, south entrance jamb of Khafra-anekh (G 7948 + I.G. 75).



c. Head of Mer-ib on south wall of G 2100 Annex, Berlin.

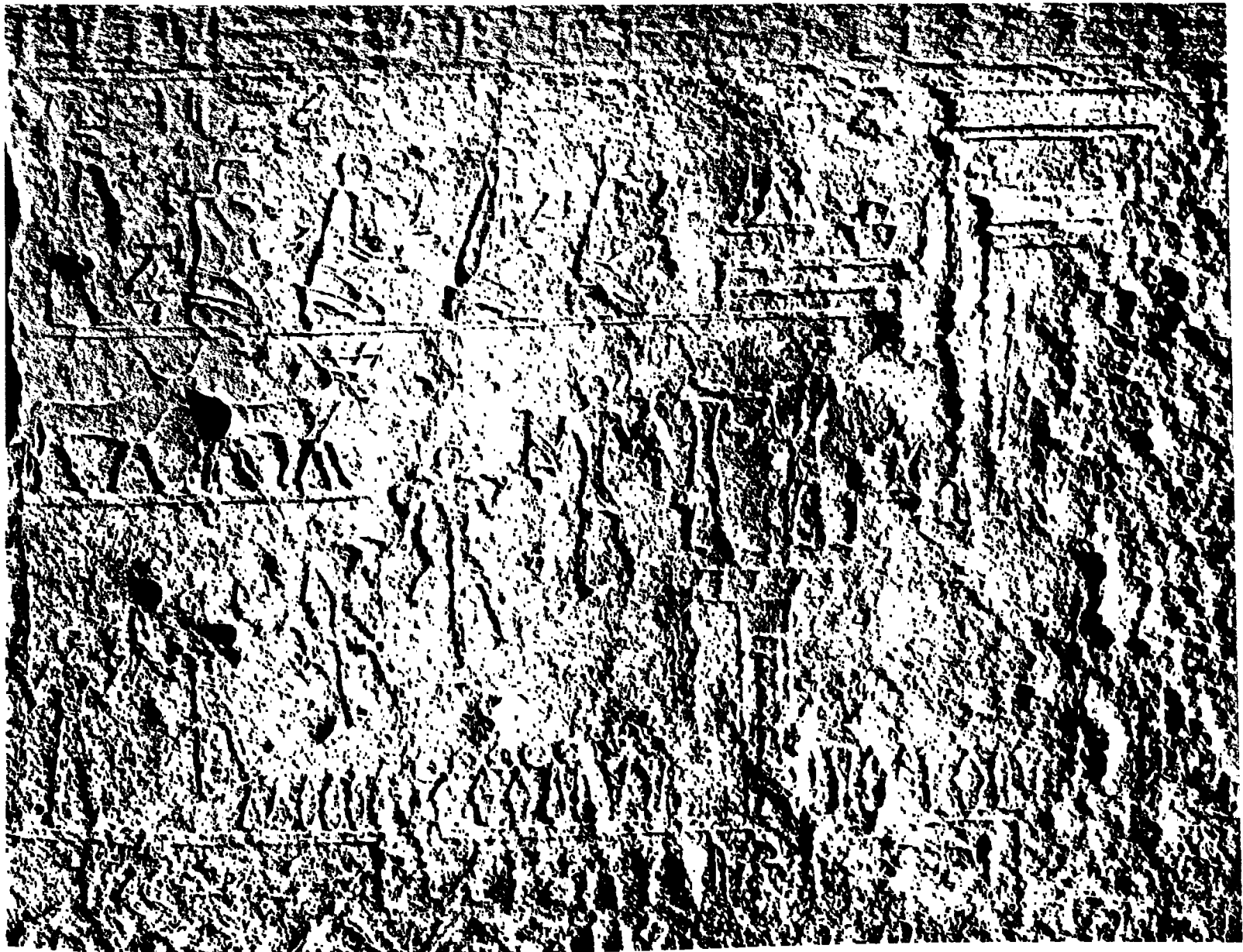




*a.* North entrance jamb of Seshem-nofer (G 5080).

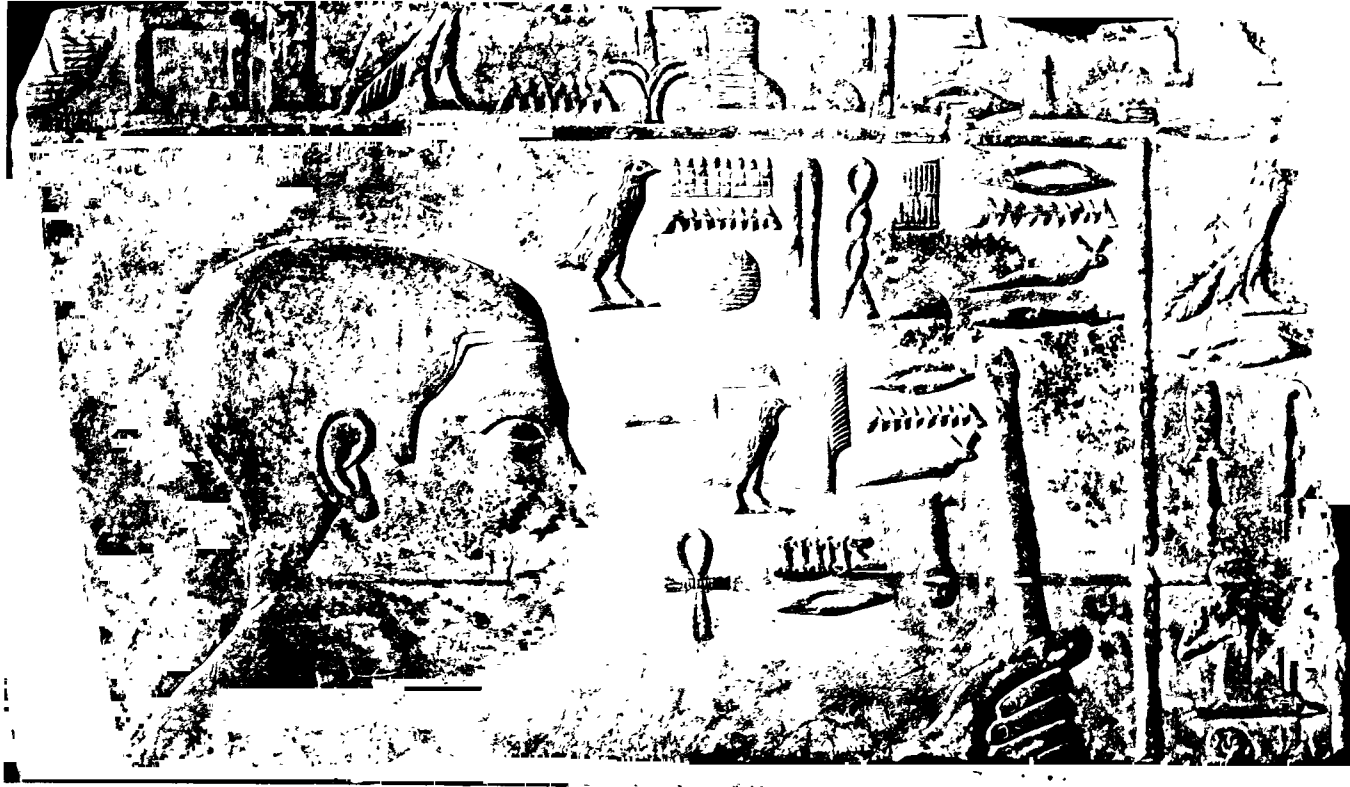


*b.* North entrance jamb of Meresankh III (G 7530).



*c.* Detail of funeral scene, Debehen (LG 90).





a. Relief of Semenkhuw-ptah, from the Collection of the New York Historical Society in the Brooklyn Museum.



b. Head of Hemyuwnuw statue, Hildesheim.



c. Relief of Hemyuwnuw (G 4000), Boston.



d. Reserve head of Nofer, Boston.

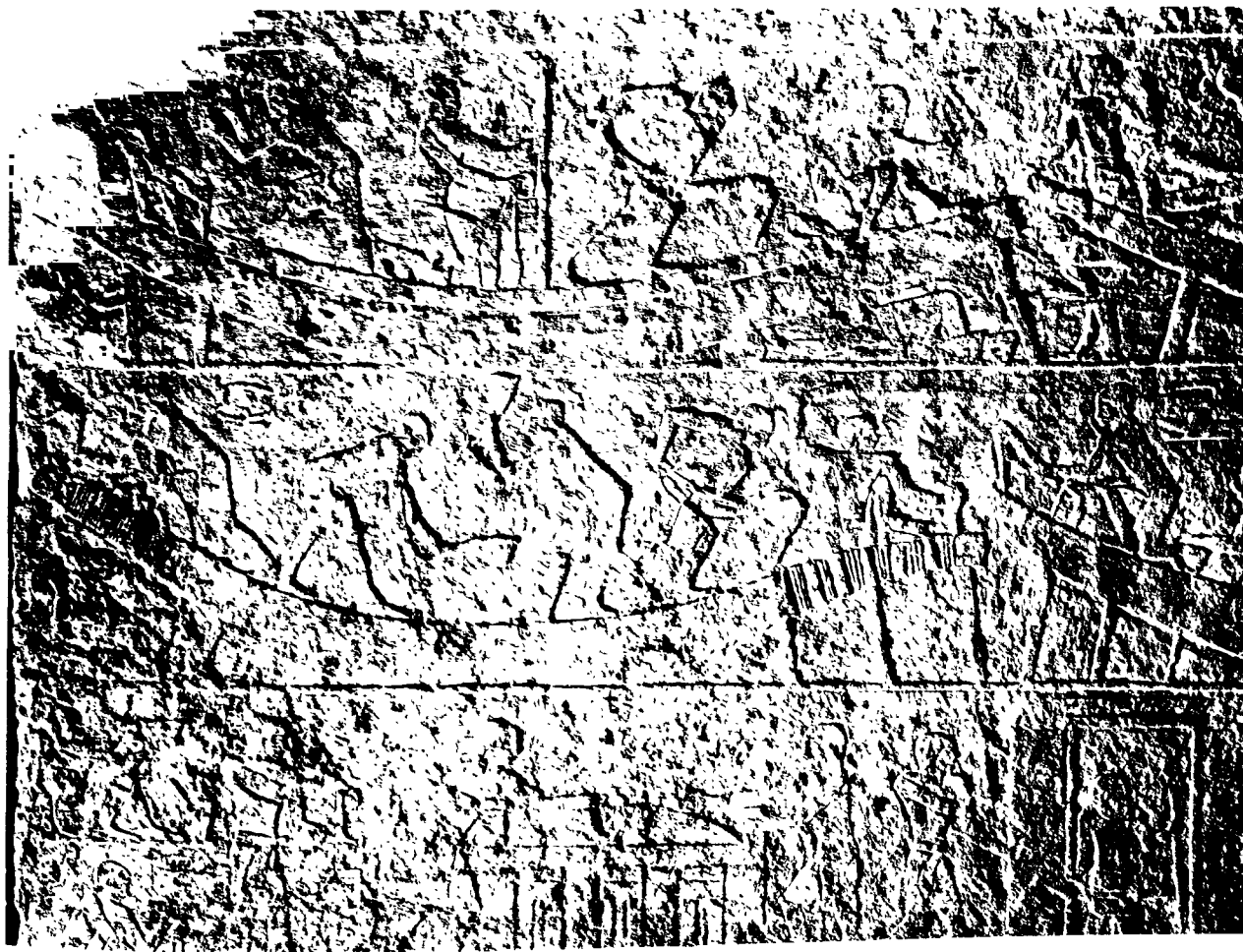


e. Relief on door-jamb of Nofer (G 2110), Boston.





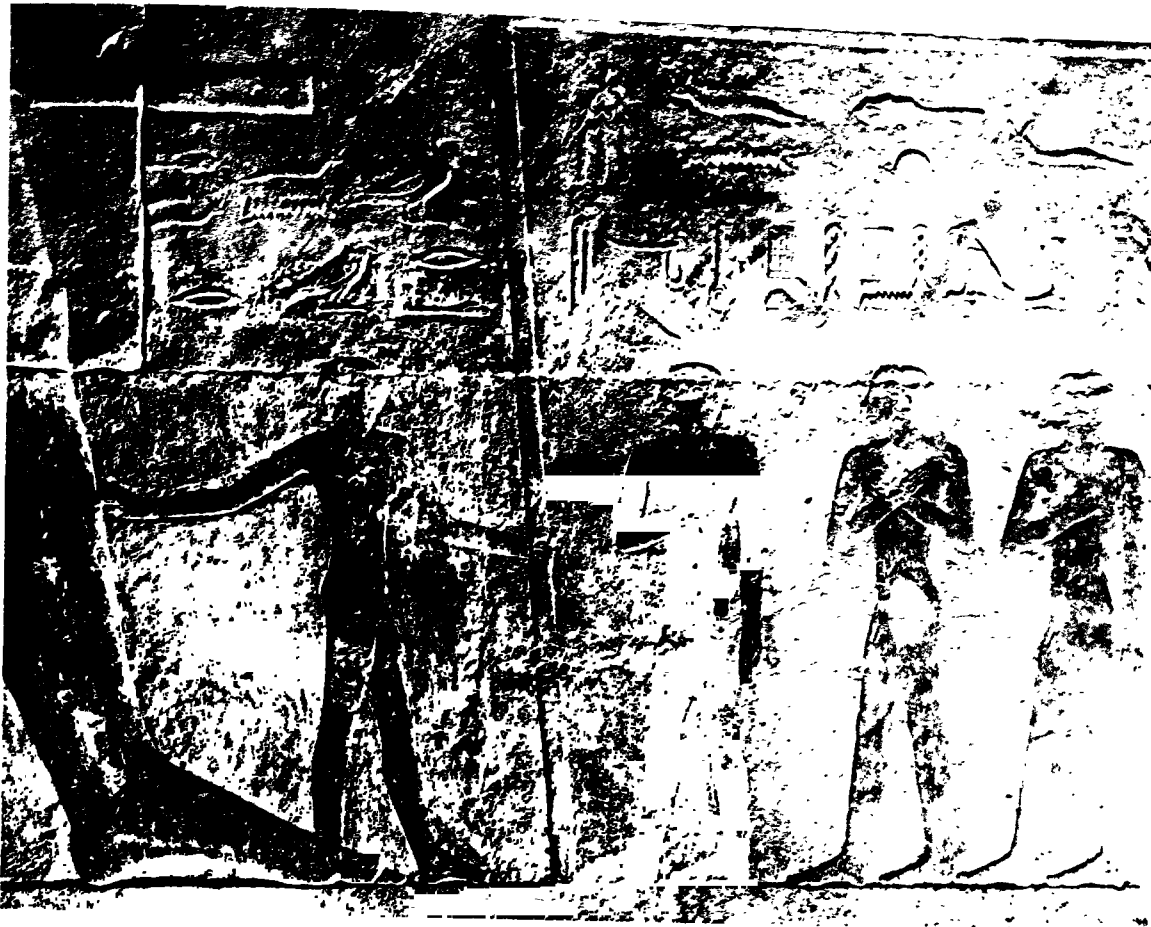
*a.* East wall, outer room of Meresankh III (G 7530).



*b.* East wall, rock-cut chapel of Prince Khuwnera (MQ 1).







*a.* West wall, chapel of Seshem-nofer (G 4940).

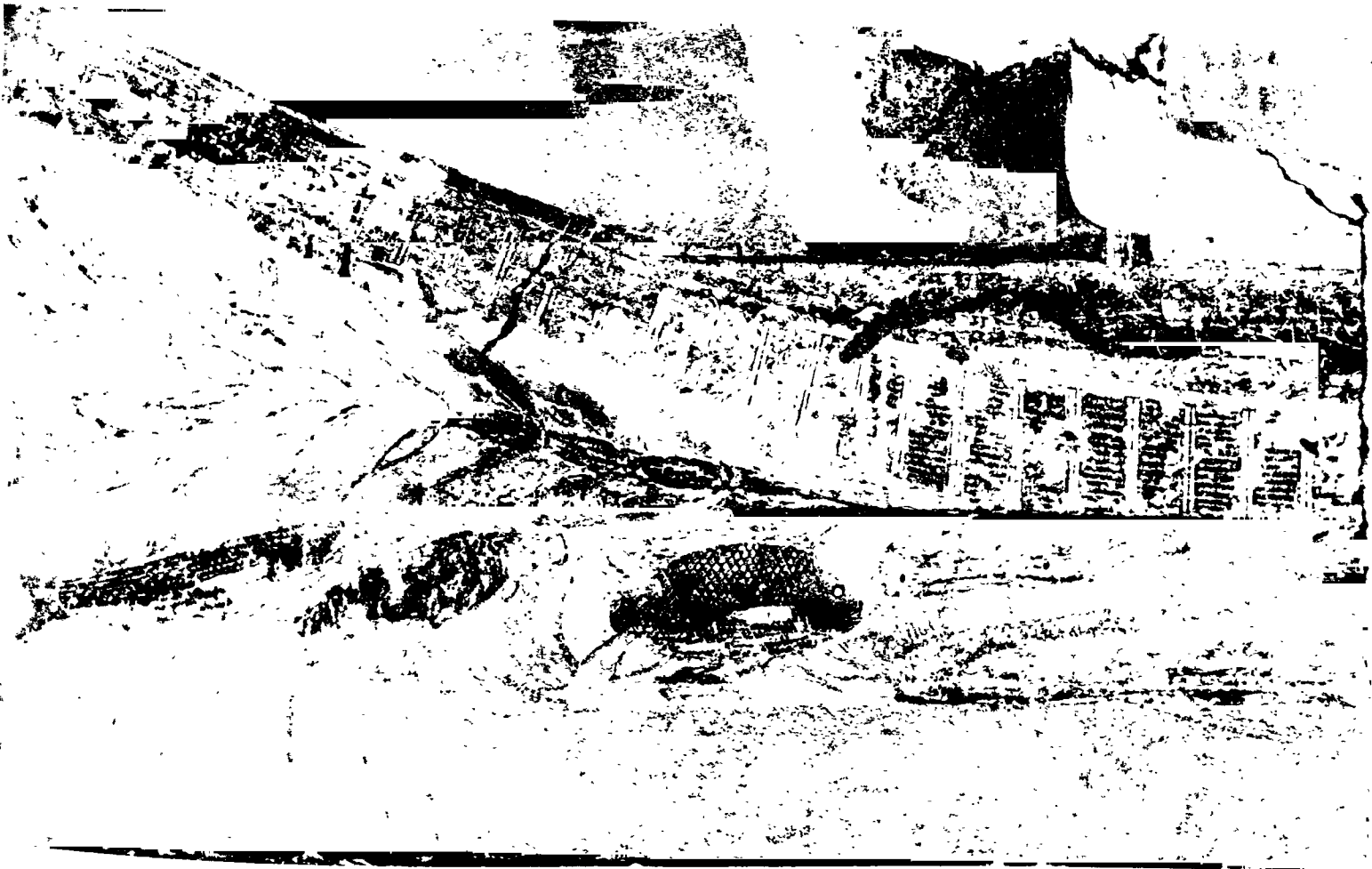


*b.* North wall, chapel of Seshem-nofer (G 4940).





*a.* Painting on south wall of corridor of FS 3081, Saqqarah.

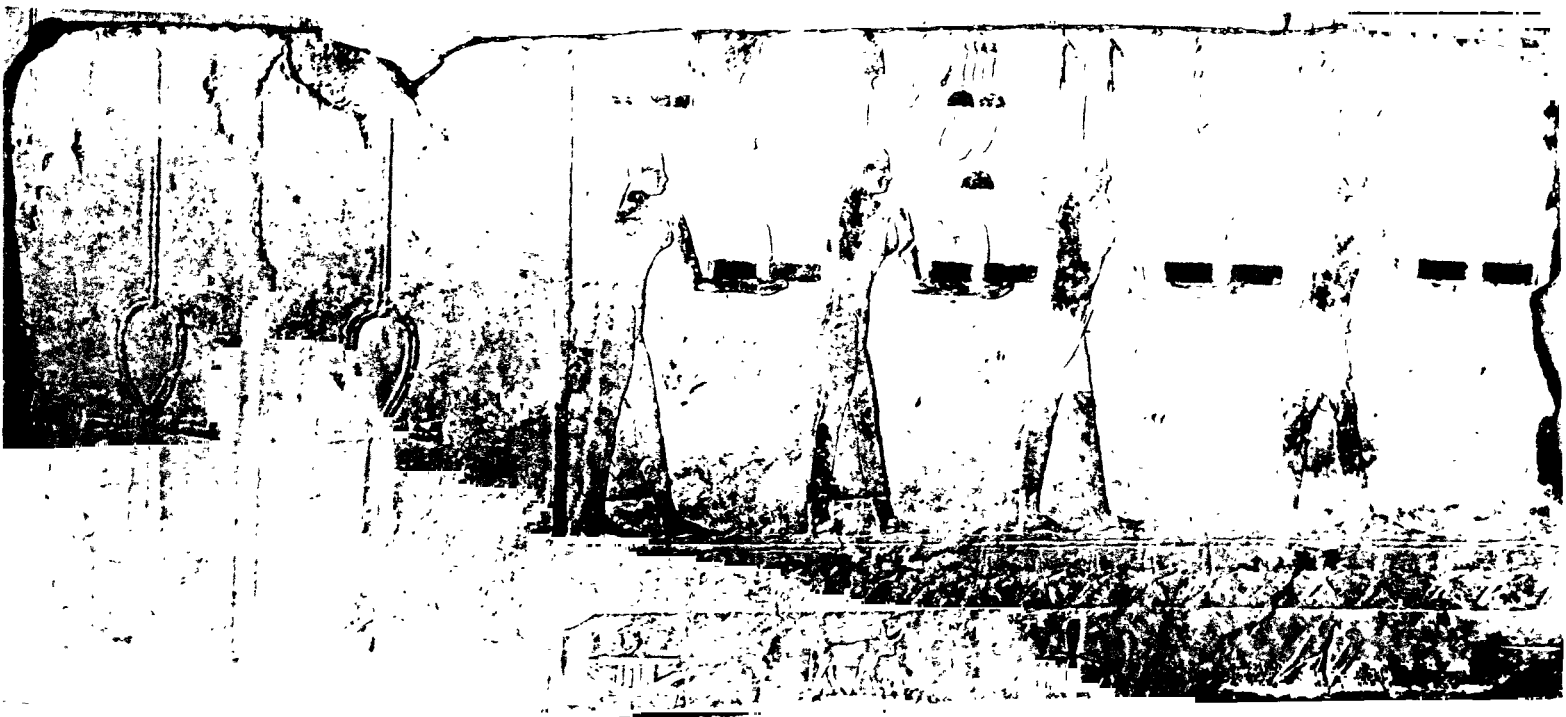


*b.* Dahshur painting found by De Morgan, Cairo.





*a-b.* Fragments of relief from Weserkaf temple, Cairo.



*c.* Fragment of relief from Abu Gurob Sun Temple of Ne-user-ra, Cairo.

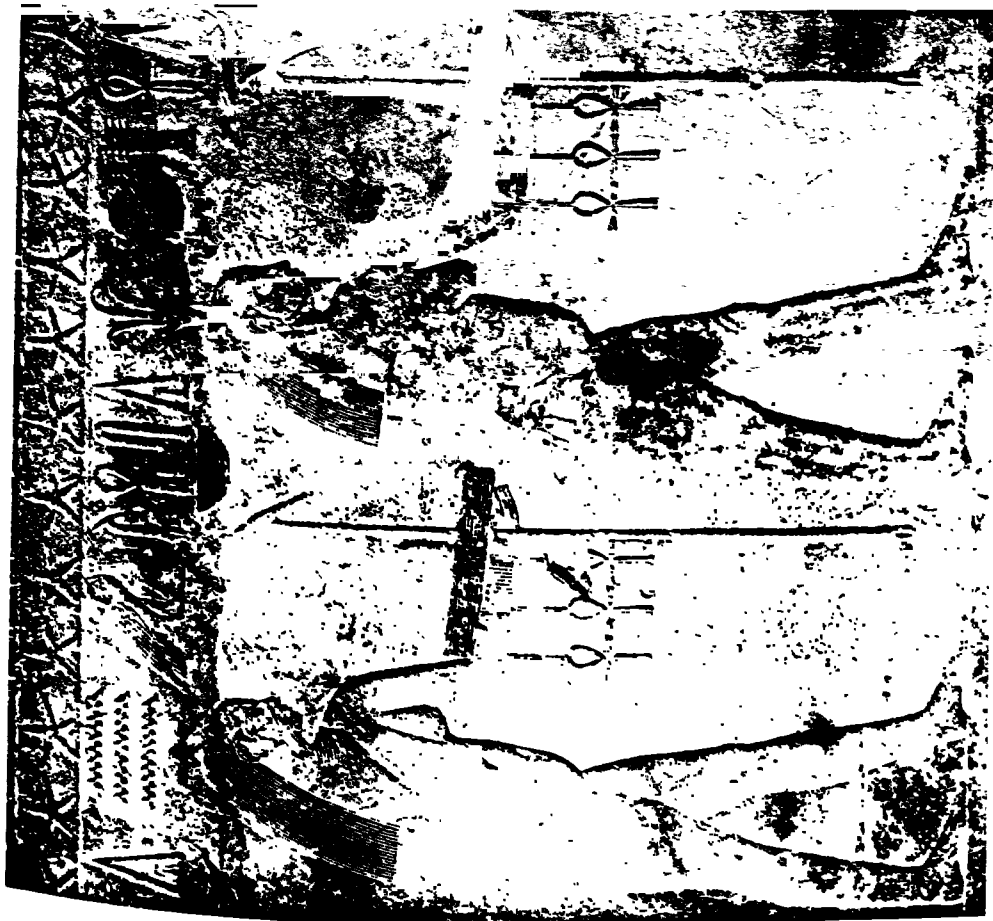




b. Part of Sahura hunting scene, Berlin.



d. Detail from Labyan tribute of Sahura, Cairo.



a. Relief of Sahura, Cairo.



c. Detail from 'Seasons' reliefs, Ne-user-ra Sun Temple, Berlin.







*a.* Fragment from Tety temple, Cairo.



*b.* Fragment from Unas Temple, Cairo.

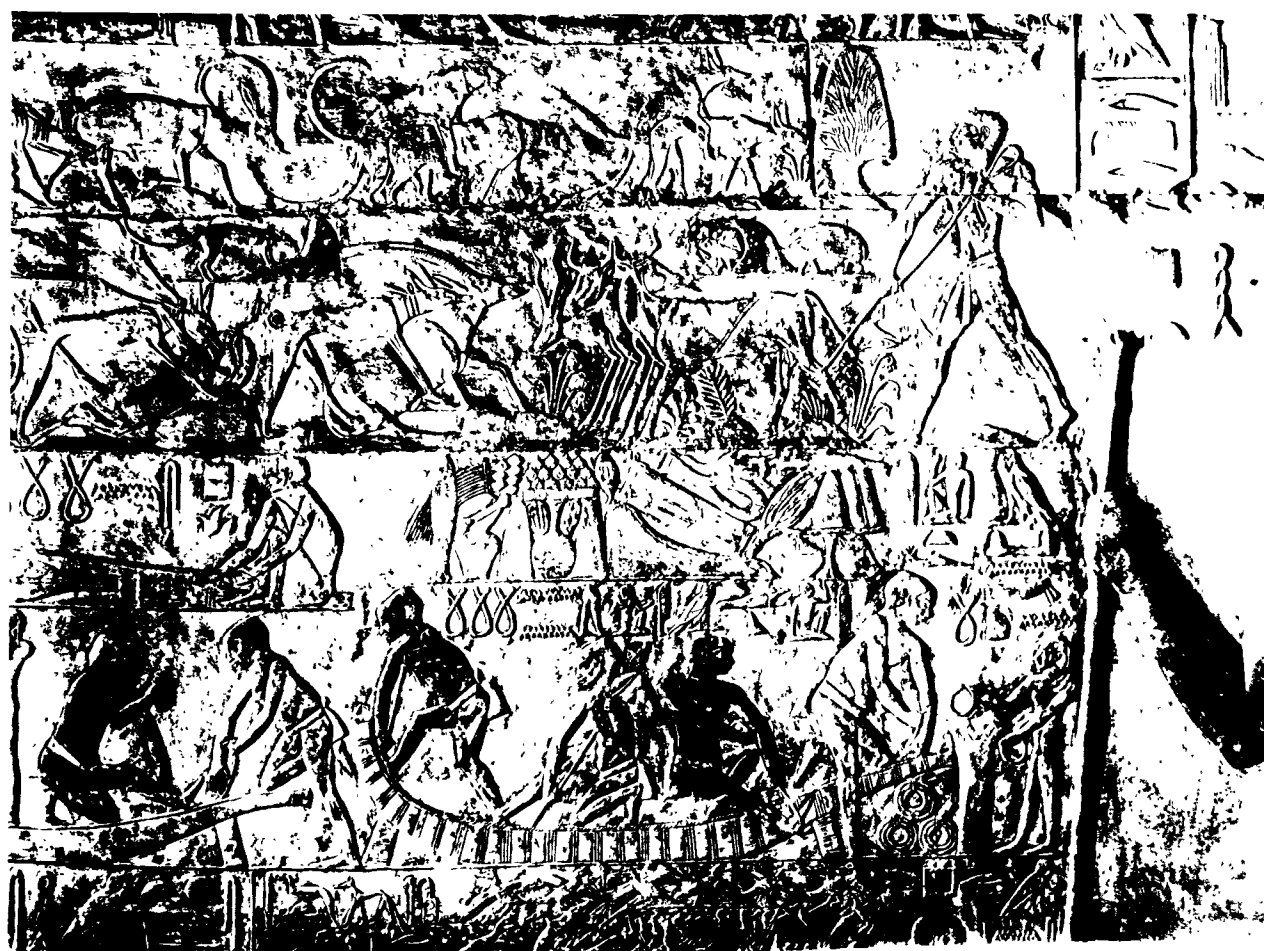


*c.* Fragments from offering-room of temple of Pepy II.



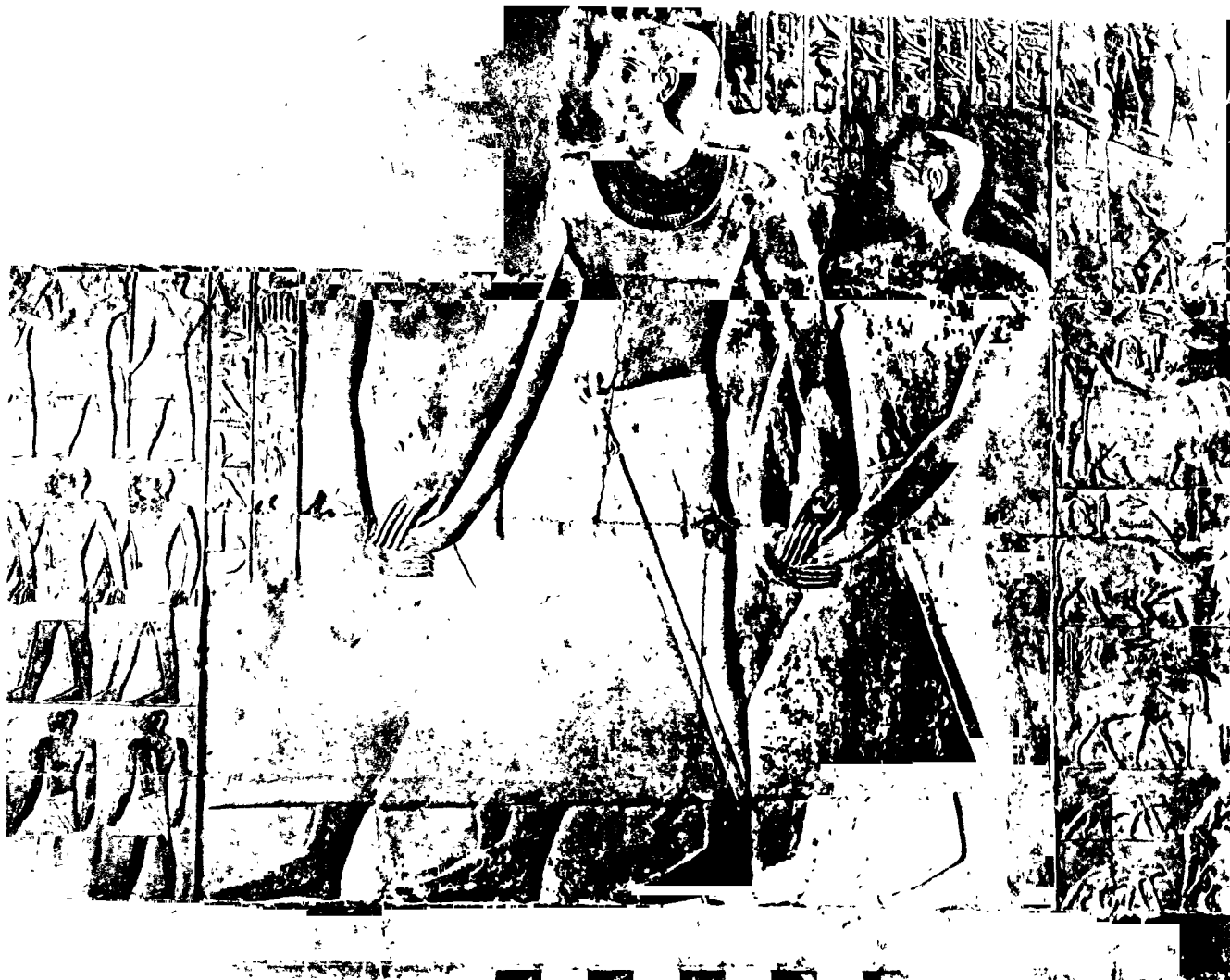


*a.* Relief of Ptah-sekhem-ankh, Boston.



*b.* East wall, offering-room of Ptah-hotep at Saqqarah.



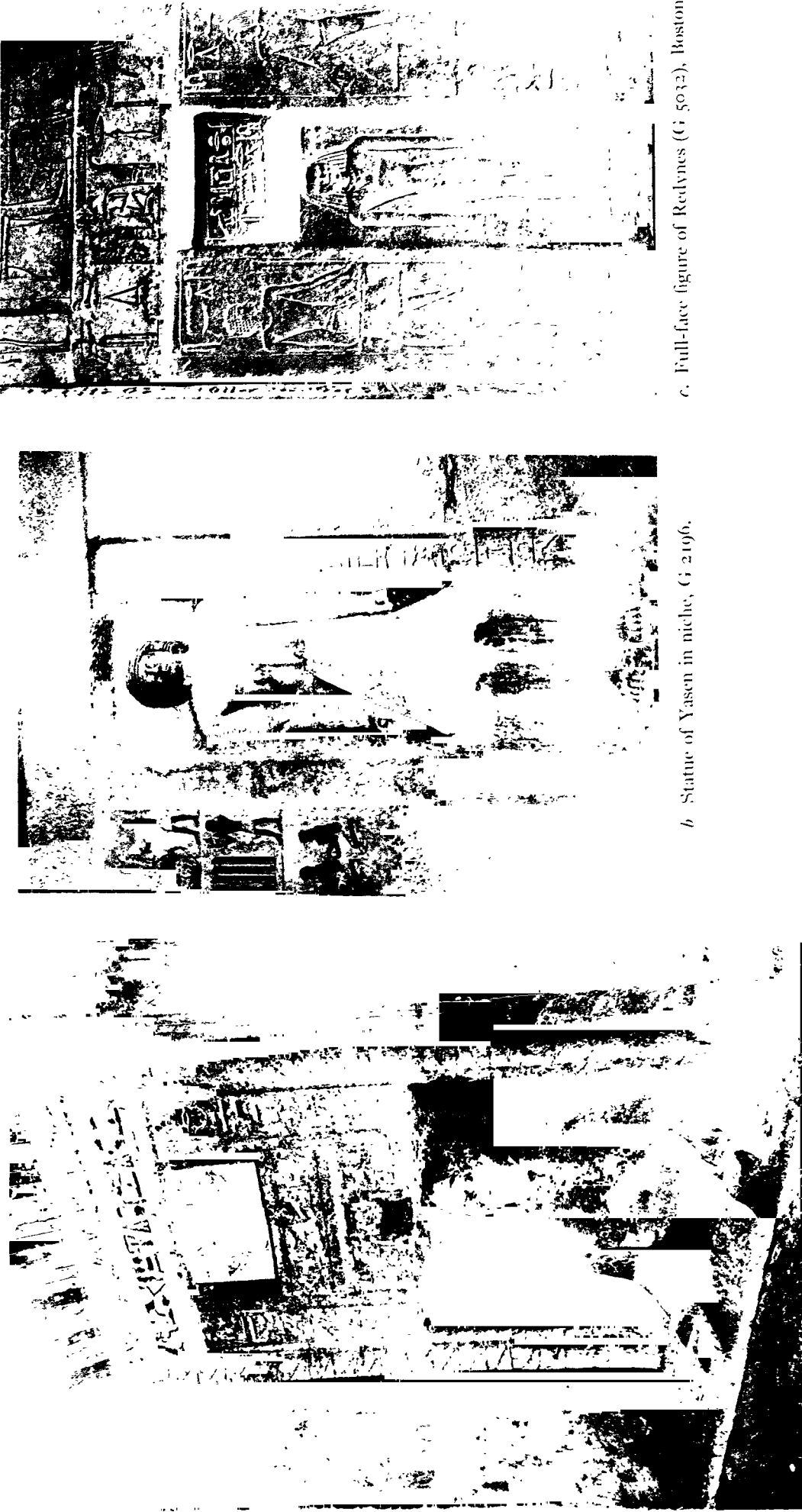


*a.* North wall, pillared hall of Mereruwka at Saqqarah.



*b.* Relief of Ipy, Cairo.

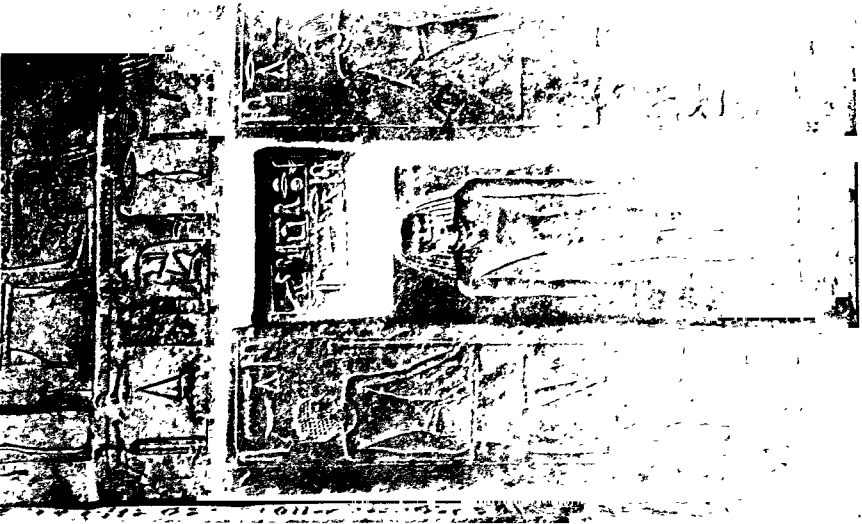




a. Bust of Yeduw in false-door, G 7102.



b. Statue of Yasen in niche, G 2196.



c. Full-face figure of Redvnes (G 5032), Boston.



d. Rock-cut statues of scribes, G 7837.



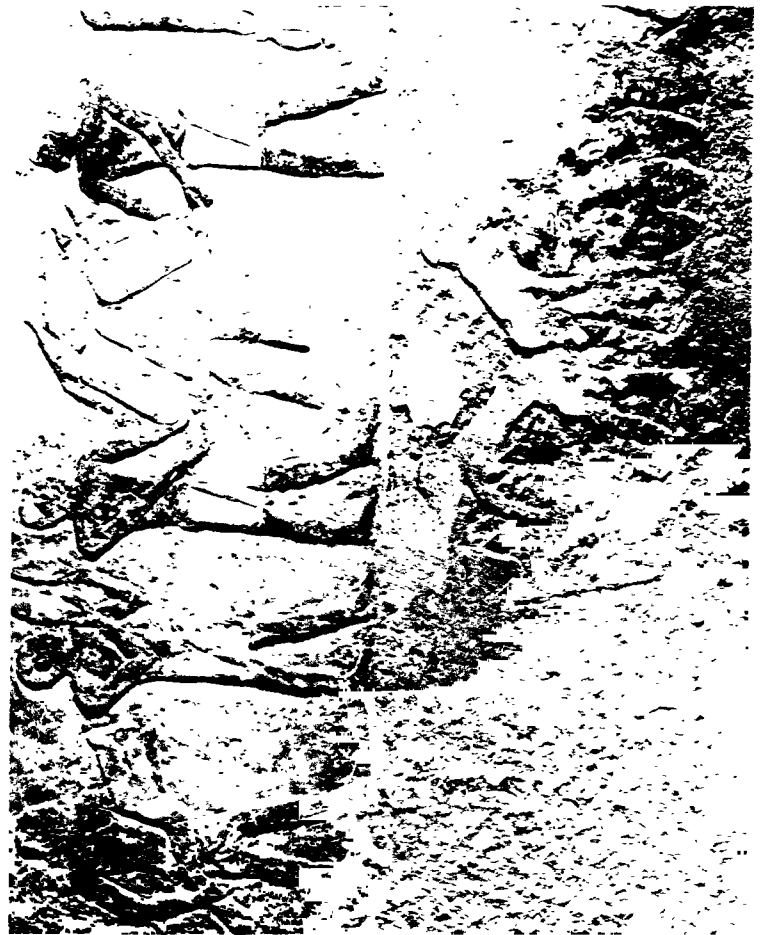
e. Hieroglyphs on architrave, G 2375.



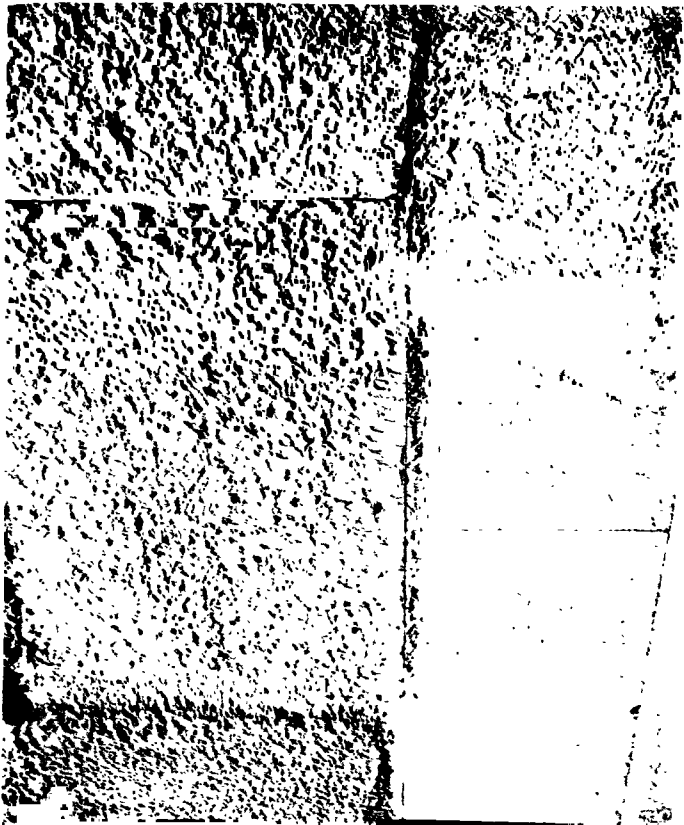




*b.* Chiselled outline and one-plane relief, G 5110, east wall.



*c.* First sketch, chiselled outline, one-plane relief, and finished relief, on east wall, G 2106.

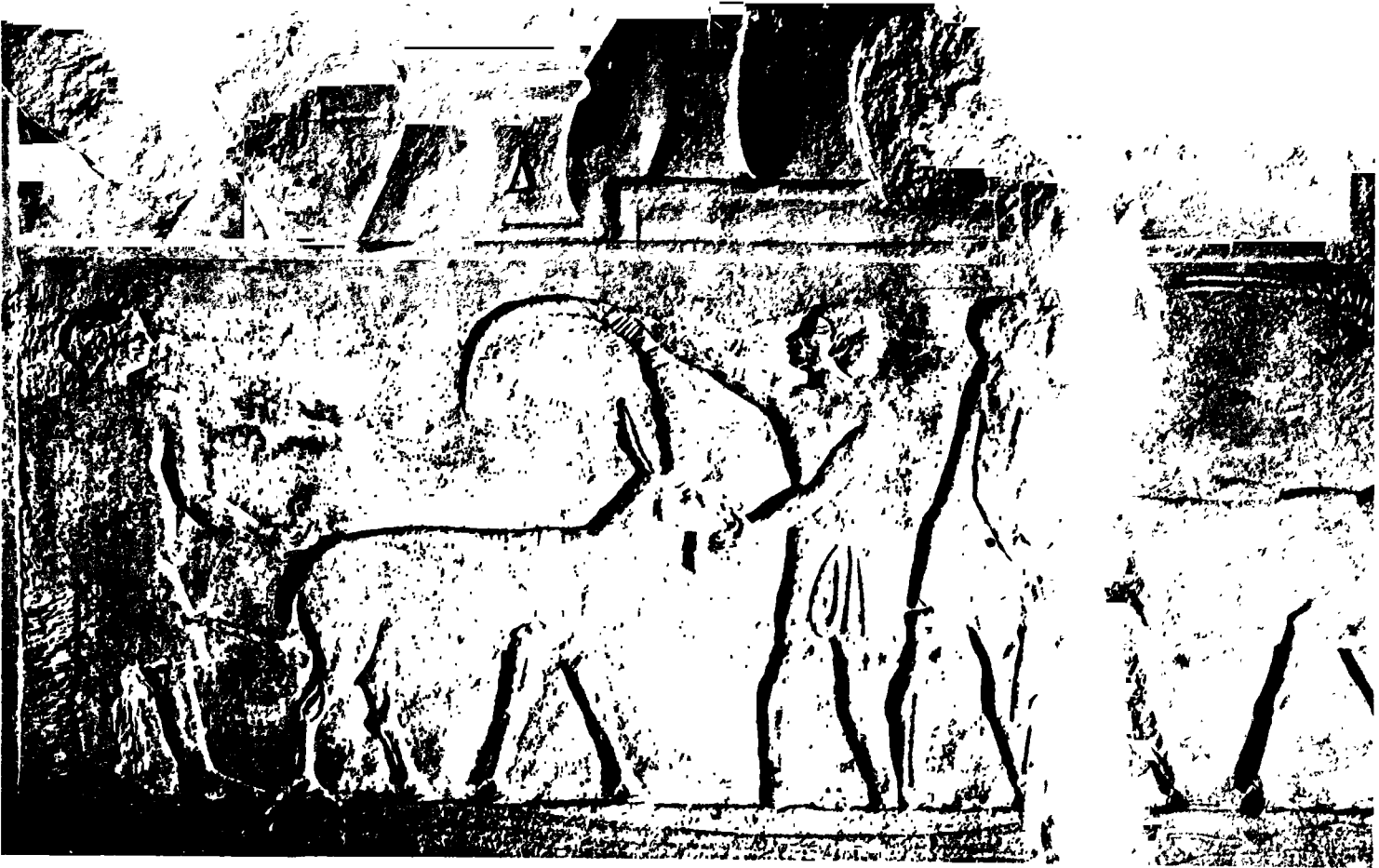


*a.* Preparation of wall surface, G 4240.

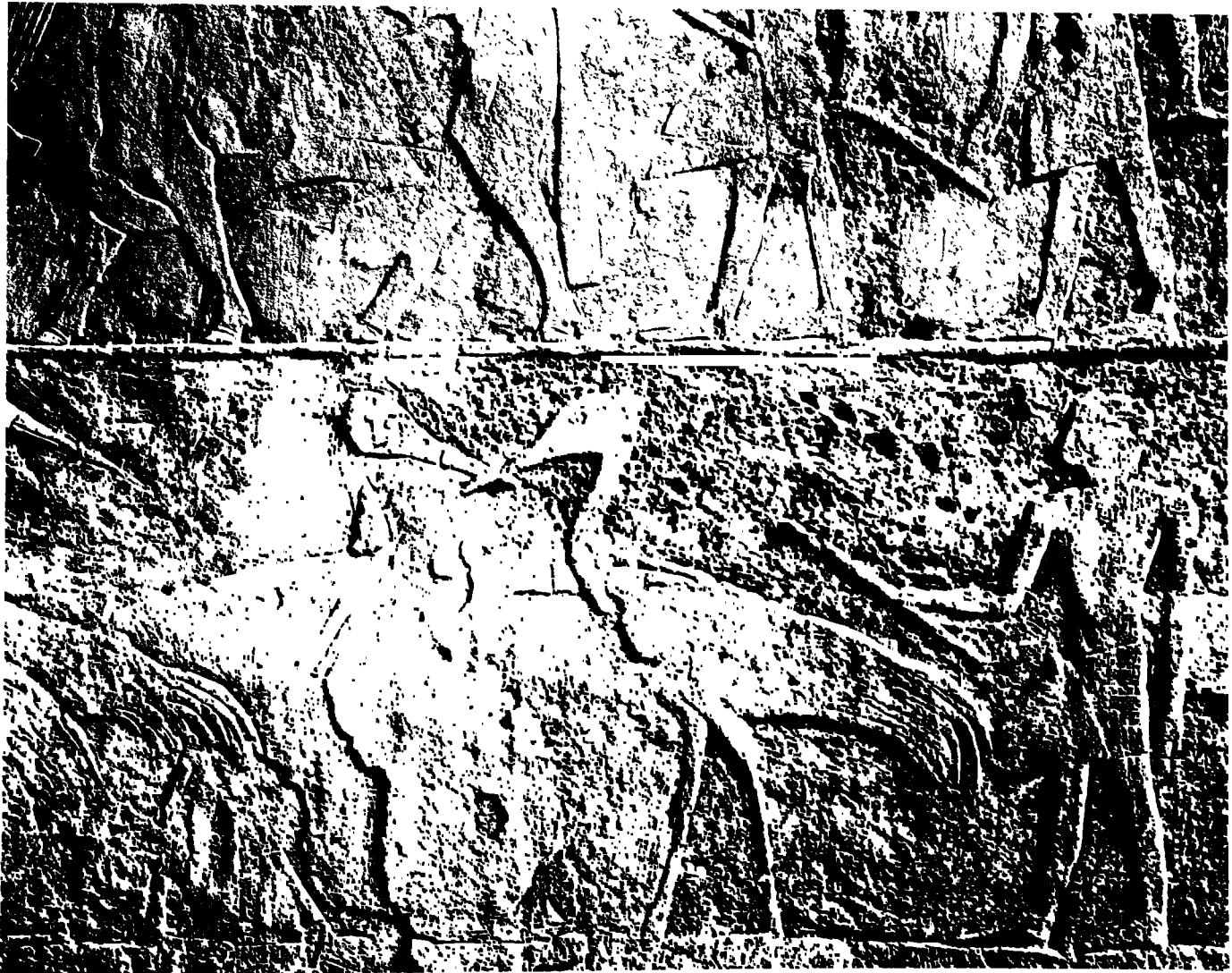


*d.* Patching with plaster, G 5110, east wall.



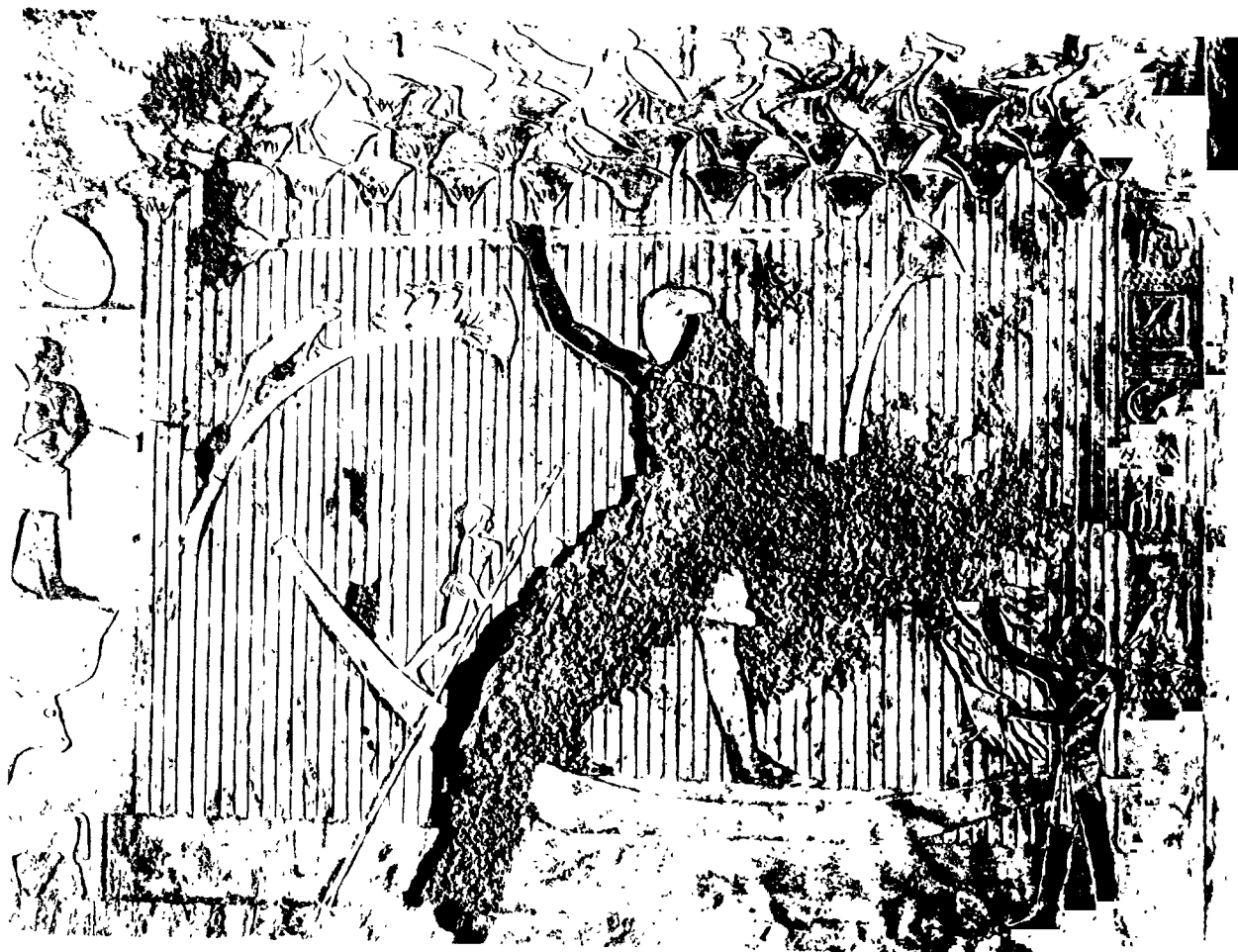


*a.* First cutting adjoined by finished relief, G 5110, east wall.



*b.* Various stages of work in several layers of plaster, G 1151, west wall.



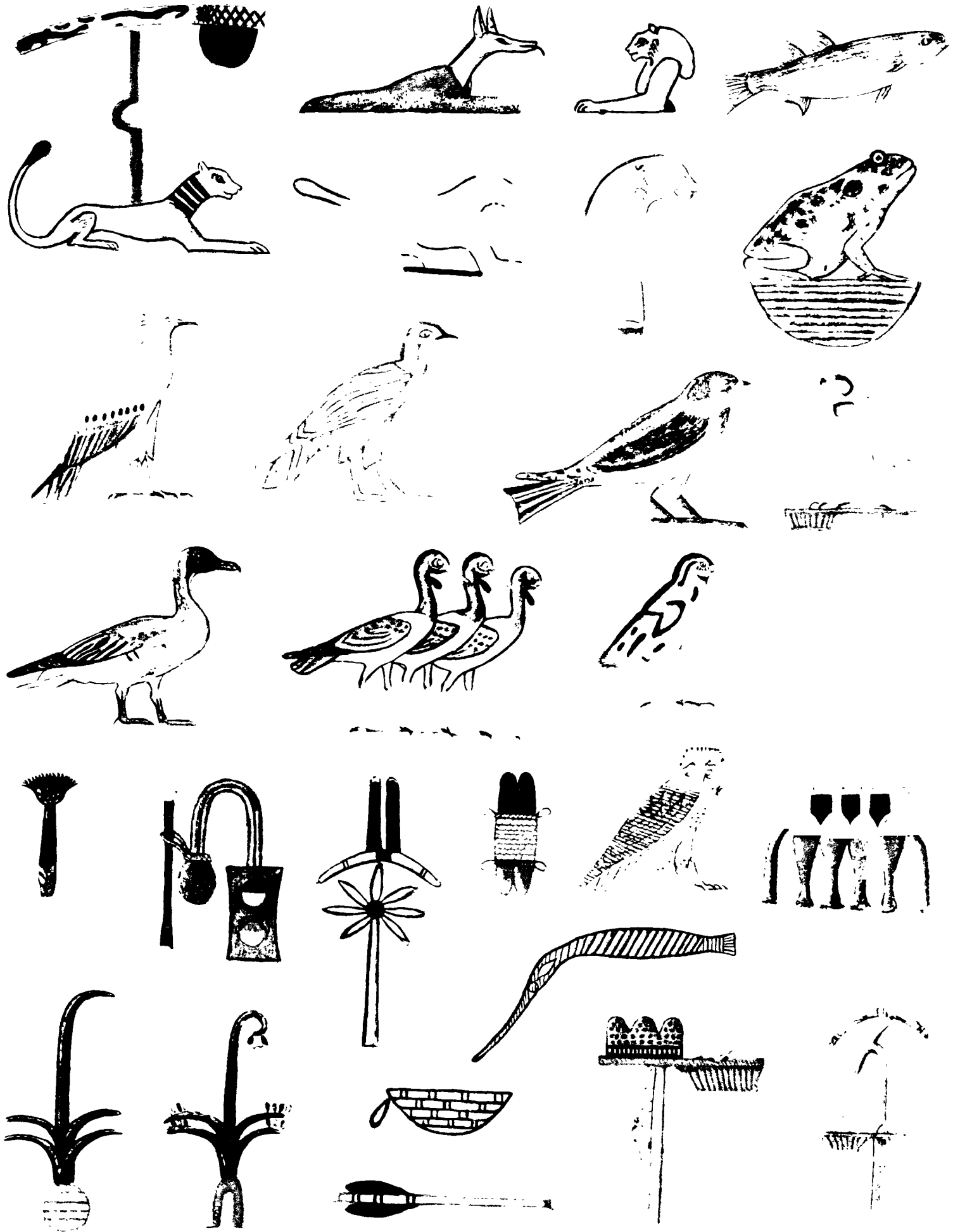


*a.* Relief in plaster with lines cutting through into stone, G 2196, north wall.



*b.* Various stages of work on wall sized with plaster, G 2196, north wall.





Hieroglyphs copied by author from paintings by Norman De Garis Davies: Wepemnofret slab-stela: lioness with axe, cult figure of Anubis, Gardiner sign list F 4, K 3, I 7, G 1; Naga-ed-Dêr 359: lioness (for *rw*) F 9, G 1; Wepemnofret slab-stela: G 36, G 39, G 30, G 43, G 7, M 13, Y 4, R 21, W 21, G 17, W 18, variation of M 23, M 28, V 31, V 23, T 11, sign for *hr*, sign for *ist-t*. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

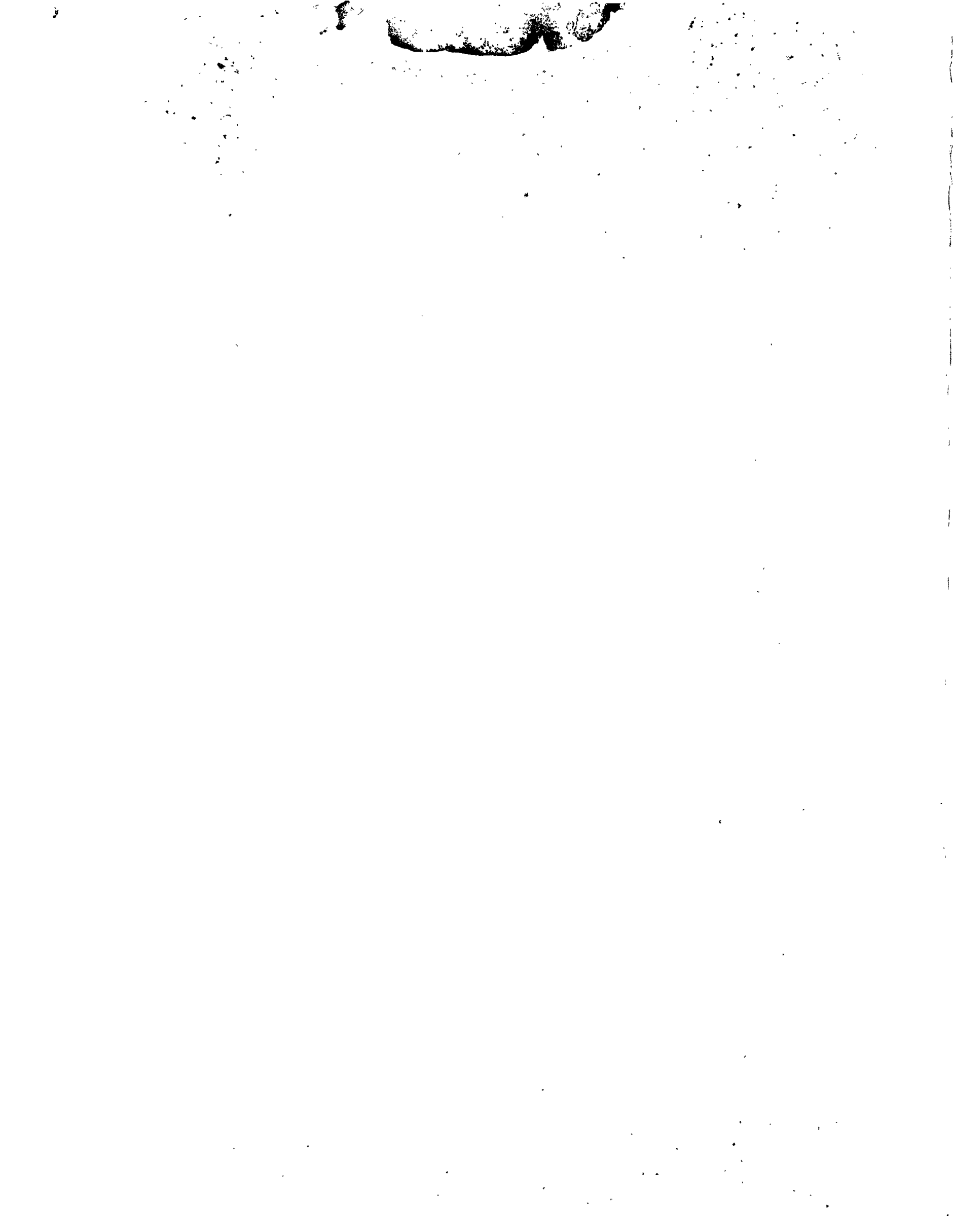












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